

SHAKESPEARE'S EUROPE REVISITED:
THE UNPUBLISHED *ITINERARY* OF
FYNES MORYSON (1566 - 1630)

by

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Chapter.ii. /40/

Of the Common wealth of Denmarke.

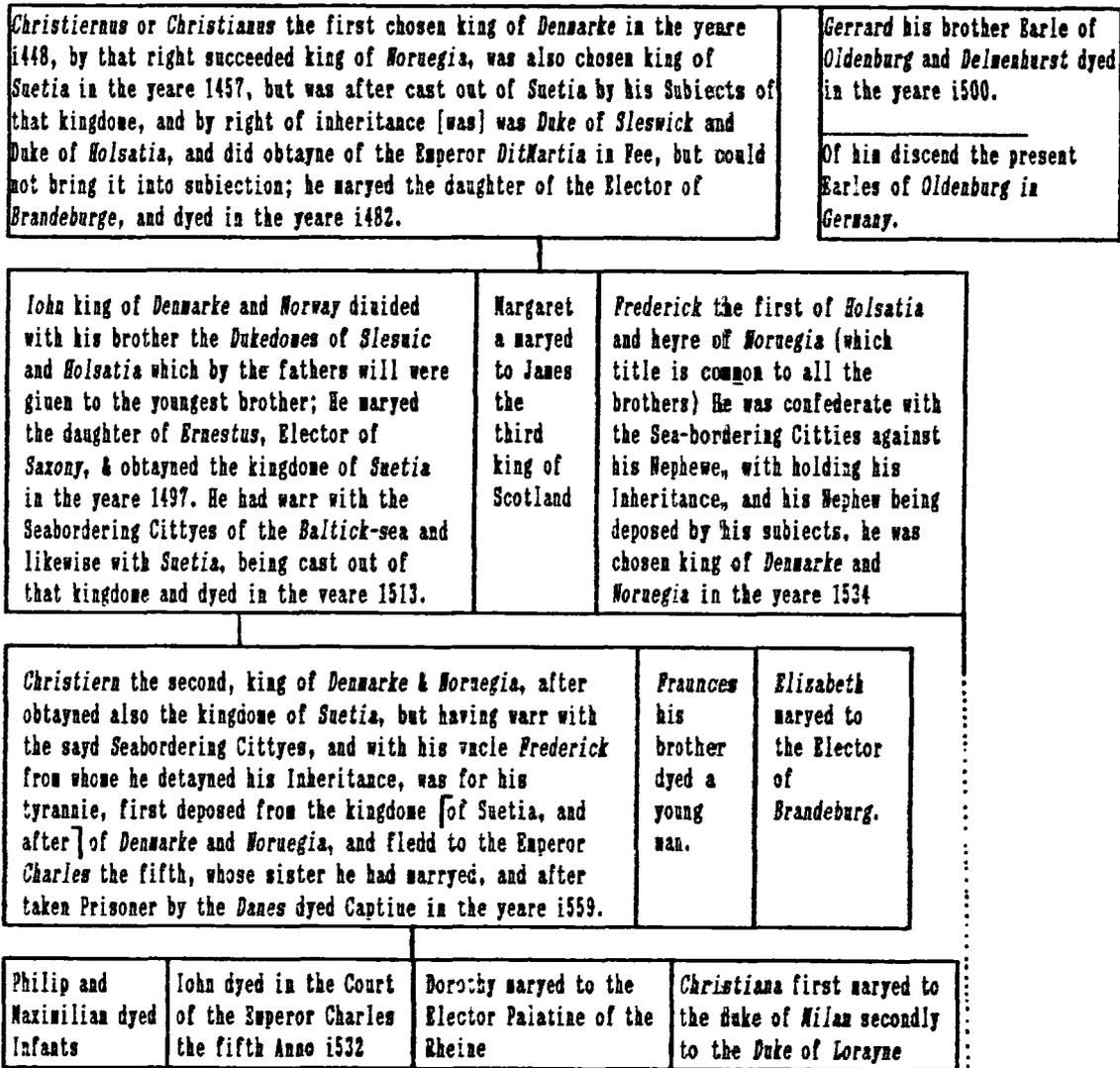
{ m.n. 43, 44. The historical Introduction. }

Touching the Historical Introduction, the *Danes* fetch the beginning of their kingdome from most remote antiquity, and number about 44 kings before *Alaricus* king of the *Goathes*, who in tyme of the Emperor *Valens* invaded *Italy*, in all which tyme the kingdomes of *Suetia*, and *Noruegia* were many tymes vnited and sometymes divided from the kingdome of *Denmarke*.¹ After the death of king *Waldamer* about the yeare of our lord 1375, *Margarett* his daughter, and heyre succeeded, the first Queene /50/ I reade of *Denmarke*, and she making warr with good successe against the king of *Suetia*, did after a great victory vnite these three kingdomes, and established them by solemne Couenants of agreement, so that in the choyse of the kings *Denmarke* first, and then *Suetia* should by course haue the first voyces in the elections. But the first [king] being dead, and the *Danes* in choyce of the second, vsurping the same priuiledge, *Suetia*, chose a king ouer themselues. and the *Danes*, because the male Children of their kings [were extinct chose ouer them for king] in the yeare 1448, *Christiern* of the family of *Oldenburg* in *Germany*, //

¹ Alaric the Goth was infamous for the Sack of Rome in 410. The Emperor Valens was already dead by this time, killed at Adrianople in 378 by the victorious Visigoths after one of the greatest defeats of Roman arms. See Davis, p. 26.

whose Genealogy followes.

The kings Pedegree.



Christiern third, king of Denmarke and Noruegia, borne of Anna daughter to the Elector of Brandeburg: He reformed Religion made a league with Suetia increased the Professors stipends in the vniuersity of Kopenhagen founded by Christiern the first, and dyed in the yeare 1559.	Dorothy maryed to the Duke of Prussen	Iohn borne of Sophia daughter to the Duke of Pomer dyed in the yeare 1580.	Adolphus of the same mother Duke of Holsatia and heyre of Noruegia Common title to all the younger brothers, he dyed in the yeare 1586.	Frederike Bishopp of Sleswic dyed Anno 1556.	Elizabeth maryed to the Duke of Neckelberg	Anna dyed a virgin	Dorothy maryed to an other of the Dukes of Nickelberg
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Fredericke the second, [king] king of Denmarke and Noruegia borne of a daughter to a Duke of Inferior Saxonye. In the name and to the vse of his vnclen, he subdued Ditmartia, he made bloody Warr against Suetia, and dyed in the yeare 1587. His wife Sophia daughter to the Duke of Neckelburg.	Anna maryed to the Elector of Saxonye.	Magnus a Bishopp in limonia.	Dorothy maryed [to] to the Duke of Luneburg	Iohn duke of Holsatia and heyre of Noruegia (the Common tyle to all the younger brothers) was borne in the yeare 1545. He maryed a daughter to the Duke of Luneburg.
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Booke .ii. The common wealth of Denmarke. Chap.ii. fol:233.

Fredericke, Bishopp. of Sleswick dyed in the yeare 1587	Sophia maryed to the Duke of Neckelburg.	Philip dyed 1590	Christina borne 1573.	Elizab: Anna and Agnes three other sisters	Christianus dead	Iohn Frederike then aline at my being there
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Elizabeth borne Anno 1573 maryed to the Duke of Brunswick	Anna borne Anno 1574 maryed to James sixth king of Scotland since, [ki] king of England, our gracious Soueraigne.	Christina the fourth king of Denmarke, and Noruegia, borne in the yeare 1577. [The king then liuing]	Ulricus borne 1578.	Augusta borne 1580. Hedwigis 1581 one of them wife to the Elector of Saxony.	Iohn vulgarly Hans borne 1583
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Dorothy borne 1563	Christianus borne 1570.	Ernestus borne 1572.	Alexander borne 1573.	Iohn Adolphus borne 1576.	Anna borne 1577.	Sophia borne 1579.	Elizabeth borne 1580.	Fredericke borne 1581.	Margaret borne 1583.	Philip borne 1584.
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{ m.n. 1. *The Kingdome.* }

In the *Geographicall* discription of *Denmarke*, I haue formerly shewed, that it consists of many Ilands within the *Baltick* Sea, whereof *Sealand*² is the cheife wherein *Copenhagen* is the cheife Citty, and hath one of the kings cheife houses, and *Roshilde*³ is a pleasant village vnwalled yet called a Citty because it is the State of a Bishopp, and there the king hath an other Castle. Also in that Iland is the village *Elsenure*, wherein is the kings cheife and strongest Castle,⁴ and this Iland is sayd to be two dayes Iourney in breadth, and asmuch in length; yet an other Iland called *Schoudania*,⁵ /10/ that is fayre *Denmarke* is said to be more pleasant then this,. A third Iland is called *Gotland*, of old subiect to *Suetia* now vnder *Denmarke*, whence the *Danes* will haue the *Gothes* to haue come, who invaded the *Roman* Empire, but the *Romans* write that they came out of *Scithia*. Two other Ilands *Liland* and *Filstria*⁶ were said to be the dowrye of the Queene mother then living, so long as she remayned a widowe, but if she

² Zealand.

³ Roskilde.

⁴ This is the English rendering of *Helsingør*. In the various editions of *Hamlet*, there are various spellings. Among them, Q1 renders it *Elsenoure* and *Elsanoure*, Q2 *Elsonoure* and *F Elsenour*. The Castle is the *Kronborg*, where an English troupe of actors played before the nine year old *Christian IV* in 1586. See *Jerzy Limon, Gentlemen of a Company* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 8.

⁵ Fyn ?

⁶ Lolland and Falster.

[be] maryed againe, that they should retorne againe to the Crowne, she retayning only her moueable goods. *Iseland* an Northerne Iland without the *Baltick* /20/ Sea, is likewise subiect to *Denmarke*, where the sonne being in *Cancer* is perpetuall day, and being in the opposite signe is perpetuall night, and there is the *Mount Hecla*, fayned to be the prison of damned soules, because the yce striking vppon the shore, soundes like humane voyces lamenting, and the *Brimstone* of this mountayne yeildes great tribute to the king.⁷ Other members are vnited to this kingdome as the kingdome of *Noruegia*, and the *Dukedomes* of *Holsatia* of *Slesuic*, and of *Ditmartia*, all which were seuerall States.⁸

⁷ Iceland had been part of the Danish monarchy since Viking times. When the sun is in Cancer, 22 June until 23 July it is perpetual light, and in Capricorn 22 December until 20 January there is darkness. Mount Hekla is in South Eastern Iceland. The brimstone or sulphur may have been profitable because it is essential in the manufacture of gunpowder. The details of "Hecla" probably come from Sebastian Munster's great geographical and sociological compilation his *Cosmographia* or *Beschreibung aller Länder* of 1550, parts of which were translated in 1572 as *A Briefe Collection and compendious extract of straunge and memorable thinges*, (London, 1572), [STC 18242], and referred to as Munster hereafter. "Hecla" is described as "This place is thought of som to be the prison of vncleane soules: for the yse being deuided and broken into many partes, swimmeth about the ysle almoste eight monethes, and being broken & bru/sed...geueth so horrible a sound almoste representinge the miserable lamentation of humayne voyce and weeping...that it maketh the ruder sort...to beleue that mens soules be tormented there in colde." sigs. E7r - E7v.

⁸ Moryson seems to be looking at Denmark anthropomorphically. The members, the Kingdom of Norway, the Dukedoms of Holstein, Schleswig and Thetmarchi being separate states, are like various limbs. Ditmarsh, a formerly independent area of western Holstein, was only incorporated into Denmark in 1559. EB

But *Christiern* the first obtayned of the Emperor *Frederick /30/* to vnite them in a *Dukedome*, and because they are hereditary the kings yonger brothers write themselues heyres of *Norwegia* and the *Dukes of Holsatia*. The land wherein the three States thus vnited to a [*Duke*][*king*]dome are seated, was of old called the *Cimbrian //*

fol:234. Booke ii. The common wealth of Denmarke. Chap:ii. Chersonesus or neck of land,⁹ also called *Ivtia* or *Iutland*, and was inhabited by *Saxons*, whome the *Danes* made first tributary, then Subiects to them. From these parts came the *Cimbri* who made warrs against the *Romans*, and also the *Normans* who conquered *Normandy* in *Fraunce*, and the *Lombards* who conquered great part in *Italy*, and also the *Vandalls* who ouerflowed *Europe*, (and of them to this day the Cittyes bordering vppon the *Baltick* sea, as *Lubeck* and others are called *wendischs[c]ätten*, that is Cittyes of the *Vandales*, and howsoeuer the Inhabitants be *Germans*, yet in many villages they still speake /10/ the *Vandale* tongue). All *Interland* speaks the *German* tongue, and I shewed that *Christiern* the first obtayned it in Fee of the Emperor, and therevppon the *Germans* say, that when the Empire was powerfull, the kingdome of *Denmarke* was reputed a member thereof, but the *Danes* deny all dependancy on the Empire, and say their kingdome is of absolute power, and that from

⁹ The land-island (penisular) of the *Cimbri*. Harvey.

the first foundation it is electiue.¹⁰ Yet wee finde in Histories that these kings howsoever chosen haue succeeded in a right lyne to the kingdome, no lesse then gentlemen succede in their Fees of Inheritance, and /20/ that many kings in their life tyme haue caused their eldest sonnes to be established in the kingdome, who notwithstanding were only called Princes aswell in the Fathers life tyme, as after his death, till they were confirmed kings, and if they were vnder age, had Tutors appointed them by the Assembly of the States.¹¹ So as the Danes haue right to chuse their kings, howsoever they [haue] [.e] seldome or neuer vsed it to the preiudice of the heyres, and haue right to appoint them Tutors being vnder age. And we reade in their Histories, that they haue banished yea putt to death some kings, besides the famous /30/ example of *Christierne* the second deposed by them, tho he had maryed the sister of the powerfull Emperor *Charles* the fifth. The States challenge power to depose their chosen king, if he proues a Tyrant, and breakes his Oath giuen at his

¹⁰ See *Itinerary A*, IV. 267. I have been unable to find out what Moryson means by "Inteland".

¹¹ Moryson and Shakespeare seem to be well aware of the elective nature of Danish monarchy, combined with the usual pattern of descent from father to son. In *Hamlet*, his Danish play, Prince Hamlet naturally expected to succeed his father. Instead, Claudius "Popped in between th'election and my hopes..." V. 2. 66. Where the natural line dies out, the election, and nomination by the dying prince, assume great importance. Hence Hamlet's preoccupation in his last speech,

...I do prophesy th'election lights
On Fortinbras. He has my dying voice. V. 2. 307 - 308.

Coronation. And howsoever the power and wisdom of some kings may keepe them in awe, yet when the old king is dead, and a newe is to be chosen, and vpon all fitt occasions they stifly mantayne these priuiledges, And at this tyme when I passed that way, the king being vnder age, many Articles of reformation were propounded and deliberated in the Assembly /40/ of the States.

{ m.n. 42. *The kinge.* }

King *Christiern* or *Christian* the fourth then living, was yet vnder age, being the seuenth king of the Oldenburg Family, and ingenerall the hundreth seuenth king of the Danes, who was borne in the yeare 1577, [and] when his Father dyed was not fully aeleuen yeares old. The king of Swetia Iohn the third, some twoe yeares before my passing this way, had vndertaken warr against the moscovites, to recover Na[r]va and other Citties and teritoryes they had taken from him in liuonia, in which warr /50/ he made his brother Charles the Generall of his Army, and this Iohn the third about this tyme dying,¹² the sayde Charles gouerned the kingdome in the right of his absent Nephewe Sigismund king of Polonia (whereof in the treaty of the Commonwealth of Poland, I haue written somethinge more at large)¹³ And in this warre the English marchants furnishing the

¹² November 1592. Elliott, p. 385.

¹³ See Fols. 48 - 50.

Moscouite with Armes and Munitions, did there obtayne great priuiledges of traffique. But I retorne to speake of Christiene the fourth /60/ //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Denmarke. Chap:ii. fol:235.

king of Denmarke, whome I did see at Roschild, to which towne or Citty he came, attended with tenn Coaches, and a Courtier satt by the kings syde in his owne Coache, which was drawne with three horses, and these Coaches were like those are vsed in *Germany*, couered with black coarse Cloth lyned with Canves or Course Cloth, and borne vpp with litle rounde hoopess of wood fastned with hookes of yron, so as the Couer falles backward if they will ride in open ayre, or may be pulled ouer their heads at both ends. and buckled in the midst, if the weather be rayny or cold. He was of a /10/ fayre Complexion and bigg sett, and about some fifteene yeares of age, and they said he could speake the Dutch,¹⁴ french and *Italian* tongues, and was delighted with shooting in a muskett, with musick and with reading of historyes, and spent two howers in the morning and as many after dinner at his booke, and passed the rest of the day in diuerse exercises, attended by his *Hoffmeister* (that is master of his Court) then called *Hockholgersen* a gentleman who had beene generall of the Army in the last warr with *Suetia*. When he vouchsafed to salute any man, he gaue them his /20/ hand, not to kisse but to take in his hand,

¹⁴ *Deutsch*, German.

neither doe any vse to kneele to him except they answer before him accused of Capitall Crimes, but the Courtiers stood bareheaded to him in great distance. His yongest brother *John* followed the Court at that tyme, but *Vlricus* the second brother was then Student at *Wittenberge* in *Germany* who besides his Inheritance in *Holsatia*, had the administration of a Bishopprick in the dukedome of *Mecleburg*¹⁵ and of an other nere *Lubeck* and a *Channons* place in a Cathedrall Church. The king was then on his journey to /30/ *Flansburg*,¹⁶ where an extraordinary Parliament was called, For his Subiects of *Holsatia* to sweare him homage, which they had refused to yeilde at *Copenhagen* in *Denmarke*, where an ordinary Parliament is yearely held, the next day after *Trinity Sunday*. Of old 24 Counsellors or Senators did gouerne the Common wealth vnder the king, but at this tyme twelue gentlemen chosen of the kings Counsell for life, did gouerne the same, the generall States of the Church and nobility being assembled only for some greatest affayres. The yong kings Father by his last will and /40/ Testament appointed him six Tutors, the Threasorer, the Admirall, the Arch Marshall the Chauncelor and two others, but some of them by the Assembly of the States were deposed, as namely the Threasorer for having beheaded one *Hainson* a Citizen, of which act the *Danes* said

¹⁵ Mecklenburg.

¹⁶ Flensburg, now in Germany, thanks to Bismark.

he should be called in question when the king should be Eighteene yeares of age, and by the same Assembly fower Tutors were confirmed, namely *Nicholas* (vulgarly *Nelse*) *Case* the *Chancelor*, *George Rosenkrantz* a grayheaded old Senator, *Peter Munck* Admirall, and *Hack wolfstand*, the last two being /50/ so aged, as they could not follow the Court.¹⁷ The young king is called Prince by the *Danes* while he is vnder age //

fol:236. Booke ii. The *common wealth of Denmarke*. Chap:ii. gouerned by Tutors.

{ m.n. 2. *The Court*. }

The king had 70 *Trabantoes* for garde of his person, and each of them had for his diett monethly: five dollers, and for wages yearely 24 dollers, and twice in the yeare they were apparrelled.¹⁸ And he had tenn horsemen called

¹⁷ Had Shakespeare heard of this *Rosenkrantz*, and used his name in *Hamlet*? Had he heard about *Ulrich* studying at *Wittenberg*? In the *Foreign State Papers*, (to which *Moryson* may have had some access,) on behalf of the young *Christian IV*, *Nicholas Kaas*, *Peter Munck*, *George Rosenkrantz* and *Hauk Wolfstan* put their signatures to complaints about various *Danes* suffering from English pirates and tardy justice. See *List and Analysis of State Papers Foreign May 1592 - June 1593*, edited by *R. B. Wernham* (London, 1975). In *Hamlet*, edited by *Harold Jenkins*, *The Arden Shakespeare* (London, 1981), another possible source of the name is recorded from the register of *Wittenberg*, "In the decade 1586 - 95 it had two students named *Rosenkrantz* and one *Gyldenstjerne*." p. 436.

¹⁸ The dollers that the royal guard of *Trabantoes* are paid with, are probably Danish equivalents of the German *Reichs Doller* which was worth something over four shillings. *Itinerary A*, I, xxiii - xxiv. The dollar is a corruption of *thaler*, originally a coin from minted in 1519

Hascheri, whereof each man had 20 dollers monethly for keeping of two horses, and yearely wages 20 dollers, and apparrell twice in the yeare. Some thirty gentlemen following the Court at that tyme, [had] each man [had] Fifty dollers monethly to keepe five horses. The Cuppbearer had asmuch to keepe so many horses, and moreouer 300 dollers yearely /10/ for wages or pention. The like intertainment had the cheefe Cooke and two gentlemen Sewers who carryed vpp the meat, and one of them supplied the place of Caruer, but no man tasted the meat, which Ceremonye I heard was not in vse with them.¹⁹ Of these some haue allowednce in mony for diett, others eate in the Court, but they haue no tables for Counsellors or Cheefe Officers, and they which eat not in the Court goe thether but once in three or fower dayes. Neither did any great traine follow the Court. The king did eat alone, with the doores open for any man to enter. /20/ When they haue a Queene she dwells in a seuerall syde of the Pallace, and

from the silver mines of St. Joachim's valley, *Joachimst(h)al*. *OED*, Room, pp. 67, 215. In *Macbeth* the defeated Viking host of King Sweno were not allowed burial of their dead until "...he disbursèd at Saint Colum's inch/ Ten thousand dollars to our general use." I. 1. 61 - 62. It is an authentic, if anachronistic, detail. The Danish-Scottish connection must have been thought appropriate material for performance before Christian IV and James I on its possible première on 7 August 1606 at Hampton Court. See William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, edited by Kenneth Muir, *The Arden Shakespeare* (London, 1951), p. xxiv. Moryson also mentions a Sueno on fol. 239.

¹⁹ A sewer is a server, as in the stage direction in *Macbeth*, "Enter a sewer and divers servants". I. 7. 1. The tasting was to prevent poison being administered.

hath her owne officers, and her table apart from the king.

{ m.n. 24, 25. *The Reuenues and tributes.* }

Touching the Reuenues and Tributes; *Denmarke* hath no Mynes of gold or siluer (for *Suetia* hauing some fewe or poore Mynes hath not in these last ages bene vnited to that kingdome). The fishing of Herrings Codd and like fishes to be dryed, and the exportation [of masts] for shipps, and of great quantity of deale boardes²⁰ out of *Norway*, and of *Brimstone* from the mountayne *Heclea* in *Iseland* and some like *Commodityes* /30/ yeilde a good reuenue to the Crowne. Giue me leaue to mention the fishing which the English haue in a place called *Wardhouse* to which they saile about the North syde of *Norway* once in the yeare for that purpose, the Inhabitants thereof are subiect to the king of *Denmarke*; and were said to liue vnder the earth, feeding altogether vppon dryed fishes, and for the continuall snow seldome or neuer coming out of their Caues, and therevppon having a drye complection infected with a kinde of leprousy.²¹ And these English Marchants or Fishermen, though they neuer enter the *Sounde* /40/ yet for secure passage and leaue to fish there, payd the king of *Denmarke*

²⁰ Sawn timber. *OED* has specific dimensions for a deal, and differing dimensions for a board, so there may have been either some confusion in Moryson's mind, or he may have meant cut timber of varying sizes.

²¹ I presume that this may refer to the whiteness of their skin, rather than to the terrible disease. I have been unable to find the modern name for "Wardhouse".

yearely one hundreth Rose Nobles of gold.²² But these Reuenues are of small moment compared with two Tributes wherein the Treasure of that kingdome consists. For the first an incredible tribute is rayseed of the Shipps passing the Narrow Sea called the Sounde, dividing *Denmarke* and *Norway*, and so leading into the *Baltick* sea, which shipps paid tribute aswell at the entrance as the retourne out of the Sounde). For the *Danes* had two strong Forts built in the narrowest mouthe of the Sounde (/50/ at the entrance into the Hauen of *Elsenure*, whence the passage lyes open into the *Baltick* sea) and one of the Forts is called *Chronoburg* seated in the village of *Elsenure* and the Cheefe Iland of *Denmarke* called *Sealand* and the other Fort // *Booke.ii. The common wealth of Denmarke.. Chap:ii. fol:237.* is called *Elzburg* seated in the kingdome of *Norway*,²³ and

²² The Rose Noble, ryal or royal was by this time a very old English gold coin. The Rose Noble was first minted in 1464 with the Yorkist rose of Edward IV (1461 - 1483) on obverse and reverse. It was worth a third of a pound, or six shillings and eight pence. It weighed 108 grains, and is known to numismatists as part of the "heavy" coinage of the reign, which was later augmented by "light" coinage. In comparison with the new lighter coinage, the gold content of the Rose Noble inflated its value to eight shillings and four pence. Ryals weighing 120 grains and valued at ten shillings were issued from 1465. The British Museum has an example with the arms of Danzig, so they were certainly used in the Baltic trade. See Robert Lloyd Kenyon, *Kenyon's Gold Coins of England* (reprinted Bath, 1969), pp. 58 - 59. Perhaps Moryson just means coinage of great fineness, for this coin was copied in the Netherlands as the rosenobel, or perhaps he merely uses the term as a unit of account. See Room, pp. 143, 179, and G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, third edition (London, 1950), pp. 148 - 149.

²³ Moryson presumably means Helsingborg in modern Sweden.

these Forts are so neere one to the other, as no shipp can safely passe them without leaue, besides that if any shipp should passe either by force, or [by] some other way by stealth which might easily be done, those shipp and goods should be confiscated whensoever they are forced againe to passe that sounde. So as this tribute must needes be exceeding great. For euery shipp entring vnladen (as the hollanders doe for the most part) payeth for the ship a Rosse noble of gold, and for beacon gelt a Doller.²⁴ But those that are loden /10/ pay of old for last gelt the hundreth penny of the goods,²⁵ and a Rosse noble of gold for the ship, yea two or thee Rosse nobles if diuers partners were owners of the ship, and halfe a dollor for beacon gelt (or mony). Only those shipp whose burthen is not aboue forty last,²⁶ pay nothinge for the shipp, as others doe (euen those that are vnladen) After the rate I formerly named, but only for the Marchandise they beare after the rate of their burthen. An English shipp lately returning from Dantzke laden with wax (a light commodity)

²⁴ *OED* pronounces that gelt is erroneous for geld, the Old English for a tax. Revenue was presumably used to pay for beacons to guide shipping from hazards.

²⁵ This would appear to be a 1% tax by weight of merchandize. Since what was carried was very heavy, timber, grain, hemp and flax, this would be very profitable. See Ralph Davis, *English Overseas Trade 1500 - 1700* (London, 1973), p. 19. Moryson informs us on lines 36 - 37 that a last is twelve tons, although *OED* only mentions two tons as being a last.

²⁶ 480 tons.

had payde 900th Dollers at the Sound for tribute. And while /20/ my selfe was at Elsemure, another English shipp of 140 Tunns burthen, being scarcely halfe laden, payd the 312. Dollers and an halfe for tribute. The kings of Denmarke by the Commaund of that narrowe sea, shutting vp the trade to²⁷ Dantzke and those partes (whence all partes of Europe are furnished with precious marchandise, as Corne, wax, hony, hemp, Cables masts, Deale boardes, sope ashes,²⁸ and many like) may easily reveng any wrongs done to them by neighbor Princes, or at pleasure may doe wrong to them in theire subiectes, For *Christian* /30/ the second (whome I formerly sayd to haue bene hated of his Subiects and his neighbors, and cast out of his kingdome for his Tyrannye) having warr with Suetia did at his pleasure for supporting that warr impose vppon *Lubeck* and the Neighbor Cittyes of *Germany* bordering within the *Baltick* Sea two guldens vppon euery last (twelue Tonnes making a last) aboue the accustomed Tribute,²⁹ and vppon all other straungers trading that way the last gelt was highly rayseed, so as the

²⁷ Hughes substitutes "at", p. 178.

²⁸ Ash was used for its alkalinity in the production of soaps. *OED*

²⁹ This is about four shillings, if Moryson is referring to a Gulden of the Low Countries, or six shillings and eight pence if he means the Reichsgulden. See *Itinerary A*, I, xxiii, xxiv.

English paid a dollor for Eight Clothes³⁰ and a dollor for each last of Flaxe, of waxe, of wheate, /40/ and like Commodities, and a quarter of a dollor for each last of pitche, of Tarr, of Rye Corne, and of like Commodities, and if any <en>tred³¹ [of a dollor] wheate for Rye, or vsed like fraude, the goods were confiscated. And howsoeuer Lubeck and the other Cittyes by grace obteyned or by warr extorted freedome for great part of the Imposition thus layd vppon them, and likewise the *Hollanders* were sayd to be then freed of the said new Imposition, yet at this very tyme whereof I write, the English and Scotts, only (no other Nation that I heard) did still pay the new Imposition for all goods, where /50/ with they were laden aboue the old tribute,. Yea the late deceased king³² (as I heard) being not long before offended with the States of the United Prouinces, for having opened certaine letters directed to his Ambassador, did suffer their shippes to enter the *Baltick Sea* (as they vse) vnladen, but when they returned laden in a great *Fleete*, he made stay of them all, till they had satisfyed him for that wrong. Besides, this

³⁰ Moryson means the staple English exports, the broadcloths and worsteds. See Ralph Davis, *English Overseas Trade 1500 - 1700* (London, 1973), pp. 22 - 25.

³¹ The word could possibly be "doctred" or doctored, in the sense of tampered with, but this would be a very early use. *OED*'s first recorded use in this sense is 1774. "Entred" in the sense of entered into a register of custom dues, seems more likely.

³² Frederick II (1559 - 1588).

tribute must needs be exceeding great, since often 100 and
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fol:238. Booke:ii. The common wealth of Denmarke. Chap:ii.
sometymes 500 shippes lye at one tyme in that harbour,
(myselfe having numbred more then 100 Sayle going forth in
one morning, and the like number coming in another day in
one Fleete). But that which makes the [number] [tribute]
greatest is that these <Shippes> are comonly laden inward
with Sacks Suger³³, Spices, and woollen Clothes, all sold
deare in those North East parts, and are laden outward with
honye waxe, rich Furrer, and Corne (wherewith all *Europe* is
supplied thence,) being all rich and light wares, whereof
great value is carryed in small roome.³⁴ So as I haue /10/
heard *Danes* of good sort esteeme this yearely tribute at
six Tonnes of gold or five at the least, reckoning one

³³ There may be an "of" missing here. Hughes resolves the problem by adding a comma which does not exist in the original. However, as Moryson thinks the Danes to be toppers, the sacks may be the same as Falstaff's favourite tippie, "good sherry-sack", *II Henry IV*, IV. 2. 93.

³⁴ Knowing Moryson's distaste for the players, I feel it fanciful to suggest that this is an echo of Marlowe's "Infinite riches in a little room", *The Jew of Malta*, I. 1. 37, in Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays*, edited by J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 349. On a more prosaic note, Moryson is forgetting about the bulkiness of the timber exports. However, it was no exaggeration to say that Europe was supplied with (largely Polish) corn through this route. "English, Dutch and Hanseatic ships swarmed through the straits of Gibraltar, carrying the Baltic corn which could mean the difference between starvation and survival." Elliott, p. 374. After Moryson's departure in August 1593, the following years even saw increased English activity to compensate for the four harvest failures of 1594 to 1597. See Ralph Davis, *English Overseas Trade* (London, 1973), p. 28.

hundreth thousand dollors for a Tonne of gold. And the same Danes assured me that this Treasure was laid vpp for the extraordinary vses of the kingdome, the ordinary Charge for the kings Court and all expences in tyme of peace being borne by a second great Tribute formerly mentioned, namely the Tribute of horses oxen and Calues passing the Confines of *Halsatia* to be sold in the lower parts of *Germany* towards *Netherland*. Otherwise small Tributes are rayseed of the /20/ Subiects from which the gentlemen are free, only in tyme of warr they contribute [w]mony and serue in person, and the Citizens are poore not able to beare them, and the Country people are base, and slaues to the king or to priuate gentlemen, and so not to be taxed in that kinde.

Therefore the Subiects pay no Tribute for flesh, bread or *Danish* beare (which is very small)³⁵ but for beare brought out of *Germany* (which they drinck as largely as the *Germans*) for each Tonne [whereof] costing about seuen markes, they payd two markes to the king.³⁶ /30/

{ m.n. 30, 31. *Lawes and Iudgments.* }

Denmarke is gouerned by a peculiar lawe of the kingdome,

³⁵ Weak or inferior beer. *OED*

³⁶ The mark was first struck in Lübeck in 1506, and that of Cologne, struck from 1524 onwards, became a central European standard. In England it was a denomination of weight of precious metal, and unit of account, being two thirds of a pound, thirteen shillings and four pence. *OED*, Room, p. 133.

but *Holsatia* of old inhabited by *Saxons* hath the *Saxon* lawe, whereof I haue spoken in the discourse of *Germany*. For Ciuill Causes [my] [by] stay[ing] [in] that kingdome, was so short, as I will only say that the tryalls are much agreeable to those in *England*.

In Capitall Iudgments they doe not as the *Germans* extort confessions by torment, but the accused are tryed and pronounced guilty or not guilty by a Quest³⁷ of sixteene men, as in *England*, they are tryed by twelue men. /40/ King *Christiern* the second of *Condemned* men in *Suetia* for treason beheaded some broke others vppon the wheele, hanged others, and drowned some.³⁸ *Christiern* the third beseiging *Copenhaggen* beheaded *Meierus* for Treason, and after his fower quarters were sett vppon a wheele to rott.³⁹ But these things may seeme to tast more of *Martiall* lawe then the settled lawes of the kingdome. Therefore I will breifely add that by the lawe. [...th....r....] [the] [The] *Condemned*, for Parracide, a<nd> for premeditated wilfull murther haue their bones broken vppon the wheele, /50/ for manslaughter are beheaded, for theft or Robberies are

³⁷ Inquest. *OED*

³⁸ Moryson is referring to the "Bloodbath of Stockholm," 1520, when Christian II celebrated his becoming hereditary monarch, and victory over Sten Sture with the massacre of Sten's followers. Koenigsberger, p. 273. Gustav Vasa was able to capitalize on the revulsion it caused to claim the crown himself.

³⁹ I have been unable to find out more about "Meierus".

hanged in Chaynes till they rott, For witchcraft are burned, for coyning and clipping mony haue their bones broken on the wheele, and then quartered, are layd vppon the wheele to rott, for defiling Noble Virgins are beheaded, For adultery are putt in perpetuall prison at *Dracholme* a Castle of *Holsatia*,⁴⁰ The goods of all (excepting Gentlemen) condemned to death, are confiscated to the king. For gentlemen are not condemned to death, but only by //

{ c.w. the publike }

Booke ii. The common wealth of Denmarke. Chap:ii. Fol:239. the publique assembly of the States, and forfeite not their goods and for mutuall wrongs and manslaughteres among themselues, commonly they pursue them by priuate reueng, in which quarrells notwithstanding they (as the *Germans*) are of a placable nature.⁴¹

In generall none but the *Sarieants*⁴² will apprehend murtherers or Traytors (as all men are bound to doe in *England*) for that office is held to belong to the hangman and his *Sarieants* or seruants (for such they are), which office is abhorred as in *Germany*. The king neuer /10/ pardons any murther or Capitall Crime. Robbing by the high

⁴⁰ I have been unable to find its modern name.

⁴¹ Placid.

⁴² Hughes amends to "Sargeants", p.180.

way is very rare, and only happens sometymes to Foote men, so as Trauellers passe safely for their bodyes, and for their goodes, so they take heede of Pilferers.

{ m.n. 15, 16. *Of Dowry and Inheritance.* }

Touching lawes of *Dowry* and *Inheritance*, If the Wife dye without Children, the husband retaynes halfe her dowrye to himselfe, and halfe the goods gayned in mariage, the rest falling to the next of kinne to the Wife deceased. And the wife hath the same right if her husband dyeth without Children, but if they haue Children they haue their portions /20/ according to the *Saxon* lawe in *Germany* (whereof I haue formerly spoken) or not much differing from the same. By the graunt of *Sueno* the 7th king of *Denmarke*, about the yeare 1000 (for *Canutus* his Successor dyed in the yeare 1040⁴³) I say by the graunt of king *Sueno* weomen haue their rights of *Inheritance*. The succession in the Fees of gentlemen is according to the nature of the Fee, as diuisible or not to be diuided.

No Citizen or Plebean be he neuer so rich may buy the Fees or lands of inheritance belonging to the Family of any /30/ gentleman.

In succession generally the sonnes succeed to equall

⁴³ 1035.

portions, and haue double parts with their sisters; yet among Gentlemen if the father had but one lordshipp, the eldest sonne shall haue it giuing his brothers their equall portions in mony according to the iust value and price thereof. And if the father had many houses or lordshipps, the brothers shall succede to them in course, alwayes preseruing the equality of portions among them, by giuing or receiuing mony after the value. /40/

{ m.n. 41, 42. *The degrees in common wealth.* }

Touching the difference of degrees in the Common wealth; they haue no *Dukes*, *Earles* or *Barons*, only the kings brothers write themselues *Dukes of Holsatia* and heyres of *Norway*. Otherwise the highest degree vnder the king, his brothers and Children is that of gentlemen who haue high priuiledges and are free from all Tributes only in tyme of Warr they contribute mony, and are bound to serue the king in person. A gentleman may not marry any but a gentlewoman, for if himselfe would, the king and his kinsmen would not permitt it. Not long before this tyme whereof I write) /50/ a notable example happened in this kinde. For a gentleman of *Denmarke* living in *Netherland*, and there having gotten with Childe the daughter of a rich Citizen, was by her Parents detayned there, and by the law forced to marry her, which he did, //

Fol:<2>40. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Denmarke Chap:ii. with the consent of the king of *Denmarke*, and after brought

her home and liued with her in *Denmarke*, till the death of that king, after which tyme his kinsmen forced him by lawe to diuorce her, and send her home to her freinds; For they are carefull not to staine their Nobility in any kinde, but especially in mariage (as also the *Germans*, and the *Polonians* are, so as they will not buy or sell any thing but their owne Corne and Cattell.

A gentleman cannot be arraigned for any Cryme, but only before the publique Assembly of the States, and if he be /10/ therein condemned to dye, ((which rarely happeneth) yet he looseth not his goods, which are not confiscated to the king, but discend to his Children or lawfull heyres, notwithstanding that the goods of all other condemned Subiects are by the lawe confiscated to the kings vse. Wrongs or Manslaughters hapning betweene Gentlemen are prosecuted by the kinsmen with priuate reuenge, yet they are of so placable disposition as they commonly referr them to the determination of the publique Senate. But if any [any] be so patient or basely mynded to putt vpp⁴⁴ a great wrong, /20/ without seekeing remedy, both the king, and all other gentlemen [repute him infamous] [men]. Insomuch as about this tyme a gentleman being called by an other *Schelem* (that is villaine) and seeking no remedy from the king, nor reuenge by his sworde, the vulgar speech was,

⁴⁴ In modern English we would add "with".

that the king should vse these wordes to him, *Bistu sein Shelem, so bistu mein vnd iedermans schelem auch.* That is. *Art thou his villaine, so thou art myne and euery mans villain also.* The gentlemen are very rich, since all the Country people in their priuate patrimonyes are their absolute slaues, in the same Condition, as the *Romans*, and /30/ the *Heathen* of old [held] their slaues, except perhapps on the profession of Christian Religion, they be voluntarily vsed with lesse rigor. So as there be some gentlemen that haue Fortye thousand dollors yearely rent, and most gentlemen haue alwayes in readines Armes for some 20, or 30 horse men or Footmen. Those that are poore among them, either serue the king or follow the Warrs, but will neuer indure to exercise Marchandize or any *mechanicall* Course. On the Contrary the Country people are most base and miserable, groning vnder the tillage of the grounde, as the *Israelites* vnder /40/ the making of bricks,⁴⁵ the gentlemen not reckoning their wealth so much by their rent and possessions, as by the number of [theire] *Clownes*⁴⁶ or slaues, who be they neuer so much oppressed, yet may [they] not change their dwelling or their lord. Notwithstanding if they haue learned any *mechanicall* art, they may together with the tillage of the ground exercise the same art at

⁴⁵ The story of the *Israelites* being denied the means and yet forced to make as many bricks as when they were given the means is told in Exodus 5.

⁴⁶ Countryman.

vacant tymes to their owne vse and profitt, and with the mony thereby gayned, may redeeme themselues from this slauery of tillage if they [can] so gather as much mony as will purchase that redemption. The *Danes* informed /50/ me that no magistrate high or lowe hath any power ouer the vassalls or slaues of priuate gentlemen, which they challenge to themselues euen to the power of life and death. To conclude one of these Country slaues dying, his mouables fall to his Children and heyres, but his sonnes and heyres are still bound to till his portion of [his] ground to the vse of the //

{ c.w lord, reseruing }

Booke.ii. The comon wealth of Denmarke. Chap:ii. fol:241.
lord reseruing only a small wages of mony and small quantity of Corne, and other necessaries for their sustenance according to the lords good pleasure. Sometymes it falles out that a braue soldier, a doctor of the Ciuill lawe, or some like deseruing man is created a gentleman by the king, and withall endowed with hereditary Fees to support this degree, and to such a man, the ancient Gentlemen wilbe content to giue a daughter in mariage; yet in generall the *Danes* are no lesse curious then in the *Germans* in obseruing the antiquity of Gentry, and that aswell /10/ by the mothers as the Fathers syde, in which they require at least seauen discents on both sydes. Touching the order of knighthood vulgarly by the *Germans* called *Ritterschaft*, the *Danes* haue such an Order of cheife

Gentlemen, but (as in *Germany*, and *Poland*) they are esteemed only as Gentlemen, having no addition to their names, as *Sir* with *vs*, and if perhaps they add the title of *Ritter*, (that is knight) to their written stile, yet they are not vulgarly named or saluted by it. And I take this dignity to belong to the Families of Gentlemen who of old were knights of the militarye /20/ orders now extinct, namely the *Templaries* or *Tutonicks*.⁴⁷

{ m.n. 22, 23. *warfare by land.* }

Touching their warfare by land, the Subiects not only goe willingly to the warrs, but may be pressed and forced therevnto by the kings authority, and I haue said that Gentlemen free from all tributes, yet contribute to the warrs and therein are bound to serue in person. But what kinde of Soldiers the *Danes* are, for my part I can rather guesse by reading their *Historyes*, and like obseruations, then positiuely write by any experience of their actions in our tyme.⁴⁸

As the Inhabitants of *Halsatia* and all *Iutland* were of old

⁴⁷ Moryson means the Knights Templars, suppressed by Clement V, and the Teutonic Knights, a crusading order who disbanded in 1525 on the secularization of their order by their Grand Master. CE

⁴⁸ The time that Moryson must be referring to is the time of his travels, for Danish/Swedish tensions and hostilities were frequent thereafter. See Parker, pp. 101 - 104.

/30/ Saxons, so the Danes inhabiting the neighbor Ilands are, as in all things, so probably in this point of warfare like the Saxons of Germany, and they haue like heauy horses, neither swift to flye, nor to follow the flying enemy, but in this the Danes differ from the Saxons, that they professe not mercenary warfare, for in many ages past we neither reade nor heare, that any Troopes of Danes haue serued in the forrayne warrs of Europe. And for themselues, they haue for many ages only had warr against the Swetians & Ditmartians and the free Cittyes bordering vppon the Baltick sea, In all /40/ which warrs they haue had many ouerthrowes, and in long tyme could not subdue the Ditmartians, neither preuailed against them, and against the Swetians without the auxiliary forces of the Germans, and the said free Cittyes, [as likewise the sayd free Citties] taking part with the Swetians, had the power to diuide that kingdome from Denmarke, and to establish a king of the Suetian Nation ouer them.⁴⁹ If any man obiect that of old, many barbarous Nations, as the Goathes, Normans and Lombards coming out of these parts, ouerflowed all Europe, & subdued many parts thereof, I will not deny that they came from /50/ these Northerne parts, which are commonly more populous then the Southerne, but as multitude and pouerty stirred them vpp to invade the Southern parts,

⁴⁹ Lübeck's role in the defeat of Christian II of Denmark, and the victory of Gustav Vasa of Sweden was crucial. Koenigsberger, p. 273.

whose people were //

fol:242. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Denmarke. Chap:ii.
wasted by warr, and had Countryes rich pleasant & fruitfull
and the Inhabitants made effeminate by the delicacyes
thereof, so no doubt these barbarous Armyes were by the way
much increased by other warlike nations ioyning with them
vppon the same hopes to be partakers of spoyle and
Conquest, So as they did not those great actions by their
owne force and strength alone. But howsoever, againe I say
that we neither read nor heare for five hundred yeares
past, that they haue done any great military employtes, or
haue had any other warr, or vppon other Conditions then I
haue formerly /10/ said.

{ m.n. 11, 12. *Their forces by Sea.* }

Touching their forces by Sea: The old Invasions of the
Danes vppon our Coasts of *England*, serue nothing to proue
their strength at Sea, since they preuailed not by Sea-
fights but by landing in diuerse places, and flitting from
one place to an other, but especially since Navall fights
and strength at Sea cannot be measured by those tymes,
being long before the Invention of Artillery. From which
tyme to this day, the *Danes* did no employte by Sea saue in
Warrs they haue had within the *Baltick* sea in manner
aforesayd. But to /20/ giue some guesse to their forces at
Sea in our age. First I haue shewed in the former Chapter
of their traffique, that their marchants vse not to export

or fetch Commodities by any long Navigation into forrayne parts, because the Shippes of all nations passing the sounde supply their wants, and export their dryed fish and like Commodities they can spare. So as the Marchants haue no strength of well armed shipping. But I did [not] see the kings Navye wintering in the haven of *Copenhagen*, then consisting of some tenn great [&] well armed Shippes, which for building or sayling of all other /30/ Shippes in *Europe* came neerest to the *English*, saue that they last not so long by tenne yeares at the least. For I vnderstood from good Seamen, that their Shippes built of the Oakes in *Norway* last not aboue twenty yeares. And it seemes they haue no very good Shipwrights, for the cheife Shipwright who then built the kings Shippes was an English man named *Matson*, to whome the king gaue one hundreth Fifty dollors yearely pention, besides a house, fuell, Corne, and other necessaryes of asmuch more value. The said English Shipwright, howsoeuer /40/ the *Danes* doe not without suspition shewe their Forts or Shippes to straungers, yet perswaded me in his Companie to enter some of the kings Shippes. Among the rest I entred a great Shipp newly built, and at first called *Dauid*, but after Fortune. the burthen whereof was 1400 Tonns, [the very ballast being 700th Tonns,] and to man[n] and furnish the same, were required 400. Mariners, 300 Gunn[s],[ers] and 700 soldiers, as he told me, and the breadth was 25 Ells the length of the keele 67. and aboue the Hatches 108 [.] Ells, the depth of

the holde was Eleuen Elles and a halfe, and it /50/ bore in the lower *Orlob* 22 Cannons,⁵⁰ in the middle 22, Culverins, and in the vpper *Orlob*, 24 *Sakers*,⁵¹ the mast was 37 fadoms long,⁵² and 36 Palmes thick,⁵³ and it cast //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Denmarke. Chap:ii. fol:243.

out seuen Ankers lying in the Haven. Vppon the Poope [.] these great letters were written *M. H. [z] z. G. A.* (For the *Danes* as the *Germans* vse to expresse the *Mott* of an *Embleme* by great letters for wordes)⁵⁴. and this sentence was likewise written. *Regna Firma Pietas*, that is *Piety* { m.n. 5. *firmitat* }⁵⁵

makes kingdomes firme, and the yeare of our Lord 1592 was vnder written in which the Shipp was built, which the best Seamen iudged more fitt to serue as a Fort in a Riuer then

⁵⁰ Orlop, the "...deck with which the hold of a ship was covered..." *OED*

⁵¹ A culverin is a long-bored cannon, and a saker a smaller and lighter ship's cannon. *OED* Here Moryson uses orlop in a rather general sense of the various ascending decks.

⁵² Fathom is the length of a man's outstretched arms, about 6 feet. *OED* 37 fathoms is over 220 feet.

⁵³ "II. 2. A measure of length, equivalent either to the breadth of the palm, i. e. about three to four inches, or to the length of the hand, i. e. about seven to nine inches." *OED*

⁵⁴ "I learn from Copenhagen, through Mr. C. Collman, German Consul in Manchester, that Frederick II., King of Denmark (1559 - 1588) had a favourite Motto "*Mein Hoffnung zu Gott Allein*" - and that several of his portraits bear it." Hughes, p. 182. The poop is the stern of a ship. *OED*

⁵⁵ This correction seems to have been made by Hand 3.

to fight at Sea where lesse and swifter Shippes would haue great advantage of it. Also I did enter other of the /10/ kings Shippes in his Company; namely the *Raphaell* reputed very swift and said to haue runn with a fayre Wynde in 33, howers from *Danctzk* to *Elsenure*. And an other called the *Gedeon*, and a third called the *Iehosaphatt* which some few moneths before had bene admirall of three men of warr wafting the *Danish* Ambassador into *England*⁵⁶ Each whereof was of some 400 Tonnes burthen, and all were strong, swift, and well armed. Besides I did see some old shippes, as the *Sampson* that could not last aboue nyne yeares, the *Iosuah* built before the former, the *Drake* /20/ built i6 yeares past, and the *wolhiere*, or rather the *Carkas* thereof, all being tall shippes of like burthen, and of the kings Navye.⁵⁷ In the same Hauen were fower other men of warr not

⁵⁶ Dr. Paul Knibbe was sent as ambassador to expedite justice for Danes despoiled by English pirates, presenting complaints on behalf of Christian IV on 27 September 1592. Knibbe never had an audience with the Queen, as he was ill. Moryson may have had some access to this Danish material, as mentioned above on Fol. 235. A more intriguing question is, did Shakespeare also have access? If so, he would have had to employ his small Latin. The Danes hoped for speedy restitution, because "...the age of friendship of the realms should not be shaken." See *List and Analysis of State Papers Foreign May 1592 - June 1593*, edited by R. B. Wernham (London, 1975), p. 389. In *Hamlet* there are similarities, small echoes perhaps? See *Hamlet*, IV. 3. 60 - 70, and V. 2. 20 - 22.

⁵⁷ The names of the ships are largely good biblical ones. A fair amount of reverent dread and superstition attended the naming of ships. Romelio in Webster's *The Devil's Law Case* is upbraided for calling his vessels by such over-reaching names as 'The Storm's Defiance', 'The Scourge of the Sea' and 'The Great Leviathan', "...very devilish names/ All three of them." See John Webster, *The*

of halfe that burthen whereof one was English lately taken by the *Danes* in the more Northern parts beyond *Norway* for some offence in Fishing And before my going out of *Denmarke*, I did heare that two other English Fishermen but well armed and furnished with Artillery were in the same parts seased by the *Danes* for the king vppon the occasion and in manner following. /30/ The *Danes* gaue freedome of fishing to straungers in all the Hauens and Coasts thereof, excepting one which they reserued for themselues, And these English Shipps fishing at the mouth of this forbidden Hauen, and driuen in by Tempest, presented the Gouvernor with a Tonne of *English* beare for liberty to Anchor in that Hauen till the storme was ouer, who receiued the present, but while the master and Cheife Marriners were drincking with him, sent soldiers to seaze the Shipps and possess them for the king, and they said the Shipps with the masters and /40/ Maryners being in the way to be brought into *Denmarke* one of the English masters walking aboue the Hatches and lamenting his estate with his Country men, as having small hope to finde mercy in *Denmarke*, and doubting that the Queene of *England* having her hands full with warr on all sydes against the *Spaniard*, would not easely be induced to write earnestly to the king of *Denmarke* on their behalfe, did vppon the sodeine desperately cast himselfe ouer board, and so perished.

Devil's Law Case, edited by Frances Shirley (London, 1972), II. 3. 61 - 65.

fol:344.¹ *Booke ii: The common wealth of England. Chap:iii.*

Chap:iii.

Of the common wealth of England according to all the particular Subiects mentioned in the Title of the first Chapter and first Booke of th<is>² Part.

Being to write more exactly of the Common wealth of *England*, then of others, lest while I seeme to affect knowledge of other kingdomes, I should bewray³ my ignorance in the State of my owne Country, I haue thought good to referr the same to a Treatise to be written of purpose, /10/ and with deliberation vppon that nice Subiect; which Treatise I haue begunn, but it will require tyme and leysure to perfect it, And so for this tyme I passe it ouer vntouched.

¹ It should read 244.

² Hughes has "the", p. 184.

³ "2. v. ...reveal", *OED*.

Chap:iiii.

Of the common wealth of Scotland according to all the particular Subiects mentioned in the Title of the first Chapter and first Booke of this Part. /20/

For the like reasons I haue thought good likewise to referr this discourse to the said intended Treatise to be written more exactly and at large, And so for this tyme passe it ouer vntouched.

Chap:V.

Of the common wealth of Ireland according to all the particular Subjects mentioned in the Title of the first Chapter and first Booke of this Part.

{ m.n. 30. *The Historicall Introduction.* }

Camden our woorthy Antiquary relates that Ireland /30/ was of old called *Scotland*, and that the *Irish Scotts* first brought that name into our *Iland of Britany*.¹ And these *Irish Scotts* he affirmes to haue bene *Scithians*, and from thence to haue come to inhabitt *Spaine*, and iudgeth them to haue bene a people mingled of diuerse Nations as *Germans* and *Goathes* (whome *Pliny* writes to haue seated themselues in *Spayne*) or like barbarous people² (whome the Emperor *Constantine* the great droue out of *Spayne*, before whose tyme he affirmes, that the name of *Scotts* is not found in any old writer. And he adds that these *Irish /40/ Scotts* in the declining of the *Roman Empire*, about the tyme of the Emperor *Honorius* passed into *Britany* to ayde the *Picts*

¹ William Camden (1551 - 1623) was a pioneering antiquary, whose *Britannia* influenced many, including Moryson. He produced his *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum* of 1615 at royal command. His decision to use Latin, the medium of learning, is typical of the age, and may have confirmed Moryson in his original choice of language. See May McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age*, (Oxford, 1971), pp. 150 - 154.

² "In Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, IV. xx. there is mention of Celts settling in Spain." FB

against the *Britaines*.³ About which tyme also, St *Patrick*
a *Britaine* called the *Apostle of Ireland*, first came into
Ireland, namely in the yeare of our lord 441.⁴ When
Lagerius raigned in *Ireland* being the sonne of that *Nellus*
or *Neale*, of whome *Giraldus* thus writeth.⁵ *Nellus* the great
being Monarch of *Ireland*, six sonnes of *Muredus* king of
*Vlster*⁶ did passe into the Northern part of *Britany* //
Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:245.
with their followers, of whome is the Nation of *Scotts*, to
this day inhabiting a Corner of *Britany*.⁷

³ Honorius was Emperor of the West from 395 - 423. *EWB*
"In the reign of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, the Emperors, it
was inhabited by nations of *Scots*, as *Orosius* writes...For
from hence the *Scots* made their inroads into *Britain*..."
William Camden, Camden's Britannia 1695, with an
Introduction by *Stuart Piggott*, and Bibliographical Note by
Gwyn Walters, *David and Charles Reprints* (Newton Abbot,
1971), p. 968, referred to as *Camden* hereafter. For the
ideas of the *Scythians*, some of whom were of German
descent, coming to *Spain* and then passing on to *Ireland*
after *Constantine* drove them out, see *Camden*, pp. cxiv -
cxxii. As befitting an historian, he questions this theory.

⁴ *EB* suggests 432, *CE* 433, whilst *Camden* writes 431, p.
968.

⁵ *Giraldus Cambrensis* (1146 - 1220) was a well
connected churchman and historian. He accompanied Prince
John to *Ireland* in 1184. *Moryson* may be referring to his
Topographica Hibernica and his *Expugnatio Hibernica* about
the conquest by *Henry II's* knights. *EB* Many of his
prejudices continue in the writings of the *Elizabethans*.
See my note on *Fol. 255*.

⁶ *Ulster* is the northern province.

⁷ *Camden* has a short section on the "*Britains* of
Armorica", pp. cvi - cvii, and they are still called
Bretons to this day.

The *Irish* Historians write that *Ireland* was first inhabited by wandring *Scithians* towards the North, and by *Spaniards* towards the west (which I take to be the foresaid mixed Nations, being partly *Scithyans* also) and by the *Gaules* towards the South, and by the *Britaines* towards the East.⁸ For truth whereof they appeale to old Historyes, and to the Customes of those Nations still retayned in the said parts of *Ireland*. Also they acknowledge that the power /10/ 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 f[.]ame.⁹

Shortly after the Saxons invaded *Britanny*, and gaue the name of *England* to great part thereof. And Camden writes

⁸ Some early Roman writers as Caesar and Tacitus thought that Spain was much nearer to the British Isles than in fact it is. Does this explain the adoption by some Elizabethans of the idea of emigration from Spain ?

⁹ "Finally, it appeareth by good record yet extant, that King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt, had all that island under their allegiance and subjection. " Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, edited by W. L. Renwick (Oxford, 1970), p. 46, and referred to hereafter as *View*. For Moryson and Spenser, ancient history justifies modern depredation.

/20/ that Igfridus king of Northumberland (one of the six Saxon kings) did in the yeare 644 invade and Cruelly wast Ireland, though being in great Amity with the English,¹⁰ and that the Norw<e>gians (whome he thinckes to haue beene Normans) did for 30 yeares foulely wast Ireland, till theire Captaine being killed by treason, the rest were also destroyed scarce one man being left of them.¹¹ And that about the same tyme Eadgarus the most powerfull king in England, did subdue great part of Ireland, with the Citty Dublin.¹² And that after these warrs, a dissention /30/ betweene the kings of Ireland, opened the way to the English fully to conquer that Iland, about the yeare 1169 Henry the second then Reigning in England. For Dermott king of Lemster¹³ sonne of Murchard (vulgarly mac Morrog) tooke by force the wife of the king of Meath,¹⁴ for which and his generall tyranny being driuen out of his kingdome, he craued ayde of Henry the second king of England, to be restored into his kingdome, & defended against the king of

¹⁰ See Camden, p. 970.

¹¹ "After, the Norwegians, under the conduct of *Turgesius*, wasted this Country in a most dismal manner for the space of 20 years together; but he being cut off by an ambush laid for him, the inhabitants fell upon the Norwegians, and made such an entire defeat of them, that hardly so much as one of them escaped." Camden, p. 970.

¹² Camden cites a Charter of King Edgar, saying how he conquered the greatest part of Ireland. p. 970.

¹³ Leinster, the south eastern province.

¹⁴ Meath, the central province adjoins Leinster.

Meath. At which tyme king Henry being ingaged in a great warr with Fraunce, and troubled /40/ with Ciuill warr at home, yet by his letters Pattens gaue leaue to Richard Earle of Pembroke (called Strangbowe, of the Family of the Clares) to ayde the sayd Dermott, he hauing first couenanted to giue the [the] Earle for wife, his daughter Eue heyre of his kingdome.¹⁵ So the Earle, assisted by the Geraldines and other noble Famillyes of England, restored Dermott to his kingdome, and in fewe yeares Conquered so great part of that Iland, as his power was suspected by Henry king of *England* who by Proclamation called him home, so as /50/ the Earle resigned to the king all his right as well by his wife in the succession to the kingdome of *Lemster* as in that he had conquered by his sword taking back from the king in Fee as his vassall the Countyes of *Wexford* of *Osserie* of *Carlogh* and of *Kildare*.¹⁶ This done king *Henry* in the yeare 1172 sayling into *Ireland* landed at *Waterford*, //

{ m.n. whereof }

fol:246. Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

where[of] of six *Irish* kings then raigning, First *Dermott*, *Mac. Morrog* king of *Lemster*, then *Dermott Mac Cartye* king of *Corke* and the South part of *Munster* (of whose race some

¹⁵ Letters Patent is the term for an open letter granting a royal privile~~ge~~ge conferring rights, as in the patent conferring rights to Moryson at the beginning of this work. *OED*

¹⁶ *Wexford*, *Offaly*, *Carlow* and *Kildare*.

haue large possessions in those parts to th[is]ese dayes) then *Doniell O Bryan* king of *Lymrick* and the North parts of *Mounster* (from whome discends the Earle of *Thomond* now living) and many inferior lordes, resigned all their power and right to the king.¹⁷ Then king *Henry* passed through *Osserey to Dublin*, where he kept a Royall Christmas, and the *Orork* king of *Meathe*, (of whome /10/ discends *Ororke* at this tyme being a barbarous Lord of a large, Fenny, wooddy, and mountanous Country in those parts) submitted to the king. Touching the king of *Connaght*,¹⁸ *Turlogh, Omore, Oconor*, late king thereof, had divided the same betweene his sonnes, *Cahele* and *Brian*, but at this tyme *Rotherick* of that race was king thereof, and by speciall prerogatiue stiled th[is]e Monarch of all *Ireland*,¹⁹ who without drawing his sword yeilded his State to king *Henry* who was stiled lord of *Ireland* (the title of king being long after assumed). Thus the king of /20/ *Vlster* only remayned to be subdued, when the king sayled back into *England*, leaving the gouernment of *Ireland* to the said Earle called *Strangbowe*, with whome (after suspected) he ioyned others

¹⁷ This has been an extended paraphrase of Camden, pp. 970, 971. Moryson does not mention Camden's six kings as one is O'Neale of Ulster, whose legitimacy he is trying to impugn on Fol. 248.

¹⁸ Connaught is the western province of Ireland.

¹⁹ Under an entry for 1166 in "The Annals of Ireland", which Camden transcribed, is the entry "Rothericke O Conghir, Prince of Conaught, was made King and Monarch of Ireland."

in Commission. The king to strengthen his title by the Pope, (who in these tymes vsurped authoritye in all great affayres of Christian kings) had the graunt of Pope *Adrian* the fourth an Englishman to be lord of all *Ireland*, and shortly after *Viuianus* the Popes Legat came to *Dublin* where he excomunicated all the *Irish* that would not obey the king.²⁰ After the kings retorne /30/ into *England*, *Rotherick* late king of *Connaght*, rebelled, whome *Milo Cogan* first of the English in vayne attempted to subdue, but after *William* sonne of *Aldelin de Burgo* (whose race are called *Bourkes* by the *Irish*) and *Robert de Clare*, Earle of *Glocester*, and *william de Bermingham* all of the English Nobility, subdued *Connaght* to the king. In the tyme of king *Henry* the second, *Sir. Iohn de Courcye* with fower hundreth voluntary Soldiers, did in five battells subdue *Vlster*, and stretched the English Pale as farr as *Dunluce* the most remote part of the North,²¹ /40/ whome the king made the first Earle of *Vlster*. About the yeare 1204, *Iohn Courcye* Earle of *Vlster*, either rebelled, or for his vertue was so envyed in the Court of *England*, as king *Iohn* banished him, and made *Hugh de Lacye* (of the English Nobility Earle of *Vlster* in his place. And the same *Lacyes* rebelling about the yeare 1210, king *Iohn* subdued them, and after that he

²⁰ "MCLXXVII. This year Vivian a Cardinal, call'd from S. Stephen's in the Mount Callius, was sent Legat of the Apostolick See into Ireland, by Pope Alexander." Camden's Annals of Ireland.

²¹ Near Portrush, County Londonderry.

had stayed some three monethes in *Ireland*, returned into *England* where the *Lacyes* found freinds to be restored to the Earldome of *Vlster*. This *John* king of *England* more fully subdued /50/ *Ireland*, and brought the English lawes into that land, and caused mony to be coyned there, and the Popes fauorers write, that about the yeare 1213, he made *Ireland* feodatorye and Tributary to the Popes, binding his Successors to pay three hundreth markes yearely tribute to them.²² //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:[ii]V. fol:247.

ut Sir *Thomas Moore* an English knight who was famous for his knowledge, and dyed for the defence of the Popes supremacy writes this to be false, and that the *Romans* can shew no such graunt, nor euer exacted this mony, and that the kings of *England* neuer acknowledged this graunt or euer paid any such mony, and that king *John* or any other king cannot so giue away of himselfe his owne right, or that of his Successors.²³ About this tyme *Ireland* was diuided into

²² King John (1199 - 1216) surrendered all his lands to Innocent III, including Ireland, to receive them back as a feudal subordinate or feudatory, on condition of homage and service. *EB, OED*

²³ "And sir *Thomas More* that lost his life in defence of the Popes primacie, deserues best of any to be credited in my conceit, auowing, First a weaknesse in the King seeking to subiect his Crowne to superior Commands: & next in the graunt a Nullitie." *A true and perfect relation of the proceedings at the severall arraignmentes of the late traitors (Guy Fawks, H. Garnett)* (London, 1606), sig. 2M2, [STC 11618]. Moryson is paraphrasing Camden, p. 971. Catholics speaking against Papal supremacy were considered

fowre Prouinces, of *Lemster*, of *Mounster*, of of *Connaght*, and of *Vlster*. About the yeare i[6]29i /10/ *O Hanlon* and some lordes of *Vlster*, rebelling were subdued by the *English Colonyes*.²⁴ From the yeare 1315 to [.] 1318, the *Scotts* made great Combustions in *Ireland*, and many *Irish* Familyes ioyned with them, but the *English Colonyes* subdued both.²⁵ In the yeare 1339 generall warr was betweene the *English Colonyes*, and the meere *Irish*,²⁶ of whome great numbers perished therein. Hitherto *Ireland* was gouerned by a lord [cheife] Iustice who held the place sometymes for fewe, sometymes for many yeares, at the pleasure of the kings of *England*. /20/ In the yeare i340; *Iohn Darcy* an *English* man, was made lord *Iustice* for his life, and the next yeare did gouerne *Ireland* by his owne deputy, which I neuer finde before, nor after graunted, but to some fewe of the Royall bloud of *England*. About the yeare 1341, the

especially effective by Protestant propagandists. This, the summing up by Northampton in Garnett's trial, is for a formal state occasion.

²⁴ "MCCXCI....Item, there was an army led into Ulster, against O Hanlan and other Princes that broke the Peace, by Richard Earl of Ulster and William Vescie Justiciary of Ireland." Camden, *Annals of Ireland*.

²⁵ Moryson is referring to Edward Bruce, brother to the famous Robert, who after the English defeat of Bannockburn, tried his luck in Ireland with initial success. Crowned in 1316, he was defeated and killed at Faughart near Dundalk in 1318 by Sir John de Bermingham and English forces. See Harold F. Hutchinson, *Edward II The Pliant King* (London, 1971), pp. 88, 89. Camden's *Annals of Ireland* for the appropriate years follow the campaigns in detail.

²⁶ From Latin *merus*, unmixed, (with English blood.) *OED*

English Colonies (or English Irish) degenerated first began to be Enemies to the English, and themselves calling a Parliament, wrote to the king of *England* that they would no longer indure the insolencies of his Ministers, yet most of the Lords Iustices thitherto were of /30/ the *English Irish* (that is English borne in *Ireland*). Of old *Walter Bourke* Earle of *Connaght* maryed the daughter and heyre of *Hugh de Lacye*, and by her right was Earle of *Vlster* also, and now *Lionell Duke of Clarence* (and sonne to *Edward* the third, king of *England*, maryed the daughter and heyre of *Richard Bourke*, in whose right he became Earle of *Connaght* and Earle of *Vlster*, and about the yeare 1361, being made lord Leiutenant of *Ireland*, came ouer with an Army of some 1500 by Pole,²⁷ and quieted the borders of /40/ the *English Pale*, in lowe *Lemster*. He reformed the *English Irish* growne barbarous by imbracing the Tyrannicall lawes of the *Irish*, most profitable to them, which caused them likewise to take *Irish* names, and to vse their language and apparrell. Against which abuses, he made good lawes in Parliament, and great reformation followed, aswell therein as in the power of the *English*, till the *fatall Ciuill warrs of England*. He was lord leiutenant seauen yeares, and sometymes left his owne deputy to gouerne *Ireland*.²⁸ About the yeare /50/

²⁷ Pole is an obsolete spelling of poll. On a head count, there were fifteen hundred troops.

²⁸ Moryson has been following Camden's *Annals* closely, but also adding some additional detail, the source of which I have not found.

1400²⁹ *Richard* the second king of *England*, came into *Ireland* with an Army of 4000 men at Armes, And Thirty thousand Archers fully to subdue the *Irish*, but pacified with their fayned submissions did no Act of moment. After to reuenge the death of the *Earle* of *March* his leiutenant, he came ouer with an other Army, but was recalled by troubles in //

fol:248. Booke ii. The common wealth of *Ireland*. Chap:V: *England* where he lost his kingdome. By the daughter of *Leonell* Duke of *Clarence* the Earldomes of *Connaght* and *Vlster* fell to the *English* Family of the *Mortuomars*,³⁰ and after to *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* who maryed their daughter and heyre whose Sonne *Edward* the fourth, king of *England* ioyned them to the *Royall* *Domaine*, in whose tyme and his Fathers the bloody ciuill warr began betweene the houses of *Yorke*; and *Lancaster* in *England*. During the Raigne of *Richard* the second, *Ireland* was gouerned by his Lords Leiutenants sent from *England*, and in the /10/ Raignes of *Henry* the fourth and *Henry* the fifth, by Iustices for the most part chosen of the *English* *Irish*, only the Lord *Scrope* for Eight yeares was deputy to *Thomas* the second sonne to *Henry* the fourth, who was lord leiufetenant of *Ireland*. And now all *England* was in Armes by the said Ciuill warr. This I write out of the *Annales* of *Ireland* printed by *Camden*, in

²⁹ His first expedition was in 1394 - 1395, the second in 1399.

³⁰ Mortimers.

which from the Conquest to the said Ciuill warrs, I finde no mention of *Oneales* greatnes among the Irish lords (for that one aboue written from *Giraldus* was before the /20/ Conquest).³¹ And I finde small or no mention of seditions in *Ulster*, especially from the meere *Irish*, so as that Prouince till then. seemes to haue bene most peaceable and subiect to the English. Neither finde I any great forces or summes of mony sent out of England, excepting the expeditions of king Iohn and king Richard the second abo[u]e written, but rather [that] for the most part all seditions, aswell [amonge] the English Irish and meere Irish, as betweene the English Irish themselues, were pacified by the forces and expences of the same kingdome. But in /30/ the sayd Ciuill warrs, for the Crowne of England, most of the noble Familyes were wasted, if not destroyed, wherevpon the English Irish, who till that tyme had valiantly mantayned their Conquest in Ireland, did dayly repayre into England, partly to beare out the factions,³² partly to inherite the lands of their kinsmen fallen to them. And so the *Oneales* boldly rushed into the possessions the English had left voyde in *Ulster*, and not only the true *Oneales*, but euery bastard, warranted by his

³¹ "To say nothing of *O Neal* the great, who before the arrival of *St. Patrick* tyranniz'd in *Ulster* and a great part of Ireland; nor of those after his time, who were but obscure; this family has been of no eminent note since the English set foot in the kingdom..." Camden, p. 1023.

³² "To support their party". Part of the meaning of bear as to sustain. See *OED* bear v. 1. 3. a.

mother to call himselfe Oneale, if he were more /40/ bold and bloody then the rest, did from that tyme beare themselves for lords of Vlster. In like sorte the English Mortuomares, and after the Dukes of Yorke, neglecting their Earldom of Connaght in Ireland, the English Irish Bourkes their kinsmen, and their Tennants of those landes, imboldned by their lords obs[...][ence] and the troubled State of England, and making frendship and mariages with the meere Irish, possessed that Prouince as their owne inheritance, and dayly more degenerating from the English, applyed themselves to the Cu/50/stomes, manners, language, and apparrell of the meere Irish. And the like was donne in other partes of Ireland, aswell by the meere Irish, as the English Irish.³³ About the yeare 1485. Henry the 7th king of England, of the family of lancaster, marrying the daughter and heyre of King Edward the fourth of the family of Yorke, vnited these Familyes and so //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:249.
ended the sayd long and bloody Ciuill warr, but henceforth seditions and murthers grewe daly more frequent in Ireland, vnder English lords Iustices and leiftenants, and the Authority of the English kings grewe lesse esteemed of the Irish, and the English Pale had sometymes larger sometymes

³³ The Wars of the Roses are seen as a disaster for English polity and civility in Ireland. Spenser expresses similar sentiments. See *View*, p. 14.

straighter limittes, according to the diuers successes of the Irish affayres in diuers tymes. Yet in the foresayd Annales I only fynde some 1000 men in the tyme of king Henry the seuenth sent ouer to supresse Perkin Warbeck, an English Rebell lurking /10/ in Ireland, and some 300. men sent ouer to [by king] [.....] *Henry the Eight*, where with He easily suppressed the English, *Irish Geraldines* rebelling against him, though *Conbaccho Oneale* were allyed to them, and ayded them all he could, and made the said *Con[glad][glad]* to resigne his lands and take them againe as the kings vassall, and to renounce the Tittle[..] of *Oneale*,³⁴ then made a Capitall offence by Act of Parliament, In which Parliament also the said king in the yeare i541, laid downe his Progenitors title lord of *Ireland*, as lesse reuerenced /20/ by that barbarous people, and had the power to make the States declare him king of *Ireland*,. And howsoever *Shane Oneale* in Queene *Elizabeths* tyme began to rebell, he presently submitted himselfe. So as I finde no rebellion of moment whereby much *English* bloud was spilt, or Treasure exhausted till the i9th yeare of the happy Raigne of Queene *Elizabeth* being the yeare of our lord i577. In that part of this woorke which handleth

³⁴ "King *Hen*, 8. having humbled the Family of *Kildare*, began to suspect this of the *O Neals* likewise, who had been aiding to the former in his rebellions; which put him into such fear, that he came to England voluntarily, renounced the title of *O-Neal*, and surrendered all he had into the King's hands: who, by his Letters-Patents under the great Seal, restored them again, adding the title of Earl of *Tir-Oen*..." Camden, p. 1023.

the Rebellion of *Hugh Earle of Tyrone*, I haue shewed that after this tyme Religion first began in /30/ *Ireland* to be made the Cloke of ambition, and that by Popish Combinations two great Rebellions were raised. That of *Desmond* I breifely passed ouer, as soone, and happily appeased. But that of *Tyrone* (as most dangerous of all that euer were raised) I haue handled at large, and shewed his Crafty beginnings and pretended causes, with our negligence at the first, and factions at home, which caused our cheife Commaunders to be sent thither rather to breake their backs then with any purpose to inable them to suppress the Rebellion. I haue shewed the lamen/40/table effusion of blood therein on both sydes, and the huge masse of *English* Treasure exhausted in that Rebellion, and the causes and meanes by which the Rebels grew so strong, as at first the *English* Pale was straighned to *Dundalke* (beyond which Towne there was no passing Northwards without an Army, besides that in all other parts the meere *Irish* were in open Rebellion), and after in short tyme, by Combination with most of the *English* *Irish*, and by the support of *Spaine*, all *Ireland* was in Combustion, the Rebels were growne proude, by /50/ many victories, the English could not stirr out of their Garrisons, but they were beaten back by the Rebels who mightily gaue Alaruns³⁵ to the very Subvrbs of *Dublin*, when the lord *Mountioy* came ouer lord *Deputy*. And

³⁵ A minim is missing. It should read "alarums".

I haue at large shewed, how this woorthy lord appeased this dangerous //

fol:250. Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. Rebellion, and brought Ireland (from the vttermost parts to the Navell thereof,³⁶) into greater subiection to the English then euer they had it from the first Conquest, leaving it as a cleane paire of Tables wherein our State might write what lawes best pleased the same.³⁷

{ m.n. 6, 7. The lord Deputy and Counsell. }

Now breifely I will write of the *Irish common wealth* wherein it shall suffice with a finger to point at the fountaynes of past mischeifes.

It is gouerned by a lord Deputy and Counsell of State resident at *Dublin*, and the Counsellors are made by /10/ the kings letters, and continue in that place during their life, yet at the kings pleasure to recall, or remoue them, whereof notwithstanding we haue few or none examples, and at the end of the Warr, they were not many, only consisting of the lord *Chancelor* the lord high Treas<or>er, the master

³⁶ OED shows that Shakespeare also uses the word figuratively,

Even when the navel of the state was touched,
They would not thread the gates.

Coriolanus, III. 1. 126 - 127.

³⁷ Moryson is thinking of the writing tables or *tabulae* of ancient times. *Nouae tabulae* was the shout of those who wanted revolution in the Roman state, for all old debts were cancelled. FB

of the *Rolls*, the Marshall of *Ireland*, the master of the Ordinance, the Treasurer at warrs, the Bishopp of *Meath*, the *Secretary* and some fewe Cheife Colonells of the Army, but since that tyme there haue bene two Secretaries of State, and the num/20/ber hath bene much increased by the lord Cheife Baron and many other gentlemen both of the Army & otherwise. Besides that the lords Presidents of Prouinces are alwayes vnderstood to be of this Counsell when they come to *Dublin* or any place where the lord *Deputy* resides. As for the lord *Deputy* he is made by the kings letters Pattents during pleasure, and commonly hath continued some three yeares, but sometymes fewer, or many more yeares at the kings pleasure. Sometymes he hath the title of Lord Leifetenant for greater honor, as the Earle of *Essex* lately had, and /30/ sometymes for diminution is stiled Lord Iustice, [as more spetially] when vppon the death of the [lord] *Deputy* one or more lordes *Iustices* are Chosen to gouerne till a new lord *Deputy* be appointed. Yet of old when our kings were stiled lords of *Ireland*, this cheife Gouvernor vnder them, was comonly stiled lord Iustice. But howsoeuer the titles differ, the power is all one. Sometymes of old, kings brothers, and sonnes (as *John* sonne to *Henry* the second and *Leonell Duke of Clarence*³⁸ brother to *Edward* the fourth) [had] [haue] gouerned this kingdome with title of lord leiuftenant, and with power to leaue

³⁸ Hughes adds "son to Edward the third and George Duke of Clarence", p. 186.

/40/ their owne *Deputy* to gouerne it, when at any tyme them selues returned into *England*, which *Deputy* gaue them at the Court an Accompt of the *Irish* affayres, where they gaue the like accompt thereof to the king and his Counsell of State. In our tyme *Charles Blount* lord *Mountioy* for his great deserts in subduing *Tyrones* Rebellion [was] by our Soueraigne king *Iames* created Earle of *Deuonshire*, and besides rich rewards of Inheritance in *England* was made lord leiuftenant [i]of *Ireland*,³⁹ with two parts of the lord *Deputies* intertainment, who /50/ had the other third part with his owne Commaunds in the Army and kingdome, and gaue like accompt of the *Irish* affayres to this noble Earle living at Court, only he was not the Earles, but the kings *Deputy*. And this Earle during his life, not only swayed all *Irish* suits at the Court, but all other cheife affayres in *Ireland*, his letters of direction being as Commaunds to the *Deputy*. But after his death //

{ c.w. the intertainment }

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:25i.

the intertainment, and full power returned to the lord *Deputy*, the Commaund of lord leiuftenant ceasing from that tyme to this day, which dignity indeed seemes more fitt for the sonnes or brothers of kings then for any Subiect. It is enacted by Statute of Parliament in the 33th yeare of king *Henry* the Eight, that vpon the death of the lord *Deputy* or

³⁹ The cautious Elizabeth had only made him Lord Deputy.

like vacancy of that government the lord *Chancelor* and Counsell there may chuse one or two to supply the place of lord Iustice, till the king may be advertised of that vacancy, and appoint an other government Prouided /10/ that they chuse no Churchman, nor any but an *English* man. The foresaid lord leiuftenant deputy or Iustice, (be they one or more) haue ample power litle differing from Regall, yet alwayes limited according to the kings letters Pattents, which doe very rarely inlarge or restrayne the same to one more then an⁴⁰ other, and that power also is countermaunded many tymes by Instructions from the State, and by letters from the kings of *England*. The lord *Deputy* by his letters Pattents vnder the great Seale of *Ireland*, may graunt Pardon of life, lands and /20/ goods, to any guilty or condemned men, euen to Traitors, only [e]spetiall treasons against the kings person are commonly excepted, as likewise wilfull murthers, which the kings themselues professe not to pardon. And to these men he may likewise giue the kings Protection for a tyme, when they liue in the woodes as outlawes or Rebels. And in like sorte he may giue the landes and goods of Fellons and Trayters Convicted, to any of his servants or frends, or to whome he will ether⁴¹ *English* or *Irish*. The king Commonly /30/ reserues to his owne guift some Eight cheefe places, as of the lords

⁴⁰ "the" Hughes, p. 187.

⁴¹ An obsolete spelling of "either".

Presidents the lord high Treasurer, the lord Chancellor, the master of the Rowlles, the Secretary, the Cheefe Iustice, and cheefe Barron, and likewise some cheefe places of the Army, as of the Marshall, the master of the Ordinance, and the master Treasurer at warrs. For all other places, the lord Deputy graunts them vnder the great Seale of Ireland (as the former also when he is warrented by letters out of England) and these he disposeth, not only /40/ for his owne tyme, but for the life of the possessors. The king reserues to himselfe the choyse of Bishoppes, but all other Church liuings are in the lord Deputies gift. The king reserues to himselfe the Puples⁴² of Earles and Barrons, but the rest are in the lord Deputies gift, who likewise desposeth to his servants frendes and followers all intrusians, Allinations, Fynes, and like thinges of great moment.⁴³ And howsoever by inferiour Commissions some of the Counsell are ioyned to assist the Deputy in disposall of these thinges, yet /50/ that was wont to be only for forme, these Counselors very rarely apposing themselues to his pleasure. Yea the gifts. of the higher places in the State and Army,
//

fol:252. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap.V.

⁴² "Pupil. n. 1. 1. An orphan who is a minor and hence a ward..." *OED*

⁴³ Moryson is referring to cases of forced entry into property or benefices which are adjudicated by the Lord Deputy; alienations mean sales of property, perhaps even crown property; fines are the old feudal dues paid on transfer of rights to land. *OED*

of Bishopricks, of Earles and Barrons Pup[i]lls, tho
reserued to the king, were wont seldome to be granted in
England but vpon the lord Deputies letters of
recommendation sent out of [England] [Ireland] Fynally the
lord Deputy may leuie⁴⁴ Forces, and doe all thinges of
Regall authority, saue Coyning of mony; which was allwayes
Coynd at london, and sent into Ireland: True it is, that
in those thinges which are putt in his meere power by his
letters Pattens, he hath allwayes subiected himselfe to
instructions and letters sent out /10/ of England, which
notwithstanding seldome haue crossed his Free disposall of
all thinges in his power, since he vsed to graunt them
presently, before any can passe into England and retorne
hauing obtayned them there, notwithstanding in thinges putt
in his meere power, the most wise and moderate Deputyes,
foreseeing the shorte tyme of their gouernment, and
knowing that the Counselors of State haue their places for
life, & obseruing that most Deputies returned into England
laden with Complayntes, aswell of Counselors as many
priuate /20/ men, so as after good seruice they haue beene
glad to receave the Padon⁴⁵ of their errors for their
deserued rewarde, for these causes haue beene so warye, as
in many thinges of their absolute power they vsed to
referr the Consideration of them to one or two of the

⁴⁴ Hughes has "leiuē", p. 188.

⁴⁵ Hughes corrects this to "Pardon", p. 188.

Counsell, by that art drawing their Consent, and yet still having their own intentions, seldome or neuer apposed by those Counselors, who founde those referments gracefull and profitable to them, and so willingly seconded the lords Deputyes pleasure. /30/

In my opinion nothinge is so contrary to the affections of the Irish to which the kings personall presence might not easily leade or drawe them, more then his sworde in his Deputyes hand can force them, but the dangerous passages of the Sea and the generall affayres of State giuing [the] Irish small hope of their kings frequent presence, no doubt in his absence they more reverence a lord Deputy that is by degree a Duke Earle or Barron, then any knight though he be of any like great Family, and such a Deputy shall by the Authority /40/ of his degree, more easily suppress their rebellious spirittes against the State, and tyranny towards their tenants, then any Deputy of inferiour degree can doe, by greater vallour and wisdom. And since the Irish are most prone to tumults and Comotions, their nature in generall rather requires a valiant, Actiue Deputy, then one that is wise and politicke if withall he be slowe and faynt harted.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ This and the following may well represent an amalgam of the views of Fynes and his brother Richard who was Vice President of Munster until his return to England in 1615.

But it may well be doubted whether the shorte government
Commonly allotted to the Deputies be profitable /50/ to our
State or no: For Magistrates often changed like hungry
flyes sucke more blood, and as the Deuill rageth more
because his tyme is shorte, so these Magestrates feareing
soone to be recalled, are not so much bent to reforme the
Commonwelth, the fruite whereof should be reaped by the
successor,⁴⁷ as they are vigilant //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:253.

to inrich themselues and their Followers. Nether indeede
can that Crafty and subtile a nation be well knowne to any
governnor by fewe yeares experience, so as the [Ish]Irish,
hoping the Magistrate shalbe recalled before he be
skillfull of their affayres, and that another farr more
vnskillfull shalbe sent ouer in his place, vse nothinge more
then delatorye temporising in their obedience to the kings
Commaundes or lawes, hoping that newe magistrates will
giue newe lawes, and so if they can putt offe any
buisnesse for the present if it be but for a day,
thincking with Crafty Dauus /10/ that in the meane tyme
some chance may happen to their advantage, dayly gapeing
for such changes and inquiring after nothinge more.⁴⁸ Yea

⁴⁷ Note the similarity in image to Spenser. Spenser writes of Deputy Perrot (who succeeded Spenser's mentor Grey in 1584) "...succeeding, as it were, into another man's harvest, found an open way to what course he list..." *View*, p. 109.

⁴⁸ Davus is the cunning slave in Terence's *Andria*. Harvey. It became a generic name for the wily.

many tymes they are not deceaved in this hope, but flocking to the newe Deputy at his first ariually, with theire causes formerly determined though not to theire mynde and likeing, they many tymes extorte from these Deputies wanting experience newe determinations disagreeable and perhapps contrary to the former, with great hurt to the Commonwealth, and disgrace to the government. It may be objected that it may proue dangerous to giue a great /20/ man the absolute Commaunde of a kingdome for many yeares. No doubt, as barbarous nations, not knowing God whome they see not, worship his Creatures by which immediately he conferrs ill or good vpon them, so the Irish in the first place obey theire landlordes; as neerest benefactors or oppressors, and in the next place the lord Deputy, whose person they see and whose power they feele, yet so, as keeping Fayth promised to the present Deputy, they thincke themselues Free from keeping the same to his successour,⁴⁹ and for the king, he as vnknowne and farthest from revenge, hath euer beene /30/ lesse feared by them. But the State may allwayes be confident of a lord Deputy, whose faythfullnes and endes free from ambition, are well knowne to them. And lett him be neuer so fitt to imbrace newe and dangerous Counsells, yet if he haue agood estate of landes in England there is no danger of his attempts For a wise man would not change that Certayne estate for any hopes of

⁴⁹ Hughes changes to "successours", p. 190.

Ireland, which will allwayes be most vncertayne, as well because the kingdome cann[t]ot subsist without the support of some powerfull king, as because the myndes of the Irish are instable, and /40/ as the Common people euery where, so they in a Farr greater measure haue most <(>inconstant[ly] affections. Besydes that such ambitious designes cannot by any man be resolued in Counsell, much lesse putt in execution, before the State of England may haue meanes to knowe and prevent them.⁵⁰ Their obiectiō is of greater force who thincke it fitt these governments be often changed that many of the English may knowe the affayres of that kingdome, which otherwise wilbe knowne to fewe. But what if th[e]ree yeares will not suffice to vnderstand howe to governe that /50/ crafty nation, suerly at least after these yeares of Contemplation, methinckes some tyme should be giuen to the gouernor to bring[s] his Counsell and experience into actuall reformation. For as heretofore they haue beene often changed, so the Deputies haue labored more to compose tumults and disorders for the tyme, then to take away the causes, and to make the peace permanent, lest their successor should enter vpon their ha<r>uest imputing the troubles to them, and arrogating the appeasing th<ere>of to //

<f>ol:254. Booke ii. The commonwealth of Ireland. Chap:V. himselfe. wherevpon sharpe emulation or rather bitter

⁵⁰ Moryson probably means in the old sense of to anticipate in action. See *OED*, prevent, v. 2. trans.

malice hath Commonly beene betweene the Deputyes nearest foregoing and succeeding. So as the newe Deputy affecting priuate fame rather then publike good, hath seldome or neuer troden the steps of his predicessor, but rather insisted vpon his owne maximes of government, espetically careing that his actions be not obscured by those of his predicesser, And this Babilonian confusion of distracted & contrary motians in the Cheefe governors hath made the Irish, like wilde Coltes hauing vnskillfull Riders, to learne /10/ all their Iadish trickes,⁵¹ whereas if the gouernment were continued till the magistrate might knowe the nature of the people, with the secreets⁵² of that State, and apply the remedies proper therevnto: If after their government, (according to the Custome of the State of Venice) each Deputy should giue in writing to the State in England a full relation of his gouernment and the State of that kingdome, so as his successour might weaue the same webbe he had begunn, and not make a newe frame of his owne: If in regard the kings presence /20/ in Ireland may rather be wished then hoped, some spetiall Commssioners, sworne to Faithfull relation, were chosen in England once in two or three yeares, and sent ouer to visitt the affayres of that

⁵¹ Note how Moryson refers to the Irish as wilful animals which need to be disciplined. Spenser makes Irenius refer to them as difficult draught animals, "...a people altogether stubborn and untamed, and if it were once tamed, yet now lately having quite shaken off their yoke and broken the bands of their obedience." *State*, p. 4.

⁵² Hughes amends to "secrets", p. 191.

kingdome, and to make like relation thereof at their returne, No doubt that [the] kingdome might in shorte tyme be reformed, and the kings Reuennues might be so increased, as Ireland might not only mantayne it selfe in peace, but restore parte of the Treasure it hath formerly exhausted in England, and lay vp meanes to supply /30/ future necessities of that State, Since the sayde Deputies and commissioners would euery one be ashamed not to add somthinge to the Publike good of their owne, and much more to doe that was already done, or rather to destroy it, by their employment. And the Irish would thereby be putt from their shifting hopes gaping for newe vnskillfull and diuersely affected Magistrates, which haue alwayes animated them to delatorye obedience and Rebellious Courses.

By the Complaynt of former ages rather then experience /40/ in our tyme, I haue obserued, that the Lord Deputyes authority⁵³ in Ireland hath beene much weakened, by the graunting of suites and rewardes in England to many of the Irish, without hauing any recommendations from their Deputy, and much more because the Iudiciall causes of the Irish haue beene determined in England without the lord

⁵³ Hughes amends to "authority", p. 192.

Deputyes priuity,⁵⁴ or hauing beene formerly determined in Ireland, were sent backe to be agayne examined and determined, according to letters of fauour obtayned by the Plantiues in England, which /50/ made the subiect prowde, and to triumppe⁵⁵ vpon the ouerruled Magistrate, who no doubt is ether vnfitt to governe a kingdome, or ought best to knowe [.and] [who deserue punishment, who rewarde, and] the most fitt wayes to determine iudiciall causes. wherein I dare boldly say the contrary proceedinges of our tyme, giuing that magistrate his due honor, hath much aduanced the publike good.⁵⁶

Some doe not approue the residence of the lord Deputy // *Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:255.* at *Dublin*, and would haue it rather at *Athlone* vppon the edge of *Connaght* and *Vlster*, where he should haue those seditious Prouinces before him, and might easily fall with his forces into *Mounster*, and so should be nearer hand to preuent Tumults with his presence and compose them with his power, and likewise should haue at his backe the *Pale* (contayning five shires, and so called: because they euer were most quiett and subiect to the English) and so might

⁵⁴ "Privity. 5. ...participation in the knowledge of something private or secret, usually implying concurrence or consent..." *OED*

⁵⁵ Hughes amends to "triumph", p. 192.

⁵⁶ Moryson is trying not to be controversial, by saying that things have improved.

stopp all Rebels from disturbing the Pale which would not only yeild supplyes of necessaries to his Trayne and Soldiers, but also giue safe passage for /10/ transporting munition and victualls to *Athlone* from the Stoare houses at *Dublin*. And this Counsell was so much vrged to Queene *Elizabeth* as these reasons together with the saving of the Charge to mantayne a Gouvernor in *Connaght* with Counsellors to assist him, and the like charge then intended for *Vlster* moued her to referr the determination thereof to the *lord Mountioy* then *Deputy* and the Counsell of State, who altered nothing because that course would haue ruined or decayed the *Citty of Dublin*, and espetially because the Rebellion was soone after appeased, and our /20/ State hath commonly vsed, like Marriners to be secure in faire weather, and neuer fly to the tacklings⁵⁷ till a storme come.

{ m.n. 24, 25. The meere Irish. }

Touching the meere *Irish* before I speake of them, giue me leaue to remember fowre verses expressing fowre mischeifes afflicting them, as fruites of their idlenes, slouenlynes, and superstition.

Quatuor hybernos vexant animalia, turpes
Corpora vermiculi, sorices per tecta rapaces,
Carniuori vastantque lupi crudeliter agros, /30/
Haec tria nequitia superas Romane sacerdos.

⁵⁷ "Tackling. n. 1. b. concr. The rigging of a ship; the tackle." *OED*

For foure vile beasts *Ireland* hath no fence,
their bodyes lice, their houses Ratts possesse.
Most wicked Preists gouerne their conscience,
and rauening woolues do wast their feilds no lesse.
That may well be said of the *Irish* which *Cesar* in his
Commentaries writes of the old *Germans*; like beasts they
doe all things by force and Armes, after a slauish
manner.⁵⁸ The Magistrate doth nothing publicuely or
priuately without Armes. They reuenge iniuryes seldome by
lawe, but /40/ rather by the sword and rapine, neither are
they ashamed of stealth or taking prayes or spoyles.
Formerly I haue shewed that the Englishmen who subdued
Ireland, and long mantayned the Conquest thereof, did flock
into *England* vppon the Ciuill warrs betweene the houses of
Yorke, and *Lancaster* aswell to beare vpp the factions as to
inherritt their kinsmens lands in *England* and so left wast
their possessions in *Ireland*. At that tyme the meere Irish
rushed into those vacan⁵⁹ possessions, and the better to

⁵⁸ Caesar does not mention this. Moryson has confused his author. However, the work of the medieval Giraldus Cambrensis contains all these prejudices, including those expressed in the unidentified quatrain. Giraldus says of the Irish, "They live on beasts only, and live like beasts...they think that the greatest pleasure is not to work, and the greatest wealth is to enjoy liberty." Their "flowing hair and beards" are lousy. Quoted in *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland*, edited by James. P. Myers, (Hamden, Connecticut, 1983), p. 15, referred to hereafter as Myers.

⁵⁹ Hughes amends to "vacant", p. 193.

keepe them, from that tyme were ever proune⁶⁰ to /50/
rebelions, that the course of lawe might cease while //
fol:256: Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.
they were in Armes, and from that tyme resumed olde
barbarous lawes and Customes which had beene long
abolished, and by with drawing themselues from obedience to
our lawes, became powerfull tyrants in all Countryes. From
that tyme they did euer putt forth and secreetely mantayne
vpon all fitt occations some outlawes to disturbe peace
(like our Roben Hud and litle Iohn in the tymes of Richard
the First and Iohn kings of England) growing to that
Impudency, as these out lawes [of England] are not by them
termed Rebles, but men in Action, /10/ liuing in the woodes
and Boggy places. Among them (and many of the English Irish
by their example) those that became lords of Countryes
were euer as many heades so many monstrous tyrants. These
haue not their landes deuided in many Countryes, [and][as]
our noblemen in England (whereby they are lesse powerfull
to disturbe peace) but possesse whole Countryes together,
whereof notwithstanding great partes lye wast, only for
want of Tennants. And because they haue an ill Custome,
that Tennants are reputed proper to those /20/ lands on
which they dwell, without liberty to remoue their dwelling
vnder an other landlord,⁶¹ they still desyre more land,

⁶⁰ Hughes makes it "prounce", p. 193.

⁶¹ Tenants tied or "proper" to the land smacks of
feudalism to Moryson.

rather to haue the Tennants then the land, whereas if they could furnish theire old landes with Tennants (as perhapps they haue in some sorte donne since the last Rebellion, of which and former tymes I wryte) they would much exceede our greatest lords in yearely Reuenues.

It is a great Mischeefe, that among them, all of one name or Sept⁶² and kindred, dwell not (as in *England*) dispersed /30/ in many shyres, but all liue together in one village, lordshipp, and County ready and apt to conspire together in any mischeife. And by an olde lawe, which they call of *themistry*, vulgarly called *Tanistry*⁶³ by many of our lawes abolished, yet still in force among them selues, euery Sept chuseth their cheife head or Captaine, not the eldest sonne of the eldest Family but the oldest or rather most daring man, (whereby they alwayes vnderstand the most licentious sword man) as most fitt to defend them.⁶⁴ And this Cheefe they not only chuse among themselues, but of Corrupt Custome impu/40/dently challenged to be confirmed by the lord *Deputyes* producing many like graunts of that dignity made of old by the lord *Deputyes* vnder their hands and seales, then which nothing can be more fitt to mantayne

⁶² "Clan or sub-clan", Myers, p. 237.

⁶³ From the Gaelic *tanise*, second, and by extension, "next heir to an estate." Myers, p. 237, and *OED*.

⁶⁴ Hughes changes this to "swordsmen", p. 194, meaning a warrior who lives by his sword. *OED*

Factions & tumults and to hinder the Course of the kings lawes. By the same lawe often abolished by vs but still retayned[.] in vse among them, they will needs haue the choyse of him that shall inheritt the land of the last Cheefe of any *Sept*, or name, not respecting therein the eldest sonne, according to our lawes but him that most pleaseth their turbulent humors, /50/ whence flowes a plentiful spring of murthers Parracides and Conspiracyes against the kings and their lawes. For first hereby they professed to liue after their owne lawes, and openly denied obedience to the kings lawes, and againe, to giue an instance of one mischeife, passing ouer many other of no lesse moment, when any of these Cheefes or lords //

{ c.w. of Countries }

Booke ii. The Common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:257

of Countryes vppon submission to the States hath surrendred his lands to the king, and taken a new graunt of them by the kings letters Pattents with Conditions fitt for publique good, they boldly say that he held his lands by the tenure of *Thanistrye* only for his life, and so will not be tyed to any of his Acts. And it is no matter what they professe, why should we heare their words, when wee see their deeds. I doe not thinck but know that they will neuer be reformed in Religion, manners, and constant obedience, to our lawes, but by the awe of the sword, and by a strong /10/ hand at least for a tyme bridling them.

By these and like corrupt Customes, neglecting our lawes, they become Disturbers of the peace, and after a barbarous manner, for terror or in pride, add to their names *O* (noting⁶⁵ the cheife or head) and *Mac* (noting the sonne of such a one), and thus they are called *Oneales*, *O Donnells*, *mac Mahownes*⁶⁶ with a rable of like names, some rather seeming the names of *De[a]vowring Giants* then *Christian* Subiects, yea some of old English Familyes degenerating into this *Barbarisme*, haue changed their names after the *Irish /20/* tongue, as the *Vrslyes* are called *Mahownes* taking the notation from the name of a *Beare*;⁶⁷ yea some of the most licentious take to themselues *Nicknames* suitable to their wicked dispositions, as one of the *O Donnells* was called *Garue*⁶⁸ that is a *Cholerick* strong (or lusty) *Gallant*, (and such [as] he was indeede.⁶⁹ And some as if they were knights of *Amadis* of *Gaule*, and had the valor of those errant knights, were called the knight of the valley,

⁶⁵ We would probably say "denoting".

⁶⁶ It is also spelt McMahan.

⁶⁷ Moryson's etymology is false. The Mahons were native Irish. Myers, p. 237.

⁶⁸ Hughes has "Garne", pp. 195, 197.

⁶⁹ "Probably refers to Neil Garve O'Donnell (grandson of Red Hugh O'Donnell's uncle, Calvagh) whose frequent side-changing created much difficulty for the Irish and English alike. (*Garve* means "rough.")". Myers, p. 237.

the *white knight*, and the like.⁷⁰ And withall they despise our titles of Earles and lords, which so weakens the great mens estimation among /30/ them, as they must cast them away, and assume their old barbarous names whensoever they will haue the power to lead the people, to any rebellious action. For in those barbarous names, and nick names, the *Irish* are proude to haue the rebellious acts of their forefathers sung by their *Bards* or *Poetts*, at their Feasts and publique meetings. Againe they haue a corrupt Custome to increase their power by fostering their Children, with the most valiant, rich and powerfull neighbors, since that people beares such straunge reuerence to this bond and pledge of loue, /40/ as they commonly loue their Foster Children more then their owne. The events of which Custome forced our Progenitors to make seuerelawes against the same, which notwithstanding, howsoever restrayned for the tyme, grew againe to be of force among them in our age.

They haue likewise a ridiculous Custome, that maryed women giue Fathers to their Children when they are at the point of death. Insomuch as they haue a pleasant tale, that a yonger sonne hearing his mother giue base Fathers to some of his [Children] bretheren, besought her with teares to giue /50/ him a good father. But commonly they giue them

⁷⁰ These were hereditary titles. The Knight of the Valley or of Glin, belonged to a sept of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, the White Knight to Clan Gibbon of that family. Myers, p. 237.

fathers of the *Oneales*, *O Donnells* or such great men, or at
lest⁷¹ those //

fol:258. Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

that are most famous for licentious boldnes,. And these
bastard Children euer after follow these fathers, and
thincking themselues to descend of them, wilbe called
swordmen, and scorning husbandrye, and manuell Arts liue
only of rapine and spoyle.

These foresaid meere *Irish* Lords of Countryes gouerne the
people vnder them with such tyranny, as they know no king
in respect of them, who challenge all their goods and
Cattell to be theirs saying, that their Progenitors did not
only giue them lands to till, but also [lawes] [Cowes] and
other goods to possesse /10/ at the lords will and
disposall. Neither take they any rent of them for their
lands, but at pleasure impose mony vppon them, vppon all
occasions of spending, as Iourneyes to *Dublin*, or into
England, paying their debts, intertayning of the lord
Deputy, or Iudges, and like occasions, sometymes true,
sometymes fayned, taking a great or small portion of their
goods, according to the quality of the Cause, and these
exactions they doe well call Cuttings, wherewith they doe
not only cutt [downe], but deuoure the people. And it litle
auayleth these poore Tenants, though some of them can proue

⁷¹ Hughes amends to "least", p. 196.

by /20/ Indentures that they are Freeholders, and not Tenants at will, for of old to the end of the last warr (of which tyme I write and desyre to be vnderstood) the lords by tyrannicall Custome still ouerswayed the peoples right in these Courses. And this Custome was the fountayne of many evils, more specially of one mischeife, that if the Tenant by any Cryme forfeited [the] [his] goods, the lord denyed him to haue any prop[ri]erty¹² therein and yet if the same goods were seized by the Sheriffe for any Fynes for the king, or debts of the lord, to priuate men, the tenants forthwith exclaymed of iniustice to punish them for /30/ the lords offences With this (as it were) *Dilemma* still deluding the execution of Iustice. Yea these lords challenged right of Inheritance in their Tenants persons, as if by old Couenants they were borne slaues to till their groundes, and doe them all like seruices, and howsoeuer they were oppressed might not leaue their land to dwell vnder any other landlord. And these suites betweene the lords for right in Tenants, were then most frequent. Thus I remember the sonne of *Henry Oge* to be killed in the Country of *Mac Mahowne*¹³ while he went thither to bring back by force a fugitiue Tenant (as they terme them). like /40/ suits for Tenants were frequent at this tyme betweene the new created Earle of *Tirconnell*, and *Sir Neale Garue*, and at first the

¹² "1. a. ...ownership, proprietorship..." *OED*

¹³ MacMahon country was between Meath and Ulster, the lands of Fitzgerald and O'Neill. Myers, p. xi.

magistrate commaunded the Earle to restore to Sir Neale his old Tenants, but when peace was more settled, the *Itinerant* Iudges going into *Vlster*, added a generall Caution in this Case, that the Tenants should not be forced to retorne, except they were willing, professing at publique meetings with great applause of the people, that it was most vniust the kings Subiects borne in a free Common wealth should be vsed like slaues. Againe these lordes challenging all their Tenants /50/ goods thinck scorne to haue any Cowes or Herdes of Cattell of their owne, tho sometymes they permitt their wiues to haue some like propriety. They distribute their lands among their //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:259.

Tenants to be tilled only for one, two, or three yeares,, and so the people build no houses but like *Nomades* living in Cabins, remoue from one place to an other with their Cowes, but comonly retyre them within thick woods not to be entred without a guide delighting in this Rogish life, as more free from the hand of Iustice, and more fitt to committ rapines. Thus the Country people living vnder the lordes absolute power as slaues, and howsoever they haue plenty of Corne, milke, and Cattell, yet having no propriety in any thing, obey their lordes in right and wrong, and being all of the *Roman church*, and being taught that⁷⁴ is no sinn to breake faith with vs, and so /10/

⁷⁴ Hughes supplies "it", p. 198.

litle regarding an oath taken before our Magistrates, the king was often defrauded of his right by the falsehood of Iuries, in his Inheritance, Wardes Attaindors, Escheates intrusions, Alienations, and all Pleas of the Crowne.⁷⁵ At the end of the warr among infinite examples, this was well seene in the Case of *Meade* the Recorder of *Corke*, who having committed open treason, was quitted by an *Irish* Iurye, himselfe craftily hastning his tryall for feare he should be tryed in *England*.⁷⁶ The Court of the *Starr*

⁷⁵ "Attainder. 1. ...the legal consequences of judgement of death or outlawry, in respect of treason or felony, viz. forfeiture of estate real and personal, corruption of blood..." by which the condemned's estate even if there were heirs, would automatically escheat or revert to the feudal lord, in this case the Crown. "Intrusion. 2. a. ...a trespass on the lands of the crown..." including forced entry. "Alienation. 2. b. The taking of anything from its owner." *OED* Moryson's legal studies are in evidence here. However, this may also be an echo of Spenser. Irenius talks of the dishonesty of Irish juries, whereby as Eudoxius says "...the Queen as well in all pleas of the Crown, as also for all the inquiries for excheates, lands, attainted wardships, concealments, and all such like is abused, and exceedingly endamaged." *View*, p. 22.

⁷⁶ John Meade was Recorder and later Mayor of Cork. He seems to have had the enmity of the English establishment. William Lyon, Bishop of Cork in a letter to Robert Cecil dated 15 February 1600 names him as one of the "evil minded men to the State and Her Majesty's government, as hath been proved," *CSP Ireland 1599 - 1600* (London, 1899), p. 477. George Carew in a letter to the Privy Council of 16 December 1600 names him as one of the ringleaders of their corporations enriching themselves in the war. Meade informed the Privy Council of the landing and movements of the Spaniards whilst pledging his loyalty, on 22, 23, and 26 September 1601. See *CSP Ireland 1600 - 1601* (London, 1905), p. 66, and *CSP Ireland 1601 - 1603* (London, 1912), pp. 81, 85, 88. Meade was certainly lucky not to be hanged as Mountjoy did with some "...of the principall offenders and ringleaders", after the corporations had attempted to exert their privileges in 1603. See *Itinerary A*, III, 333.

chamber, shortly after established, seuerely punished Iuries for abuses of this last kinde, but /20/ with what effect, is besydes my purpose to write. These *Irish* lordes in the last warr, had a cunning trick, that howsoever the father possessing the land, bore himselfe outwardly as a Subiect, yet his sonnes having no lands in possession, should liue with the Rebels, and keepe him in good tearmes with them, and his goods from present spoyling. The lordes of *Ireland*, at this tyme whereof I write, nourished theeues, as we doe Hawkes,¹¹ openly boasting among themselues, who had the best theeues. Neighbors intertayning these men into their Familyes, /30/ for mutuall preiudices, was a secrett fewell of the Ciuill warr, they being prone to rebellion, and in peace not forbearing to steale at home, and to spoyle all passengers neere their abode.

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 bloody 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 /40/ kings lawes. Alas how vnlike vnto *Orpheus*, who with his sweete harpe and [holy] [wholeso<mest>] precepts of

¹¹ Both prey on the unsuspecting, hence the metaphor.

Poetry laboured to reduce the rude and barbarous people from liuing in woods, to dwell Ciuilly in Townes and Cittyes, and from wilde ryott to morall Conuersation.⁷⁸ All goodmen wished these knaues to be strictly curbed, and seuerely punished. For the meere *Irish*, howsoever they vnderstood not what was truely honorable, yet out of barbarous ignorance are so affected to vayne glory, as they nothing so much feared the lord *Deputyes* anger, as the least song or Balladd these /50/ Rascalls might make against them, the singing whereof to //

fol:260. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

their reproch, would more haue daunted them, then if a Iudge had doomed them to the Gallowes.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ The reference may have appealed because of the juxtapositioning of civility (Orpheus civilized the Thracians with his music) and violence. "In Vergil *Georgic IV*, following hints in Plato's *Republic X*. 620, and *Symposium*, 179, he is torn to bits by "Ciconian matrons" for spurning them while mourning for Eurydice." FB "Moryson's allusion to Orpheus's taming wild beasts with the music of his harp was a favorite among the Elizabethan writers on Ireland, in part because of the implied contrast Orpheus's harp made with the Irish harp, which was sometimes played in battle and often used to accompany songs celebrating the martial deeds of the Irish." Myers, p. 238. Good government was equated with a well tuned instrument, as with Sir John Davis, "The strings of the Irish harp, which the civil magistrate doth finger, are all in tune...and make a good harmony in this commonweal..." Myers, p. 179, whilst bad government was equated with the opposite, "Take but degree away, untune that string,/ And hark what discord follows." *Troilus and Cressida*, I. 3. 109 - 110.

⁷⁹ Moryson is contemptuous of the Irish oral traditions. He feels that poetry is capable of effective didacticism. Shakespeare makes Cleopatra fearful of the "scald rhymers" who will "Ballad us out o' tune." *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. 2. 211 - 212.

They had also an other [manner] [Rabble] of Ieasters which vsed to frequent the Tables of lordes and Gentlemen continuall tellers of newes which comonly they reduced to the preiudice of the publike good.

Againe the *Irish* in generall more specially the meere *Irish*, being sloathfull and giuen to nothing more then base Idlenes, they nourished a third generation of vipers vulgarly called Carowayes,⁸⁰ professing (forsooth) the noble /10/ science of playing at Cards and dice, which so infected the publique meetings of the people, and the priuate houses of the lordes, as no adventure was too hard in shifting for meanes to mantayne these sports. And indeed the wilde *Irish* doe madly affect them, so as they will not [oly] play and leese their mony and mouable goods, but also [...t.gate] [ingage] their lands, yea their owne persons to be ledd as Prisoners by the winner, till he be paid the mony, for which they are ingaged. It is a shame to speake, but I heard by credible relation, that some were found so impudent, as they had /20/ suffered themselues so to be ledd as Captiues tyed by the parts of their body which I will not name, till they had mony to redeeme themselues.⁸¹

⁸⁰ "From the Gaelic *caerrbhach*, "gambler." Myers, p. 34. Hughes renders the word "Carowes", p. 199.

⁸¹ It is difficult to tell if Moryson had this information by "credible relation", or out of St. Edmund Campion's *A History of Ireland*. He may have felt uneasy about acknowledging the taking of information from so Catholic a source. Campion writes, "There is among them a

Could a Prouost Marshall be better imployed then in hanging vpp such Raskalls and like vagabond persons. For howsoever none could better doe it then the Sheriffes; yet because the Irish frequently and in part iustly complayned of their extortions (as I shall after shewe), I [doe] [dare] not say that marshall lawe might well be committed to them.

The *Irish* thus giuen to Idlenes, naturally abhorr from /30/ manuall Artes, and Ciuill trades to gaine their owne bread, and the basest of them wilbe reputed gentlemen and sword men, for so they are termed who professe to liue by their swordes, and haue bene alwayes apt to raise Ciuill warrs, and euer most hardly drawne to lay downe Armes, by which they had liberty to liue in riott. Many examples might be giuen in the highest kinde of mischeife produced by this idlenes, but that the vice is most naturall to the *Irish*; I will only giue one example which myselfe obserued of Fishermen in the Cittyes of *Mounster*, who /40/ being no swordmen, yet were generally so sloathfull, as in the Calmest weather, and the greatest Concourse of noble men, when they had no feare of daunger, and great hope of gayne; though the Seas abound with excellent fish and the Prouince with frequent Ports, and bayes most fitt for fishing; yet

brotherhood of *carrows* that profess to play at cards all the year long and make it their only occupation. They play away mantle and all to the bare skin...For default of other stuff, they pawn portions of their glib, the nails of their fingers and toes, their privy members, which they lose or redeem at the courtesy of the winner." Quoted Myers, p. 30.

so long as they had bread to eate, would not putt to sea, no not commaunded by the lord *Deputy*, till they were beaten by force out of their houses. And in my opinion this idlenes hath bene nourished by nothing more (as I haue formerly shewed vppon other occasions) then by the plenty /50/ of the land, and great housekeeping, drawing the people from trades, while they can be fedd by others without labour. 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 //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:26i.

Ireland, where the multitude of loose Followers hath of old bene prone to fight their lords quarrells, yea to rebell with them.⁸² Whereas no doubt the exercise of trades, and the Custome of industrye to liue euery man of his owne, are a strong establishment of any Comon wealth. The mere *Irish* giuen to sloath are also most luxurious.⁸³ And not to speake of the aboundance of all meates, they are

⁸² These idle serving men of whom Moryson is suspicious were probably part of the open lineage family groupings which were still strongest where central government was weakest, as in the north of England, and in a modified form in Ireland. The significance of the failure of the Rebellion of the Northern Earls in 1569, and the ultimate failure of four Irish rebellions in Elizabeth's reign could be seen as the old way of life being crushed by a modernizing centralizing state with greater resources at its disposal. See Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500 - 1800* (London, 1977), p. 91.

⁸³ "1. Lascivious, lecherous, unchaste. Obs." *OED*

excessiuelly giuen to drunckennes. For howsoeuer, whyle they liued in woodes and in Cabbines with theirre Catle, they could be content with water and milke, yet when they came to Townes nothing /10/ was more frequent then to tye theirre Cowes at the dores, and neuer parte from the taverns till they had druncke them out in Sacke and strong water, which they call vsquebagh,⁸⁴ and this did not only the lords, but the Common people, tho halfe naked for want of Cloath[es] to couer them. No man may iustly maruell, if among such people dissolute hacksters apt to rayse seditons and liue like outlawes, be frequently founde.⁸⁵ Therefore at the end of the last warr, it was wished and expected, that this luxury should be suppressed at least from generall excesse, that all vagabond persons should be seuerely punished, that /20/ the people should be allured and drawne to loue manuall arts and trades, more spetially husbandry of tillage. For whereas all, yea the most [parte] strong and able bodyes, and men giuen to spoyles and Robberyes in all tymes gladly imployed themselues in feeding of Cowes, that Course of life was imbraced by them as suitable to [theirre]

⁸⁴ Sack was a generic name for Spanish white wines, see *OED* 3. 1. a. Usquebaugh is from the Gaelic *uisge beatha* meaning "water of life", *OED* and here Moryson attests to its strength !

⁸⁵ It could be either, as Hughes transcribes, "huckster", p. 201, a mercenary taker of profits, see *OED* 2. a., or "hackster" "1. lit. One who hacks, a 'hacker' or 'cutter'; a cut-throat; a swaggering ruffian, swashbuckler." I suspect that the latter is meant, as Hand Two often leaves the letter 'a' open at the top as in "had" on line 12.

innated slothe, and as most fitt to elude or protract all execution of Iustice against them, while they commonly liued in thick woods abounding with grasse. But no doubt it were much better if *Ireland* should be reduced to lesse grasing and more tillage by the /30/ distribution of lands among Tenants in such sort, as euer after it, should (as in *England*) be vnlawfull to chaunge any tillage into Pasture.

{ m.n. 34 - 36. *The English Irish.* }

Touching the *English Irish* namely such as discend of the first *English* conquering that Country, or since in diuerse ages, and tymes to this day transplanted out of *England*, into *Ireland*. It is wonderfull yet most true, that for some later ages they haue beene (some in high some in lesse measure,) infected with the barbarous Customes of the meere *Irish* and with the *Roman* Religion so as they gre[w][.]e not only /40/ as aduerse to the Reformation of Ciuill pollicye and religion, as the meere *Irish* but euen combyned with them, and shewed such malice to the *English* nation, as if they were ashamed to haue any Community with it, of Country, bloud, religion, language apparrell, or any such generall bond of amity. And for this alienation, they did not shame in the last Ciuill warr to alledge reasons, to iustify their so doing, namely that they whose Progenitors had conquered that kingdome, and were at first thought most woorthy to gouerne the same vnder our kings, were /50/ by a new lawe excluded from being Deputyes, and had other wise

small or no power in the State. Againe that after they were broken, and worne out in the Ciuill warr of *England*, betweene the houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, they were not strengthened with newe Colonyes out of *England*, and so being weaker then the meere *Irish*, were forced to apply themselues to the stronger, by contracting affinity //

fol:262. Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

with them, and vsing their language and apparrell. These and like reasons they pretended, which I will first answer and then shewe the true causes thereof. It cannot be denyed but the *English Irish* After the first Conquest were by our kings made cheefe Gouvernors of that kingdome, yea and many ages after were sometymes lord Deputyes, and were alwayes Capable of that place, till the tyme of king *Henry* the Eight, but neuer without detriment of the Common wealth and danger from them that possessed it. To the first *English Irish* borne of noble Familyes in *England*, our kings gaue /10/ large patrimonyes and great priuiledges making them sometymes Gouvernors of the State but in processe of tyme, some of them forgetting their Country, bloud and all pledges of loue towards the *English*, not only became Rebels but by degrees grewe like the meere *Irish* in all things euen in hating the *English*, and becoming cheefe leaders to all seditions growing at last to such pride in the last Ciuill warr, as if they had not rewards when they deserued punishments; or could not obtayne pentions to serue the State, they were more ready to rebell, then /20/

the meere *Irish* themselues. Among these some in hatred to the *English* changed their *English* names into *Irish*, yet retayning the old notation, as the *Vrselyes* called themselues *Mac Mahownes*, some in *Vlster* of the Family of *Veres*, called themselues *Macrones*, others of the Family of great *Mortimer*, called themselues *Macmarrs*.⁸⁶ These and some others, as *Breningham* discended of old *English Barons*, and the lord *Curc[e]y* whose Progenitors of the *English Nobility* were among the Cheife, and first Conquerors of the kingdome, grewe so degenerate, as in the last rebellion, they could /30/ not be distinguished from the meere *Irish*. The rest retayning their old names, and in good measure the *English* manners, as *Tyrrell*, *Lacey*, and many of the *Bourkes*, and *Geraldines*, and some of the *Nugents*, yet became cheefe leaders in the late rebellion. These men no man will iudge capable of the cheife gouernments in that kingdome. But lett them passe, and lett vs consider, if the *English Irish* that in the Rebellion remayned Subiects, and will not be stayned with the name of Rebels, haue any iust cause to complayne that they are excluded from the gouernment, because the lawe forbidds them /40/ to be

⁸⁶ Compare Spenser "*Irenius*: I cannot speak but by report of the *Irish* themselves, who report that the *Macmahons* in the north were anciently *English*, to wit, were descended from the *Fitz-Ursulas*, which was a noble family in *England*, and that the same appeareth by the signification of their *Irish* names. Likewise that of the *Macswines* now in *Ulster* were anciently of the *Veres* of // *England*, but that they themselves for hatred of the *English* so disguised their names." *View*, pp. 64 - 65.

Deputyes. They are in *England* free *Denizens*, having equall right with the *English* to inheritt lands, and beare offices, and obtayne any dignity whereof their merritt, or the kings fauour may make them Capable. Lett them remember that the Earle of *Strangbowe* being the leader of the *English*, that first conquered *Ireland*, when the king would haue committed to him the gouernment thereof, did modestly refuse the same, except the king would ioyne some assistants with him, not ignorant what daunger that magistracye would bring to him more then to any other. Lett them remember, that among other noble Familyes of the *Englishe* Conquerors, first *Lacey*, then *Curc[e]y*, had the cheife gouernment of that kingdome, but the first was recalled into *England* to giue accompt of his gouernment, not without danger, of leeing his head, the other was long cast into prison. lett them remember that the lord Deputyes place did weaken and almost destroy the Family of the *Geraldines*, after which tyme king *Henry* the Eight by Act of Parliament first excluded the //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:263.

English Irish from being cheife *Gouernors* of that kingdome, as *Common* experience made all men finde, that gouernment not only dangerous to themselues aduanced to it, but also more displeasing to the people, who least like the *Commaund* of their owne Country men [being *Counsellors* at State] and were most ready to loade them with *Complaynts* in *England*, as also their owne Countrymen being *Counsellors* of State,

whose oppressions they most felt, and greiued at. yet many *English Irish* continued Counsellors of <St>ate all the tyme of [the] Queene *Elizabeth* and the last Rebellion /10/ whereof I write. For my part if the *English Irish* had *English* affections, I would thinck no difference should be made betweene them and the *English*. But in the last Rebellion nothing was more euident then that our secrett Counsellors were continually made knowne to *Tyrone* and other[s] Rebels, and lett men iudge vnpartially, who could more iustly be suspected of this falshood, then the Counsellors of State, borne in that kingdome. Many Counsellors were propounded for <re>forming the State, for banishing *Iesuites* and other troublers of the State, /20/ and lett themselues vnpartially speake, who did more frustrate those designes, then the Counsellors of that tyme borne in that kingdome. Were not the cheife *Iustice* and the Cheife *Baron* of that tyme both borne and bredd in *Ireland*. lett them say truely for what good seruice of theirs, Queene *Elizabeth* appointed ouerseers to looke into their actions and make them knowne to her deputy. No doubt that wise Queene either thought the Counsellors of Sir *Robert Dillon* knight, and the cheife *Iustice* of *Ireland* contrary to the publique good, or vppon better aduise, she /30/ would neuer haue remoued him from that place, which her

gracious fauour had first conferred vppon him.⁸⁷ What neede we vse circumstances, 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 harted helpe, did more hinder reformation, then the open Acts of the Rebels. Generally before this tyme they were Papists, and if some of them, vppon hypocriticall dispensation went to Church Commonly their Parents, children kinsmen and seruants, /40/ were open and obstinate Papists in profession. Tell me any one of them who did according to the duty of their place, publikely commend or Commaund to the people the vse of the Common prayer booke, or the frequenting of our Churches. Why doe they glory of their gouerning the Common wealth, if they cannot shewe one good act of Reformation perswaded, and perfected by them.

In the Raigne of king *Edward* the third, when the king found the Pope obstinate for vsurping the hereditary right of him and his Subiects, in bestowing Church livings /50/ vnder

⁸⁷ Mountjoy wrote to Robert Cecil on 27 November 1600 saying that the Dillon family consisted of the "greatest men of living in the Pale", *Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1600 - 1601* (London, 1905), p.38. Robert Dillon participated in the intellectual evenings at the house of Lodowick Bryskett according to his *A Discourse of Civil Life*. See Richard Berleth *The Twilight Lords* (London, 1978), p. 198, referred to hereafter as Berleth. He suggests that these meetings attended by the élite of the English administration led on to the royal endowment of Trinity College.

their Patronage, and valiantly opposed himselfe to this and other oppressions of the Pope, obseruing that his Counsellors were no way more crossed, then by *Italians* and *french* men whome the Pope, had Cunningly preferred to //

fol:264. Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

Bishoppricks and Benefices, yea to be of the kings Councell of State, whereby they had meanes to betray the secretts of the State, he wisely made an Act of Parliament in the 25 yeare of his Raigne, whereby he prouided remedy against these vnfaithfull Counsellors and Churchmen.⁸⁸ That which king *Edward* might doe in this Case, may not his Successors doe the same in *Ireland* vppon like danger, sequestering any suspected persons from places in Councell and Iudgment. When magistrates themselues vse only Conniencye⁸⁹ in punishing disobedience to the /10/ lawes, and Sects in Religion, doth not their example confirme the people in disobedience to their king. But you shall know the lyon by his Pawe (as the Prouerb saith)⁹⁰ lett vs further see, how the *English Irish* in those tymes caryed themselues in military Commaunds committed to them. Queene *Elizabeth* finding that the lord *Deputies* from the first beginning of the last Rebellion, had made a great error, in levying

⁸⁸ Moryson seems to be referring to the Statute of Praemunire of 1353, which was used by Henry VIII's ministers to topple Cardinal Wolsey in 1529 and to indict the whole clergy in 1530. Scarisbrick, pp. 310, 358 - 359.

⁸⁹ Connivance. *OED*

⁹⁰ "L313 A Lion is known by his paw (claw)." Tilley.

Companyes of the *English Irish*, to suppress the meere *Irish*, so having trayned them vpp, as the very horseboyes of them following our Armye /20/ were proued good shott, was at last forced to intertaine of them many Companyes of Foote, and Troopes of horse in her pay, lest they should fall to the Rebels party. Of these some woorthy Commaunders did good seruice, and all in generall, so long as they were employed in our Army, serued brauely, so as the lord *Deputy* was often bold to take the feilde when halfe his forces consisted of them. But when they were left in Garrison, especially in their owne Countryes, it was obserued that generally they did no seruice, but lying still, wasted the Queenes Treasure, /30/ and lest they should leese their pay, which they esteemed a Reuenewe, or religion should be reformed, in tyme of peace, (which they most feared), they did make our Counsells knowne to the Rebels, did vnderhand releiue them, and vsed all meanes to nourish and strengthen the Rebellion. It is straunge but most true, that aswell to merritt the Rebels fauour, as to haue the goods of their Countrye safe from spoyling, the very Subjects gaue large Contributions to the Rebels, insomuch as one Country (whereby an Estimate of the rest may be made,) did pay the Rebels /40/ three hundreth pounds yearely, vsing this art to auoide the danger of the lawe, that when they made a cutting vppon Cowes for this purpose, they pretended [to make] this exaction for the lordes vse, vnder hand sending the Rebels word thereof

that they might by force surprise those Cowes which indeede were leuyed for them. And besides all or most of them had Children, brothers or kinsmen ioyned with the Rebels, as hostages of their loue, and pledges of reconcilement vppon all events. Againe I said formerly that the *Septs* or men of one name and bloud, liued together in one /50/ Towne and Country, each *Sept* having a Captaine or cheife of that name. Now this point is a great mistery, that they could giue no more certaine pledge of faith to vs, then to drawe bloud of any of these *Septs*. But the lord //

{ c.w. deputye }

Booke. ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:265.
Deputy making it a cheife proiect to make them drawe bloud in this kinde vppon their neighbors, founde it a most hard thing to effect with any of the *English Irish*, yea with those that were in the *Queenes* pay; yet the *English Irish* being in the *States* pay, lest they should be held altogether vnprofitable, and to purchase reward of seruice, would sometymes kill a poore *Rebell*, or bring him aliue to the State, whose reuenge they feared not, yea perhappes a *Rebell* of note, to whome the cheife neighbor *Rebells* bore malice, and so cast him into their hands. And this done they vsed to triumphe as though /10/ they had done a master [shipp] [peece] of seruice, and could hardly haue the patience to expect a *Shipp* to carry them into *England* that in Court they might importune extraordinary reward besides their ordinary pay. To be breife, the *Queenes* letters shall

beare me witsnesse that the English Irish placed in
 Garrisons at their owne home lyved idlie without doinge
 any service exhausted the publique Treasure and by all
 meanes nourished the Rebellionⁿ especia^llie by plottes laid
 at priuate parlyes and at publique meetinges vppon hills
 (Called Rathes) where many treacherous Conspiraces weare
 made.⁹¹ Would /20/ any equall man blame a Prince for
 puttinge such Souldgers out of pay for prohibittinge such
perleys,⁹² and for Carefall wacchinge over such meetinges?
 Great priuiledges weare worthely graunted at first to the
 great Lordes of English race for their [great] Conquest,
 and [great] power over the people, was wisely given them at
 first both for Reward and for power to keepe the meere
 Irish in Subieccion: But if these Lordes vse their
 priuiledges and power to Contrary endes, spoilinge the
 [Countrey] [subiectes] and wastinge the Countrey by their
 sword menn, when the Cause Ceased, shall not the effect
 cease ? /30/ when their vertue is Cha[.][n]ged and their
 endes Corrupted, may not a wise Prince abridge their
priuiledges and power ? The same is the reason of the law
 forbiddinge any [of the] English Irish to be Lord Deputy:
 The famous Queene *Elizabeth* findinge the ill Event of

⁹¹ Queen Elizabeth does write that the English Irish lived idly. She complains to Mountjoy on 20 July 1600 complaining of the "...many suffered to lie idle, like drones, with their companies, without doing hurt to the rebel, or yeilding safety to our subjects..." See *CSP Ireland 1600* (London, 1903), p. 325.

⁹² Hughes transcribes "partyes", p. 207.

theise ill Causes became Iealous of the English Irish Counsellors of State and Iudges and vsed the aforesaid Remedyes against a Cheeffe Iustice & a Cheffe Barronn of that tyme. Formerly I acknowledge that the English Irish serued brauely in our Army, while they weare vnder the Lord Deputyes eie, and some worthie Commaunders /40/ [serued faithfully] of them shewed great faithfullnes, and did speciall seruices, yet this most wise Queene found their defectes, & that the strength of hir affaires Consisted in breedinge English Souldgers, soe as shee commaunded the other Companies to be no more supplied, but to be Cast by degrees, as they grew defectiue and in the meane tyme to be ymployed out of their owne Countryes, where they might not feare to draw blood of the borderinge Septes. The Earle of *Clanricard* serued the said Queene soe well, as he cannot be to much Commended for the same,⁹³ and was also highly /50/ in hir Fauor, yet when the Earle of Essex had left him Gouvernor of his owne Countrey, howsoeuer shee would not openly displace him, yet shee Ceased not till by hir direccions hee was induced to a voluntary Resignacionn therof into hir handes: For indeed the English Irish and meere Irish of that tyme weare generally soe humorous,⁹⁴ // fol:266. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap.V.

⁹³ The Earl of Clanricarde of the Burkes who ruled in Connaught had a dubious record of loyalty to Elizabeth. His son paid the ultimate price for his disloyalty. Berleth, pp. 38, 59, 183.

⁹⁴ "3. b. Moody, peevish, ill-humoured..." OED

as their fathers or brothers that dyed having any gouernment of the Country or commaund in the Army, they esteemed the same as due to them by Inheritance, or at least if they were not conferred on them, grew discontented and prone to any mischeiuous Course. To conclude, the *English Irish* of that tyme (few or none excepted) were obstinate and most superstitious Papists, and what our State might haue hoped from such men in high places of gouernment, lett wise men iudge.

The second excuse of the *English Irish* for applying themselues /10/ to the meere *Irish* in manners lawes and Customes, and so growing strangers (if not Enemyes) to the *English*, hath some Coulor of truth, but can neuer iustify this action. Namely that the Colonyes of the first *English* conquering *Ireland*, being broken and wasted it [in] the Ciuill warr of *England* betweene the houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* were neuer supplied, but left so weake as they were forced to apply themselues to the meere *Irish* as the stronger. Since the noble Familyes of *England* were much wasted in the same warr, no maruell if [i..] at the end thereof, our /20/ kings first intended the restoring of *England* to the former vigor, before they could cast their eyes vppon *Ireland*, 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, the first of the *English Irish Geraldines*, who had the Earle of *Desmond* for their head, the /30/ second of the meere *Irish*, and many *English Irish*, having the Earle of *Tyrone* for their head. Touching the first, when the Earle of *Desmond* was subdued, and that Rebellion appeased, the said Queene (of happy memory) intended great Reformation by planting new *English Familyes* vppon the forfeited lands of the Earle of *Desmond* in *Mounster*. But this good intention was made voyde by a great error of that tyme, in that those lands were graunted, partly to obstinate Papists, partly to Courtiers, who sold their shares to like obstinate Papists, as men that would giue most for them. /40/ Whereof two great mischeifes grewe. First that these Papists being more obstinate then others, and thervppon choosing to leaue their dwelling in *England*, where the seuerity of the lawes bridled [them], and to remoue into *Ireland*, where they might be more remote, and so haue greater liberty, shewed the old prouerbe to be true,

Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt

Passing the sea with a swift wynde, doth change the aire

*but not the mynde*⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Compare James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 72 (25 June 1621).

"*Cælum non animam mutant qui trans mare currunt.*
The Air but not the Mind they change,

For they not only remayned Papists, but grew more and more /50/ obstinate with liberty, and by their example confirmed both the *English Irish* and meere *Irish* in that superstition. Secondly these new planted *English* (comonly called vndertakers) being thus ill affected, did not performe the Couenants imposed in //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:267.

their graunts, for establishing peace in that Prouince; For they [....] [nethe<r>] built Castles, to strengthen them against tymes of Rebellion, neither did they plant their lands with well affected Tenants out of *England*, giuing them Freeholds, Cobby holds & leases, and tying them to serue on Foote, or horseback vppon all occasions of tumult or warr, which would much haue strengthened the *English* against the meere *Irish* and all Invasions. But they tooke a Contrary Course, not only planting their lands with meere *Irish* Tenants, (to whome they gaue no such tenor of Freehold Copyhold or lease, and who serued /10/ them vppon base abiect Conditions, whereby they made great profitt for the present) but also intertayning them for seruants in their Familyes, for the same reason of present profitt. And this made their great profitt of small continuance, and their dwellings of lesse strength and safety. For in the

Who in Outlandish Countries range."

As Moryson says, it seems to have been proverbial. The earliest instance that I have located is in Albertus Meierus, *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions* (London, 1589), sig. A3r, [STC 17784].

first troubles of the next Rebellion of *Tyrone*, themselves and the State founde by wofull experience, that they had no way strengthened the Prouince, but only dispeopled and wasted other lands to bring Tenants vpon their owne, so as the kings other Rents were thereby as much diminished as increa/20/sed by their Rents, [as] [and] the number of horse or foote to defend the Prouince, were nothing increased by them; neither had they made any greater number of *English* to passe in Iuries betweene the king and the Subiects, so as the lord President had not power to suppress the first Rebels, and the Iudges in all tryalls were forced to vse the *Irish*, who made no conscience of doing wrong to the king, and the *English* Subiects.

Againe their Irish Tennants ether rann away, or turning Rebels spoyled them, and the Irish in their houses were ready to be tray them, and /30/ [vpon] [open] their doores to the Rebels. So as some of those vndertakers were in the first tumult killed, some taken prisoners were Cruelly handled, and had their wiues and daughters shamefully abused, great part rann out of the kingdome, and yet shamed not to clayme & proffesse in the ende of the Rebellion these landes, the defence whereof they had so basely forsaken. Some fewe kept their old Reuenued Castles, but with great charg to the State in mantayning warders to defend them, which warders were so many, as they greatly deminished the force of our Army in the /40/ field. Thus were the good

purposes of that first plantation made frustrate by ill disposed vndertakers. Touching the other Rebellion of Tyrone, the appeasing thereof concurred at one instant with the death of our sayd Queene, beyond which tyme my purpose is not to write, and therefore it should be impertinent for me, worthily to magnifye the Plantation in the North, established by king Iames our gracious Souerayne. Only I will say for want of former Colonies planting, whereof the English Irish complayne, that as the Plantation after /50/ Desmonds Rebellion was made frustrate by ill disposed vndertakers, so from the foresayd Ciuill warrs betweene the houses of Yorke and lancaster to the end of Tyrones Rebellion, all the English in generall that voluntarily left England to plant themselues in Ireland, ether vnder the sayd //

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vndertakers of Mounster, or vpon the landes of any other English Irish throughout Ireland, or to liue in Cittyes and townes, were generally obserued to haue beene ether Papists, men of disordered life, banckrots, or very poore (not speaking of those of the Army remaying there after the Rebellion, who are of another tyme succeeding that whereof I write, and well knowne to be of good condition) By which course Ireland as the heele of the body was made the sincke of England, the stench whereof had almost annoyed very Cheapside the hart of the body in /10/ Tyrons

pestilent Rebellion.⁹⁶ To conclude, I deny not but the excuse of weaknes in the English Irish Colonies, forcing them to apply to the meere Irish as stronger, hath in part a true ground, though it cannot Iustifye the act. And if I should perswade the planting of Ireland with newe Colonies, I should now speake [of] out of tyme, when that profitabelle and necessary action is in great measure performed by the prouidence of our dread Souraigne.⁹⁷ If I should commend and extoll the Act, I feare I should therein be reputed as foolish as the Sophister, who in a publike /20/ assembly made along oration in prayse of *Hercules*, whome no man at that tyme or formerly euer disprayed⁹⁸ But I will passe from their alledged excuses to the true causes of their Alienation from vs and application to the meere Irish. The grand cause is their firme consent with them in the Roman Religion, whereof I shall speake at larg in the next Booke of this part. The second cause al[]so prædominant, though in a lower degree, is the profitt they

⁹⁶ Moryson sees the English state anthropomorphically, with Ireland the possible heel of Achilles becoming the sink of the body "the organs of digestion and excretion" *OED* I. 3. transf. b. Ireland digested treasure and men, and left only waste. *OED* quotes one earlier use of this phrase, from Menenius's fable of the belly, *Coriolanus*, I. 1. 120. Sugden says that Cheapside was the old marketplace of London, but it hardly would be the heart of England. It is an ugly mixed metaphor.

⁹⁷ "2. Foresight, prevision...wise arrangement... guidance..." *OED* Moryson is always complimentary of James.

⁹⁸ "This is Prodicus of Ceos, who wrote a famous piece called *The Choice of Heracles*. See Xenophon, *Memorabilia* II." FB

haue long tyme found in the barbarous lawes and Customes of the Irish, by tyrannicall /30/ oppression of the poore people vnder them, of which point I haue formerly spoken in this Chapter. The third cause is their Contracting affinity with them by mariage, and Amitye by mutuall fostering of Children. The fourth is community of apparrell. The fifth Community of language. Of which three last causes I will now speake breifly.

The power of these three last causes to corrupt the manners and Fayth of any nation, being well knowne, the Progenitors of our kings with consent of the States /40/ of that kingdome in Parliament, did of old make many Actes against them, which some tymes wrought reformation, but without any during effect,

For contrary to these lawes,⁹⁹ the English Irish haue for many ages, almost from the first conquest, contracted mariages with the meere Irish, whose children [of] mingled race could not but degenerate from their English Parents, and also mutually fostered each others Children, which bond of loue the Irish generally so much esteeme, as they will giue their Foster Children a /50/ parte of their goods with their owne Children, and the very Children

⁹⁹ Moryson is probably referring to the draconian Statutes of Kilkenny 1366 which tried to reverse the hibernization of the English settlers. Myers, p. 4.

fostered together loue one another as naturall brothers and sisters, yea theire Foster brothers or sisters better then theire owne. Only I must say for the English Irish Cittisens, espetiially those of Corck, that they //

Booke II [T]The Commonwealth of Ireland. Chap:V fol:269

haue euer so much avoyded these mariages with the meere Irish, as for want of others commonly marrying among themselues, all the men and wemen of the Cittie had for many ages beene of kindred in neere degree one with the other.

Agayne contrary to the sayd lawes, the English Irish for the most part haue for many ages had the same attyre and apparrell with the meere Irish, namely the nourishing of long hare (vugarly¹⁰⁰ called glibs) which hanges downe to the shoulders, hidinge the face, so as a Malefactor may /10/ easily escape with his face covered theire with, or by collering his hayre, and much [more] by cutting it off, may so alter his Countenance as those of his acquaintance shall not knowe him, and this hayre being exceeding long, they haue no vse of Capp or hatt. Also they weare strayte Breeches, called Trowses,¹⁰¹ very close to the body and loose Coates like large waskotes, and mantells in steede of Clokes, which mantells are as a Cabinn for an out lawe in

¹⁰⁰ Hughes amends to "vulgarly", p. 212.

¹⁰¹ "Close-fitting hose covering the buttocks and thighs; knee-breeches." Myers, p. 238.

the woods, a bed for a Rebell, and a Cloke for a theefe,¹⁰² and being worne over the head and eares, and hanging /20/ downe to the heeles, a notorious villane lapt in them may passe any towne or Company without being knowne. Yet I must likewise confesse that the best part of the Cittizens did not then vse this Irish apparrell.

Agayne Contrary to the sayd lawes, the Irish English altogether vsed the Irish tounge, forgetting or neuer learning the English. And this communion or difference of language, hath allwayes beene obserued, a spetiall motiue to vnite or allienate the myndes of all nations, so as the wise Romans as they inlarged their Conquests, /30/ so they did spreade their language, with their lawes, and the diuine seruice all in the lattene tounge, and by rewardes and preferments inuited men to speake it, As also the Normans in England brought in the vse of the French tounge, in our Common lawe, and all wordes of art in hawking, hunting and like pastymes. And in generall all nations haue thought nothing more powerfull to vnite myndes then the Community of language.¹⁰³ But the lawe to spreade the

¹⁰² Compare Spenser's "...a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief." *View*, p. 51.

¹⁰³ Moryson may have got these ideas from Botero, "The victors will do well to introduce their own tounge into countries they have conquered, as the Romans did extremely successfully, as the Arabs have done in much of Africa and Spain, and as William Duke of Normandy did in England five hundred years ago." *State*, p. 98. Moryson is obviously

English tounge in Ireland, was euer interrupted by Rebellions, and much more by /40/ ill affected subiectes, so as at this tyme whereof I write, the meere Irish disdayned to learne or speake the English tounge, yea the English Irish and the very Cittizens (excepting those of Dublin where the lord Deputy resides) though they could speake English as well as wee, yet Commonly speake Irish among themselues, and were hardly induced by our familiar Conversation to speake English with vs, yea Common experience shewed, and my selfe and others often obserued, the Cittizens of Watterford and Corcke hauing wyues that could speake English as well as wee, /50/ bitterly to chyde them when they speake English with vs. [Insomuch as after the Rebellion ended, when the Itinerant Iudges went their Circutes through the kingdome each alfe yeare to keepe assises, fewe of the people no not the very Iurymen could speake English, and at like Sessions in Vlster, all the gentlemen and common people (excepting only the Iudges trayne) and the very Iurimen putt vpon life and death and all tryalls in lawe, commonly spake Irish, many Spanish, and fewe or none could or would speake English.] These outward signes being tuchstones of the inward affection, manifestly shewed that the English Irish helde it a reproch among themselues, to apply themselues any /60/ way to the

interested in etymology. Note the aristocratic pastimes that have assimilated Norman French. The Normans in England were the aristocratic overlay on an Anglo-Saxon society.

English, or not to followe the Irish in all thinges. //

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In somuch as I haue heard twenty absurd thinges practised by them, only because they would be contrary to vs, wherof I will only name some fewe for instances. Our wemen riding on horse backe behynde men, sett with theire faces towards the left Arme of the man, but the Irish weomen sett on the Contrary syde, with theire faces to the right Arme. Our horses drawe Cartes and like thinges with traces of Ropes or leather, or with Iron Chaynes, but they fasten them by a wyth[.] to the tayles of theire horses, and to the Rompts when the tayles be puld off,¹⁰⁴ which had [beene] forbidden /10/ by lawes yet could neuer be altered. wee liue in Clenly houses, they in Cabinns or smoaky Cottages. Our cheefe husbandry is in Tillage, they dispise the Plough, and where they are forced to vse it for necessity, doe all thinges about it cleane contrary to vs. To conclude they abhorr from all thinges that agree with English Ciuility. Would any man Iudge these to be borne of English Parents: or will any man blame vs for not esteeming or imploying them as English, who scorne to be so reputed. The penall lawes against abuses had often /20/ bene putt in execution, but as the Popes by theire booke taxing all sinnes with a penaltye, did rather sett sinne at a price, then abolish

¹⁰⁴ The with or withe is usually made of willow, osier or some flexible twigs attached to the horse's tail or rump to serve as tackle. *OED*

it, so they who had letters Pattens to execute these penall lawes did not somuch seeke reformation, as by a moderate agreement for the penalltyes to rayse a yearely Rent to themselues, and so making the fault more Common, did eate the sinnes of the people.

{ m.n. 28. The Citties. }

The fayre Cittyes of Ireland require somethinge to be sayd of them. They were at first all peopled with English men, and had large priuiledges, but in tyme became won/30/derfully degenerate, and peruerted all these priuiledges to pernicious vses, As they were degenerated from the English to the Irish manners, Customes, Dyett, apparrell (in some measure) language and generally all affections, so besydes the vniversall inclination of Marchants, no swordmen more norished the last Rebellion, then they did by all meanes in their power. First they did so for feare lest vpon peace established they might be inquired into for their Religion, being all obstinate Papists, abhorring from entring a Church, as the beasts tremble to enter the Lyons denn, /40/ and where they were forced to goe to church (as the Maior and Aldermen of Dublin to attend the lord Deputy) there vsing to stopp their eares with woll or some like matter, so as they could not heare a worde the Preacher spake (a strange obstinacy since fayth comes by heareing, to resolute not to heare the Charmer charme he neuer so wisely) Secondly for

Covetousnes, since during the Rebellion great treasure was yearely sent out of England, whereof no small part came to theire handes from the [from the] Army for vittles, apparrell, and the like necessaryes. /50/ Yea not content with this no small inriching of theire estate, to nourish the warr and thereby continue this inriching, as also [for] priuate gayne from the Rebels, they furnished them continually with all necessaries, neuer wanting crafty euasions from the Capitall daunger of the lawe in //

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such cases. For among other subtileties, were obserued some of them to lade a great[er] quantity of English wollen cloth and like necessaryes vpon Cartes and horses, as if they would send them to some of our neighbor garrisons, but wee founde manifest probabilities yea certaynes proofes, that in the meane tyme they ad[r]vrtised¹⁰⁵ some Rebels of this transportaton, who meeting the goods intercepted the same as it were by force, and theire seruants returned home with a great outcry of this surprisall, but nether wounded nor somuch as sadd in Countenance, /10/ as theire masters proued neuer the poorer, for no doubt those Rebels payd them largely for those goods, who without warme clothes should haue suffered a hard life in the woods. Nay more, they furnished them euen with swords with gunnes and with Gunpowder and all our armes, by which abhominable act they

¹⁰⁵ Hughes amends to "advertised", p. 215.

made excessiue profitt, the Rebels being sometymes in such want of munition, as they <w>ould giue whole heardes of Cowes for a small quantity of munition, for they could easily recouer Cowes againe by rapine, but most hardly gott supplies of Armes /20/ and munition. And these Armes the Citizens vsed to buy of our Cast Captaines,¹⁰⁶ as powder from our soldiers having a surplusage of that which was allowed them for exercise of their peeces, and also vnderhand of trayterous vnderministers in our office of the Ordinance residing in their Cittyes. And in like sort they furnished the Rebels with our best victualls. For the ministers of our victualers vnder pretence of leaue to sell victualls to the Citizens if they feared it would grow musty, did often sell our best biskett and victualls to the Citizens /30/ who secretly sold it to the Rebels. These their abhominable practises were well seene and greatly detested, but could not easily be remedyed, the delinquents euer having coulorable <ev>asions, and especially because there was no forbidding the emption of munition to marchants vppon payne of death (which was thought most necessarye), except our stores of munition had then beene, and had had sure hope to be fully supplied, in regard that the wyndes are there so vncertaine, as the publique stores not being continually furnished, an Army might runn great

¹⁰⁶ "Cast. ppla. 3. Cashiered, dismissed from office (obs.); discarded, cast off. *cast captain* was app. orig. *casted captain*; this led to other uses." OED

/40/ hazard before new supplies came, if the marchants could no way releiue it. And this necessity of supplying our stores, we found apparently at *Kinsale*, where assoone as our Shippes with men and munition were arriued, the wynde turned, and still continued contrary till we tooke the Towne by Composition, being more then six weekes. Againe for the great priuiledges graunted to the first *English* Ancestors of these Cittyes, more specially in [all] this discourse meaning *Waterford*, *Corck* and *Lymbrick*,¹⁰⁷ For *Dublin* was in part ouer awed by the lord *Deputies* /50/ residencie, and *Galloway* gaue some good testimonyes of fidelity in those dangerous tymes) I will shew by one or two instances, how the degenerate Citizens of that tyme peruerted //

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the same to pernicious vses. *Waterford* had a Priuiledge by Charter from king *Iohn* that they should not at any tyme be forced to receiue any of the kings forces into the City. And when vppon their manifest rebellion at the very end of the last Rebellion,¹⁰⁸ the lord *Mountioy* then lord *Deputy* bringing to their City the forces of our Soueraigne king *James*, therewith to conforme them to his *Majesties* lawes, they alledging this Charter, refused to receiue any of the

¹⁰⁷ Limerick.

¹⁰⁸ "Almost as soon as O'Neill had submitted, the southern cities (among them, Cashel, Cork, Waterford, and Kilkenny) went into rebellion, largely for religious reasons." Myers, p. 238.

said forces into their Citty, his lordshipp vowed to cutt king *Johns charter* (as not grauntable to such preiudice of his /10/ Successors) with king *James* his sword, and to sowe salt vppon the soyle of their destroyed Citty, if they obeyed him not, and with much disputation and power hardly drewe them from the ridiculous Plea of the said Charter. Secondly all Fynes for violating penall Statutes of the Admiralty and all others were by an old Charter graunted to the Citizens, And in these dayes whereof I write, the Citizens degenerated from *English to Irish* (or rather to *Spanish*) if our Magistrates imposed any Fynes vppon delinquents, especially in Cases for /20/ reformation of religion, and the like, would priuately remitt those mulcts falling to the treasure of the Citty, which impunity made them offend the lawe without feare, as this and like immunityes, made them without danger of the lawe, to transport prohibited wares, to parlye with Rebels, to export and import traiterous *Iesuites* in their Shippes, and to doe manifold insolencies, while it was in the hand of the *Maior* and his brethren freely to remitt all penalties imposed on delinquents. These and like priuiledges were in those dayes iudged too great for /30/ any Marchants, and most vnfitt for marchants of suspected fidelity, (to say no woorse). To conclude, these Citizens were for the most part in those dayes no lesse alienated from the *English*, then the very meere *Irish*, vppon the same forealledged causes, as in [no][one] particular Case of their Community of

language with the *Irish* I haue shewed, and could many wayes illustrate, if I tooke any pleasure to insist vppon that subiect.

{ m.n. 39, 40. *Errors imputed to the State by the English Irish.* }

The *English Irish* thus affected did generally in these tymes impute some errors to the State. First that /40/ when any dissolute [seruant] swordman, for want, or for meanes to support his luxury, began to robb, & spoyle and so to liue in the woods for safety from the lawe, and there neuer wanted some like affected persons, ready vppon the first rumor thereof, to flye vnto the woods, and liue like outlawes with him,¹⁰⁹ which small number the State might easily haue prosecuted to death, for example and terror to others, yet when these men had spoyled the Country, and all Passengers, experience taught that the State, for feare of a small expence in prosecuting them, /50/ vsed vppon their first submission to graunt them protections to come in, and then not only to pardon them, but to free them from restitution of that they had robbed, so as good and quiett Subiects might see their goods possessed by them, and yet could not recouer them. Yea, nothing was //

¹⁰⁹ Banished Shakespearean characters make for the woods. Duke Senior muses, "Are not these woods/ More free from peril than the envious court?" *As You Like It* II. 1. 3 - 4. They are an ambivalent symbol since they contain outlaws in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and a lion in *As You Like It*.

Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:273.
more frequent [then] for the State[s] to giue rewards and
yearely pentions to like seditious knaues, in policy
(forsooth) lest they should trouble the peace, and putt the
State to charge in prosecuting them. So as quiett and good
Subiects being daily wronged without redresse, and
seditious knaues being rewarded for not doing ill, and as
it were hyred to liue as Subiects, they said it was no
maruell that so many dissolute persons swarmed in all parts
of that kingdome. *Galba* the *Roman* Emperor in his oration to
his Soldiers expecting and murmuring /10/ 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;¹¹⁰ And such was then the miserable State of
Ireland, as these Corruptions could not altogether be
auoyded, though they sauoured rather of a *precarium*
Imperium, that is, a ruling by intreaty and by rewards,
then absolute commaund ouer Subiects.

¹¹⁰ Galba (68 - 69), made Emperor by his soldiers in Spain after Nero, was murdered by the Praetorian Guard. "But *Galba* vnderstanding that they complained of him, he spake word meete for so noble and worthie a Prince as he was: that he vsed to choose souldiers, not to buy them." Plutarch, *The liues of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, translated by Thomas North, (London, 1579), p. 1115, [STC 20065]. Moryson may be more familiar with the original than either North (or Shakespeare). A closer translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, translated by Bernadotte Perrin, 11 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1914 - 1926), XI (1926), 245, renders the passage "...he spoke out like a great Emperor, and declared that it was his custom to enroll soldiers not to buy them."

But they further vrged, that these abuses grew from the Corruption of the cheefe magistrates, for as he said well, /20/ that no Citty was impregnable, that would open their gates to giue entrance to an Enemyes Asse laden with gold;¹¹¹ so *Ireland* could not haue firme peace, while no man was so wicked, who for a bribe of Cowes (such and no other are the bribes of the *Irish*) found not the lord *Deputies* followers, and seruants, yea Counsellors of State, and (I shame to speake it,) the very wiues and children of the lord *Deputy* ready to begg his Pardon, who seldome or neuer missed to obtayne it.¹¹²

They further vrged, that not only armed Rebels were /30/ in this kinde pardoned, but also that those taken, and putt in our prisons, were comonly by like Corruption freely pardoned, or suffered vnder hand to breake Prison, and then pardoned vnder pretence of the publike good to saue charges

¹¹¹ This seems to have been a saying of Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great. "There's no fence or fortress *against an Ass laden with Gold*. It was a saying, you know, of *his* Father, whom partial and ignorant Antiquity cries up to have conquer'd the World..." See James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 108 (24 May 1622). Howell repeats it in a letter of 4 December 1637, p. 379.

¹¹² Moryson may be referring to Sir John Perrot Lord Deputy 1584 - 1588 who tended to favour the native Irish against the English settlers in Munster, and whose enemies were to pursue him to his end in the Tower of London in 1592. See Berleth, pp. 219 - 221, 237 - 240. However, Perrot was history by this time, and perhaps Moryson's views represent those of his brother, Sir Richard, who as Vice-President of Munster until his return to England in 1615 may have seen corruptions that displeased him.

in prosecuting them, whereof they gaue instances of *ODonell* breaking prison in the beginning, and *Cormoc mac Barons* eldest sonne in the end of the Rebellion, and of many like Rebels of note.¹¹³ So as nothing was more vulgarly said among the Rebels themselues, then that they could haue pardon whensoever they listed, according to the *Poett.* /40/

Crede mihi res est ingeniosa, dare.

*Beeleue, Tis' a most witty course, to giue & bribe with open purse.*¹¹⁴

And touching the Prisons, they said, that the Iailors of Prouinciall and other Prisons, seldome brought their Prisoners to be tryed before Iudges, but some were executed by Marshall lawe, contrary to the dignity of Ciuill Iustice, Others they would affirme to be dead, vppon their bare word without testimony of the Crowner,¹¹⁵ or any like proceeding necessary in that Case. Others they would affirme to haue bene freed by the commaund of the Prouinciall Gouer/50/nors auailable rather by Custome then

¹¹³ Red Hugh O'Donnell had been kidnapped and imprisoned at Dublin Castle as a surety for his father's good behaviour, and as a warning to Tyrone. He escaped in January 1593, probably with Tyrone's help. It was a dire warning to the English government of Irish determination. See Berleth, pp. 256, 257. The escape of Cormock Mc Dermond on 29 September 1602 was minimized by Geoffrey Fenton in his covering letter of 8 October to Secretary Cecil, and certainly was not as significant as the escape of Red Hugh. See *Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1601 - 1603* (London, 1912), p. 494.

¹¹⁴ I have been unable to find which poet wrote this.

¹¹⁵ An obsolete form of Coroner. *OED*

lawe.¹¹⁶ Yea they would not shame to confesse some to haue escaped by breaking prison, as if they were not to be punished for so grosse negligence, admitting no excuse.

Touching the sacred power of Pardons and Protections they confessed that it was fitt to giue power of Protection to military Gouvernors, that they might bring Rebels in to the state, but they alledged many corrupt abuses committed in that Case, whereby not only Armed Rebels, but //

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many taken Prisoners, having once their Protection, had meanes with safety of their persons to importune the State for obtayning their Pardon, in which kinde mac Carthen notorious for many murthers, and many like notable villanyes, had lately beene freed from the hand of Iustice.¹¹⁷ Againe, they confessed of that the generall giving of Protections and Pardons by the lord Deputy, was necessary after the Rebellion was growne strong, and generall, when it behoued the State (as a mother) with open <Arm>es to receiue her disobedient Children to /10/ mercy, lest they should be driuen to desperate Courses especially since the punishment of all was vnpossible in such a strong

¹¹⁶ "I. b. in Law. valid." *OED* Moryson means that the powers of provincial governors were validated by custom rather than by law, a course of which, with his legal background, Moryson disapproves.

¹¹⁷ The MacCarthy Sept were very important, and Moryson could be referring to Fynin, Florence or Dermott or some other member. See *CSP Ireland*, passim.

Combination, of the cheife was difficult for their strong factions, and of particuler and inferior offenders was somewhat vnequall, if not vniust. But they freely sayd that our State had greatly erred in not making strong and sharpe opposition¹¹⁸ to the first eruption of that Rebellion before they were vnited, yea rather dallying with them till by mutuall Combinations they were growne to a strong body, and that for saving [of] Charges, /20/ without which it was hoped they might by fayre treatyes be reclaymed, which foolish frugality in the end caused an huge exhausting of the publique Treasure, and which vayne hope had no probable ground, since the *Irish* attributed our moderate Courses in reducing, rather then conquering them, to our feare, rather then our wisdome, waxing proude when they [were] [...lbe] fairely handled and gently perswaded to their dutyes, as no nation yeildes more abiect obedience when they are curbed with a churlish and seuerer hand. How much better (said they) had our State /30/ done [to haue giuen no protection or pardon in the beginning, but] to haue seuerely putt to death all that fell into our hands (which examples of terror were as necessary in Ireland, as they euer had bene rare) or if pittie and mercy had bene iudged fitt to be extended to any, surely not to those, who after malicious and bloody Acts of hostilitye were at last broken, and vnable longer to subsist much lesse without some pecuniary

¹¹⁸ Hughes has what must be a printing mistake, "vpposition", p. 220.

Mulct or Fyne towards the publique charge, or with freedome from making restitution to priuate men, and least of all with rewards and pentions bestowed on them for a vaine /40/ hope of future seruice. In all which kindes they gaue many instances, that our State had often erred.

To conclude they said that sharpe, and speedy prosecution in the beginning had bene most easy (scattered troopes being soone suppressed with small forces) and no lesse advantagious and profitable to the State (aswell by the confiscation of their lands and goods, as by long and firme peace likely to follow such terrifying examples of Iustice).

Againe they bitterly imputed this error to our State, proued /50/ by [many] notable instances. that *Irish and English Irish*, who had forsaken their lordes in Rebellion, to serue in our Army, after when their lordes were receiued to mercy, with free pardon, and restoring of honor and lands, had beene quitted and left by vs to liue againe vnder the same lords highly offended with them, and so neuer ceasing till they had //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:275.

brought them to beggery, if not to the gallowes, which proceeding of ours in their opinion argued, that so wee could keepe the great lords in good termes, we cared not to forsake the weaker, and leaue them to the tyranny of the

other. Yea that to these great lordes that of Rebels were become Subiects, our State granted warrants to execute marshall lawe against vagabond and seditious persons, who vpon the same pretences had often executed these men retorning to them from the seruice of the State, and more specially those who had faithfully /10/ serued vs in the warr for spyes, and for guides to conduct our forces through the boggs and woods and fortified p<l>aces, or if they had not dared so to execute those men, yet by violent oppressions had brought them to beggery, and sometymes by secrett plotts had caused them to be killed. In this case [if] I may boldly speake my opinion, I should thinck it were impossible so to protect inferior persons of best desert in tyme of peace, from the tyranny of great lordes, as they should no way oppress or hurt them, either by their power, which is transcendent /20/ or by their Craft wherein no people may compare with them. And as formerly I haue spoken at large of oppressions done by their power; so I will giue one notable instance of their Tyranny by Craft. The famous Traytor *Hugh* late Earle of *Tyrone* vsed in his Cupps to bragg, that by one Trick he had destroyed many faithfull seruants to the State, namely by causing them vnderhand to be brought in question for their life, and then earnestly intreating the lord Deputy, and the Iudges to pardon them, who neuer fayled to execute them whose pardon he craued. /30/ But why we should subiect the seruants of the State to the oppression of great lords that

had bene Rebels, or why the State should vppon any pretence graunt them Marshall lawe (the examples of both which I confesse were frequent and pregnant¹¹⁹), I thinck no coulorable reason can be giuen.¹²⁰

To be short among many other errors, they did much insist vppon this. That our State contrary to our lawe of *England*, yearely made such men Sheriffs of the Coun[tyes], as had not one foote of land in the Countyes,][tyes], and that they b[r]ought those places of the lord *Deputies* /40/ seruants on whome he vsed yearely to bestow them, which made great Corruption, since they who buy, must sell,. Yea that these Sheriffs were commonly litigious men of the County, who having many suits in lawe, bought those places to haue power in protracting or peruerting the Iustice of their owne (as also their freinds) causes, especially by making Iuries serue their turne. And most of all that these Sheriffs, as having ill conscience of their owne oppressions, vsed yearely after the expiring of their offices, to sue out and obtayne the kings generall Pardon, vnder /50/ the great Seale of [*Eng*]Ireland, the bare seeking whereof implied guiltines, so as the Ministers of the State aboue all other men should be excluded from being capable to haue these Pardons who ought to be free of all

¹¹⁹ "a. 1. clear." *OED*

¹²⁰ "2. b. ...having at least a *prima facie* aspect of justice or validity."

dangerous Crimes. //

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Hereof my selfe can only say, that in *England* these Pardons are not obtayned without great difficulty: and that the *Irish* lordes in and before the last rebellion, complayned of nothing more then the extortions and oppressions of these Sheriffs, and their numerous traynes and dependants, yea pretended the same for a cheife Cause of their taking Armes.

{ m.n. 9, 10. *The generall Iustice.* }

Touching the generall Iustice of *Ireland* howsoever it was in the last Rebellion tyed hand and foote, yet of the former establishment thereof and the hopefull begin/10/ning to flourish at the end of the Rebellion, something must be said, And first in generall the *English* haue alwayes gouerned *Ireland*, not as a conquered people by the sword and the Conquerors lawe, but as a Prouince vnited vppon mariage or like peaceable transactions, and by lawes established in their Parliaments with consent of the three estates. The supreame magistrate is the lord Deputy (of whose power I haue[.] spoken) with the Counsell of State named and appoynted in England, and these haue their residence /20/ at Dublin. The next is the lord Presedent of Mounster, with Counselors or Prouinciall assistants, named and apoynted by the lord Deputy, with a cheefe Iustice and

the kings attorney¹²¹ for the Prouince, not hauing any Courtes of Iustice, but only assisting the lord Presedent at the Counsell table, where, and likewise at Dublin, causes are Iudged by the lord Deputy and lord President, as at the Counsell table in England, according to [the] equitie with respect to the right of the lawe. /30/ The Province of Connaght [was] in like sort governed by a governor (after styled lord President) with Counsellors to assist him, and among them a cheefe Iustice and the kinges attorunny, as in mounster, both governing in cheefe aswell for millitary as Ciuill matters, according to their instructions out of England, and the directions and commandes from the lord Deputy. The State purposed in like sort to establish the Province of Vlster, but at the ende of the Rebellion the Earle of Tyrone /40/ labored earnestly not to be subiect to any athority but that [of] the lord Deputy, so as there only some governors of Fortes and Count[.]yes (as in other partes of Ireland) had authority to compose differences betweene inferiour Subiectes. The Cittyes and townes had their subordinate magistrates, as Maiore and Souraues,¹²² to governe them. But the Courtes for the Common lawe for all Ireland were only at Dublin, as

¹²¹ Hughes corrects to "attorney", p. 223.

¹²² Sous can mean deputy as in sousprior, sous-chef, and "reeve n. 1. 1. Hist. a. ...the chief magistrate of a town or district" may explain this unusual word. He was probably a deputy mayor or chief alderman. Hughes transcribes the word as "Souranes", p. 224.

the kings Bench, the Common pleas, and the Exchecquer, as likewise, the Chancery for equity. And there the kings Records /50/ were kept by a master of the Roulls. And all causes in these seuerall Courtes were pleaded in the English tounge, and after the manner of the Courtes in london, saue that Ireland of old tymes had made such frequent relapses to the sworde, as the practise of the lawe was often discontinued, and the Customes of the Courtes by //

Booke II The commonwealth of Ireland Chap V fol 277

Intermission were many tymes forgotten, and the places being then of small profitt were often supplied by vnlearned and vnpractised men. And there also at the ende of the warr was erected the Court of the Starr Chamber. And there resi<ded[d]> the cheefe Iudges of the whole kingdome, as the lord chauncelor, master Cheefe Iustice, the cheefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, and the cheefe Barron of the Exchecquer, who had not formerly the style of lords nor scarlett habitts, both which were graunted them after the /10/ Rebellion ended, to giue more dignity to the lawe. All the Count[.]yes had shreiffes for execution of Iustice, yearely appoynted by the lord Deputy, only Vlster was not then deuided into Count[r]yes, as now it is, and hath the same officers.

{ m.n. 15. The lawes. }

Touching the lawes. The meere Irish from old to the very

ende of the warr, had certayne Iudges among themselues, who determened theire causes by an vnwritten lawe, only retayned by tradition, which in some things had a smacke of right and equity, and /20/ in some other was contrary to all diuine and humane lawes. These Iudges were called Brehownes, all together vnlearned, and great swillers of Spanish sacke (which the Irish merily called the king of Spaynes Daughter). Before these Iudges no [.] probable or certaine Arguments were avayleable to condemne the accused, but only manifest apprehensions in the fact. A murther being committed, these Iudges tooke vpon them to be intercessours to reconcytle the murtherer with the frendes of the murthered, by a /30/ guift vulgarly called Iuriesh.¹²³ They did extorte vnreasonable rewardes for theire Iudgment, as the eleuenth part of euery particular thinge b[r]ought in question before them. For the case of Incontinencye, they exacted a certayne number of Cowes (which are the Irish rewardes and bribes) from the maryed and vnmaryed, tho they liued chastely (which indeede was rare among them), yet more for the maryed & vnchast then from others. my selfe spake with a gentleman then liuing, who affirmed that he had payde seauen /40/ Cowes to these Iudges, because he could not bring wittnesses of his

¹²³ A corruption of the Gaelic *eiric*, a fine paid by a wrong-doer to the offended clan or sept ? See Myers, p. 118. Spenser spells it "Iriach, by which vile law of theirs many murders are amongst them made up and smothered." View, p. 5.

maryage, when he had beene maryed fyfty yeares. Among other
theire barbarous lawes, or rather Customes and traditions,
I haue formerly spoken of theire tennure of land, vulgarly
called Themistry, or Tanistry, whereby not the eldest sonne
but the elder vncle, or the most valliant (by which they
vnderstand the most dissolute swordman) of the Family,
succeeded the disceased by the election of the people,
whereof came many murthers & parricides /50/ and Rebelions,
besydes great wronges done to the State, as in this
peticular case. If the predecessor of free will or
constrayned by armes had surrendred his inheritance to the
king, and had taken it backe from the kings graunt by
letters Pattents, vpon Rent and other conditions for the
publike good, they at his death made this act voyde,
because he had no right //

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but for life. By these Iudges and by these and like lawes
were the meere Irish Iudged to the ende of the last
Rebellion, tho the English lawes had long before beene
Receaued in Ireland by consent of the three States in
Parlament.

For in the tenth yeare of king Henry the seuenth, by the
consent of the three States in Parlament, the barbarous
Brehowne Iudges and lawes, and this peticuler lawe of
Themistrey by name, were all abrogated, and the Common lawe
and Statutes of Parlament /10/ made to that day in England,

were all established in Ireland.¹²⁴ And from the first Conquest to that tyme and long after, the States of Ireland were called to the Parliament by the kings writts and the lawes there made were sent into England, and there allowed or deaded in silence by the king, and so the approued were sent backe to the lord Deputy, who accordingly confirmed them for acts of that Parliament, & reiected [the other] the[...] other by the kings authority, by which also the lord Deputy, according to his instructions from the king, /20/ proroged or dissolued the Parlements, But if the worthy Progenitors of our late kings should reuiue, and see the face of these Parlements changed, and the very English Irish backward to make lawes of Reformation, they would no doubt repent their wonted lenity in making them lawgiuers to themselues, and freeing them from constraynt in that kynde. Att first this government was fatherly to subiectes being as Children, but if they were now degenerated, should not the Course of government be made suitable to /30/ theire changed affections. No doubt if the king of Spayne (whome then they adored as preseruer of their liberty, and whose yoake then they seemed glad to vndergoe) had once had the power to make them his subiects, they haue learned by woefull experience, that he would by the same power haue imposed such lawes on them as he thought fitt, without expecting any consent of theirs in Parliament, and would

¹²⁴ Poyning's Law, 1494.

quickly haue taught them what difference euer was betweene the Spanish and English yoke. But if /40/ this course might in vs seeme tyrannicall, the Statesmen of that tyme iudged it easy by a fayrer meanes to bring them to conformity in a Parliament. Namely a newe plantation of English well affected in Religion, (who after the warr might be sent in great numbers, and fynde great quantities of land to inhabite) out of which men the lord Deputy by the Sheriffes and other assistance, might easily cause the greatest parte of the knights of the shire and Burgesses to be chosen for the swaying of the lower house.¹²⁵ As /50/ likewise by sending over wise and graue Iudges and Bishops, and if neede were by creating or citing newe Barons by writts (in immitation of king Edward the third) being men well affected to Religion and the State, so to sway the vpper house.

The generall peace after the Rebellion (when Ireland // *Booke II The Commonwealth of Ireland Chap V fol 279* was left as a p[.]ayre of cleane tables, wherein the State might write lawes at pleasure) gaue all men great hope, that the lawe should receaue newe life & vigor. Hetherto the barbarous lords at hand, had beene more feared and

¹²⁵ Events had overtaken Moryson's plans. The Parliament of 1613 - 1615 had a majority of "new settlers". The fact that Sir John Davis was finally chosen Speaker over the Catholic candidate who had to withdraw signalled their victory.

obeyed then the king a farr of, and though they had large territories, yet nether themselues had answerable¹²⁶ profitt (at least by way of Rent) nor the kings Cofers had euer swelled with the fattnes of peace. But the end of the warr was the tyme (if euer) to stretch the kings power to the vttermost North, to bring /10/ the lordes to Ciuill obedience, to inrich them by orderly Rents, and to fill the kings Cofers out of their abundance. And indeede the Courtes of Iustice at Dublin, began to be much frequented before our Comming from thence, and shortly after each halfe yeare Itenerat Iudges¹²⁷ began to ryde their Circuites through all the partes of Ireland, and those who had passed through all Vlster to keepe assises there, made hopefull relation of their proceeding to the Earle of Deuonshyre lord leftenant of Ireland residing in the English Courte, advertising him, that in those /20/ sessions they had perswaded the lords to graunt their Tennants their land, by freeholds, Coppiholds, and leases, that they might builde houses, and cleare the paces¹²⁸ of their woods, to make free passage from towne to towne, and likewise to giue the king a yearely Composition of Rents and seruices, and themselues abolishing the old tyrannicall exactions called Cuttings,

¹²⁶ "3. Corresponding..." *OED*

¹²⁷ "Itinerant" because they travel to the assises.

¹²⁸ "Narrow passes through mountains or rocks." Myers, p. 238.

to establish their yearely Reuennues by certayne Rents, which would be more profitable to them. That the lords seemed gladly to yealde to these perswasions, and to establish /30/ certayne Rents to themselues, so they might be permitted after the old mannor to make only one Cutting vpon their tennants for the payment of their debts. That they the Iudges had taught the inferiour gentlemen and all the Common people, that they were not slaues but free men, owing only Rents to their lords, without other subiection, since their lordes as themselues were subiect to a Iust and powerfull king, whose sacred Majestie at his great charg mantayned them his Iudges to giue equall Iustice to them both, with equall respect /40/ to the lordes and to them for matters of right. That a great lord of Vlster named O Cane, hauing imprisoned a tennant without legall course, they had not only rebuked him for vsvrping that power ouer the kings subiectes, but howsoeuer he confessed is¹²⁹ error publikely, and desyred pardon for it, yet for example they had allso imposed a fyne vpon him for the same. And that the inferiour gentlemen and all the Common people, gladly imbraced this liberty from the yoke of [the] great lords, and much applauded this act of Iustice vpon O Cane, /50/ promising with ioyfull acclamations a large Composition of Rents and seruices to the king, so this Iustice might be mantayned to them, and they be freed from

¹²⁹ Hughes supplies the 'h' to amend to "his", p. 228.

the tyranny of their lords.¹³⁰ So as it seemed to the Judges there remained nothing to content the people, but a constant administration of this Justice, with some patience used towards the people at first, in bearing with their humors, among which they more specially noted these. //

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That they not only expected easy access to the Lord Deputy, the Judges, and the inferior magistrates, but were generally so litigious and so tedious in Complayntes, as they could not be contented without singular patience. And that from the lordes to the inferior sorte, they had a ridiculous fashion, neuer to be content without the magistrates hand vnder their Petitions, and therewith to be content were it neuer so delatorye yea flatter contrary to their request, which hand they used to signe tho they knewe the ill and Crafty uses the Irish made of it, /10/ who coming home would shewe this hand to their Tennants and adversaries, without reading the wordes to which it was sett, and so pretending the magistrates Consent to their request, many tymes obtained from ignorant people their

¹³⁰ O'Cahan or O'Cane surrendered his large estates in Ulster and had part regranted by the Queen on modified terms. On 11 October 1602 Lord Deputy Mountjoy writes to the Privy Council asking them regrant under general terms so things might be so ordered that his dependent tenants will know the difference "between their former manner of life under the tyranny of their superior Irish lords and the easy and clement government of her Majesty." *CSP Ireland 1601 - 1603*, p. 497. Moryson may even have drafted this letter.

owne vniust endes. Yet had not the lawe as yet that generall and full course in Ireland, which after it had, by continuance of peace, and by that dignity which the kings Majestie gaue to the lawe, in graunting the title of lords to the cheefe Iudges, and scarlett Robes to them all. /20/

It remaynes to say somethinge of the handes whereby the lawe was to be putt in practise, namely the lawyers. They were ether English, sent or willingly comming out of England more spetially at the ende of the Rebellion, of whose concurring in the reformation of Ireland I make no doubt,¹³¹ or English Irish, who of old and nowe after the Rebellion in greater numbers pleaded most of the causes in the Courtes of Iustice. These English Irish lawyers were allwayes went to study the Common lawes of England in the Inns of Court at london, and being all /30/ of the Roman Religion (as the rest in Ireland), did so lurke in those Inns of Courte, as they neuer came to our Churches, nor any of them had beene obserued to be taught the points of our Religion there, but hauing gott a smacke of the grownds of our lawe, and retayning theire old superstition in Religion, they returned to practise the lawe in Ireland,

¹³¹ The most eminent of these lawyers was the poet, John Davies, who, because King James recognized his *Nosce Teipsum*, and on Mountjoy's recommendation, was made Solicitor General in 1603. He became Attorney General in 1606, and was knighted in 1607. He was Speaker in the Parliament of 1613 - 1615, and returned to England in 1619.
DNB

where they inuaded nothinge more, then to giue the
subiectes Counsell howe they might defraude the king of his
rightes, and fynd euasions from penaltyes of the lawe, /40/
more spetially in matters of Religion, the reformation
whereof they no lesse feared then the rest, and therefore
Contrary to theire profession norished all barbarous
Customes and lawes, being the seedes of rebellion, and
sought out all evasions to frustrate our Statutes
abrogating them, and tending to the reformation of Ciuill
pollicye and Religion. For preuention of which mischeefe,
many thought in those tymes it were fitt to exclude them
from practise at the barrs of Iustice, but since experience
hath taught vs how weake this remedy /50/ is, while the
Priests swarme there, Combining the people, according to
the rule of St Paule not to goe to lawe vnder heathen
magistrates, for such or no better they esteeme[d] ours,
and so reducing all suites of lawe, and the profitt thereby
arisinge, to the hands of the same lawyers in priuate
determinations, whome the State excluded from publike
pleading at our barrs.

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So as there is no way better to remedye this mischeefe,
then during theire education at our Innes of Courte in
England, to bring them to church, and teach them our
Religion, and after to punish some particular men, that are
of greatest practise and most refractary, by which examples
and the strict eye and hand of our magistrates seene to

hang ouer them, this mischeife might in tyme either be taken away, or be made lesse generall. These lawyers taught the proude and barbarous lordes of *Ireland*, how they might keepe the people of their Countryes in absolute subiECTION /10/ and make them not o<n>ly obey for feare of their power daily ho<verrin>gg ouer their heads, but also to thinck that their lords by right of lawe or equivalent Custome, had absolute Commaund of their goods and bodyes. By which and like meanes they not only gaue strength to rebellious affections, but also made open resistance to all intended reformatiōs to their vttermost power seeking to roote out the wise foundations to that end carefully layd by former ages, or at least to shake them and still keepe them from any firme establishment. In this tyme I will only giue one instance. When *Rory Odonnell* /20/ at the end of the Rebellion, was come ouer into *England* with the lord *Mountiōy* (after created Earl of *Deuonshire*), there to obtayne the Confirmation from the kings Majestie, of that Pardon and graunt of his brothers land (the second ArchRebell¹³²) which the said lord had promised him at his submission, while he was yet in *England*, and all that depended formerly on his brother, houered betweene hope and feare, how they and that Country should be established, one

¹³² Rory was brother of the famous "Archrebel" Red Hugh O'Donnell, who was one of Tyrone's best captains of gallowglass present at the Irish victory at Yellow Ford in August 1598. He tried to negotiate further aid from Spain, and was poisoned there in 1602. Berleth, pp. 269, 270, 291.

of these lawyers imployed there by the said *Rory*, perswaded *Mac Swyne*, and *O Boyle*, and other gentlemen of old Freeholders in *Tirconnell* vnder /30/ the *ODonnells*, that they had no other right in their lands, but only the meere pleasure and will of *Odonnell*. This the said gentle men, though rude, and in truth barbarous, and altogether ignorant in our lawes, [but] [that]¹³³ only denyed, but offered to produce old writings to proue the Contrary. When that *Fox* perceiued their Confidence, and after heard that the said *Rory* had his Pardon, and lands confirmed in *England*, and was moreouer created Earle of *Tirconnell*, he assayed these gentlemen an other way, telling them, that the king having graunted pardon, and all his brothers land to this new Earle of *Tircon/40/nell* they having yet no pardon, had lost all their old right in their lands, were it Freehold or at the lordes pleasure, or what other right soeuer, and so could haue no dependendancye but on the Earles fauour.¹³⁴ Herein he told a triple lye, First that he denyed their right of Freehold, which was held to be most certaine, though it had bene abolished by long tyranny of the cheife lord, and perhappes at first ought¹³⁵ him some limited seruices, as *Tirlogh mac Henry* for the *Fewes*, and

¹³³ Hughes amends this by deleting "that" and substituting "not". p. 230.

¹³⁴ They could depend on nothing but the Earl's favour.

¹³⁵ "II. pa. tense of owe... 2. a. Had to pay, was under obligation to pay or render...Obs." *OED*

Henry Oge for his Country, did both owe to the Earle of Tyrone, and all vnder lordes in *England* owe to the lord /50/ *Paramount*.¹³⁶ Secondly that he affirmed the whole Prouince to be giuen to the Earle by the king, whereas it was graunted //

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in these expresse words, to hold of his Majesties spetiall grace in as ample manner as his brother held it before the Rebellion, (in which he was as farr ingaged as his brother) which graunt tooke [tooke] not away the firmer right of Freehold or other that any Subiect might pretend. Thirdly that he restrayned the kings gracious Pardon as if it extended only to the Earle, when it was generall to all the Inhabitants of *Tirconnell*, restoring them all to their former rights. Yet by this shamefull lye, he obtayned the vniust end he sought, to the great preiudice of the kings /10/ Majesties seruice, and of his Subiects in *Tirconnell*. For these gentlemen and the rest of the[.] people in that Prouince being ignorant of the lawe, a<n>d afraid of euery rumor, vppon a guilty conscience of deserued punishment in their Rebellion, and the new change of the State in *England*¹³⁷ were easily induced to renounce all their rights

¹³⁶ "...the supreme lord of a fee, from whom other feudatories hold, but who himself holds from none..." *OED* Thus in Moryson's example, the two Ulster lords owed certain trifling feudal dues to their overlord, the Earl of Tyrone.

¹³⁷ i.e. the Stuart Succession.

to the sayd Earle, (tho with great preiudice to themselues and ignominy to the Iustice of the State) and to receiue their lands by new graunts from the Earle, as of his meere grace and fauour. And howsoever the *Itinerant Iudges* did /20/ after make knowne their error to them, and gaue them hope this act would be reuersed vppon their Complaint, yet they chose rather to enioy their estates in this seruile kinde with the said Earles fauour, then to recouer their rights and freedomes by course of lawe with his displeasure. Againe these lawyers in all parts of *Ireland*, taught the people artificiall practises to defraude the king of his rights, in seruices due to the lorde[s] of their Fees, in his Court[.] of Wardes, and liueryes, Intrusions Alienations, yea in very Confiscations of goods and lands, the preservation whereof /30/ to the heyres, will alwayes make the possessor more prone to treasons and all wickednes. For the truth whereof I appeale to all freinds and seruants of former lords *Deputyes*, who haue obtayned any such gifts of w<ard>es, Intrusions Alienations and Confiscations, for they well know, what tædious suites, crafty Circumventions, and small profitt they haue found thereby. And I appeale to the manifold Conveyances of landes by Feoffyes of trust, and all Crafty deuises, no where so much vsed as in *Ireland*.¹³⁸ Insomuch as nothing

¹³⁸ Moryson seems to be speaking of personal experience here. His visit to Ireland in 1613 was probably occasioned by legal difficulties, and tedious lawsuits.

was more frequent, then for *Irishmen*, in the tyme /40/ of our warr with *Spayne*, to liue in *Spayne*, in *Rome*, and in their very *Seminaries*, and yet by these and like *Crafty Conveyances* to preserue to them and their heyres, their goods, and landes in *Ireland*, yea very spirituall livings [for life, not rarely graunted to children for their] maintenance in that superstitious education, most dangerous to the State.¹³⁹

{ m.n. 47, 48. *Ciuill and capitall Iudgments, and lawes of Inheritance.* }

I formerly shewed that king *Henry* the seuenth established the *English* lawes in *Ireland*, yet the *Common* law having his due course in the tyme of the Rebellion, most ciuill Causes were iudged according to equity, at the *Counsell* tables, /50/ aswell at *Dublin*, as in the *Prouinces* of *Mounster & Connaght* and [by milit<ar>y *Gouernors* in seuerall Count[.]yes] And for these lawes of *England*, the most remarkable of them //

Booke II The Commonwealth of Ireland Chap:V fol 283.

shalbe explaned in the discourse before promised of the *Common* wealth of *England*.

¹³⁹ Spenser has *Irenius* complain of traitors, who, living abroad, with their "feoffees in trust" "...have the benefit and profits of their lands here, by pretence of such colourable conveyances thereof, formerly made by them to their privy friends here in trust, who secretly send over to them the said revenues, wherewith they are maintained and enabled against Her Majesty." *View*, p. 27, 28.

In like sort these lawes of *England* were for Capitall matters established in *Ireland*, but during the Rebellion, and at the end thereof the Marshall lawe was generally vsed, hanging vpp Malefactors by withs¹⁴⁰ in steed of Ropes vppon their first apprehention. In cases of Treason, the great lordes of the kingdome were of old iudged by the Assembly [the kingdome] of the three States in Parliament, but since *Henry* the seauenths tyme, they are tryed as in *England*, the lords being beheaded, and others hanged, drawne and /10/ quartered. As in *England* so there, not only Treasons but wilfull murthers and Felonyes are punished, by death and Confiscation of lands and goods.

By the lawe in *England*, so in *Ireland* the Accessary cannot be tryed before the principall [to] be apprehended and brought to his tryall, so as the principall escaping, the Receiuers cannot be iudged.¹⁴¹ And so for other Capitall lawes of *England*, which shalbe at large sett downe in the foresaid Treatise.

The *English* lawes of Inheritance are likewise of force /20/ in *Ireland*, the Elder brother having right to the lands of

¹⁴⁰ "Halter, properly made of twisted or braided willow twigs." Myers, p. 238.

¹⁴¹ "For by the Common Law, the accessory cannot be proceeded against till the principal have received his trial." Irenius in Spenser's View, p. 25. By a "sly device" the principle is never found, so the accessory remains untried.

discent, and the fathers [last] w<i>ll disposing purchased lands, and goods, among his wife and Children, and the wife being widow, besides her part that may be giuen her by her husbands last will, having the Ioycture¹⁴² giuen her before mariage, and if none such were giuen her, then having right to the third part of his lands for life.

{ m.n. 28, 29. *The degrees in the common wealth.* }

Touching the degrees in the Common wealth; not to speake of the offices of the lord *Chancelor*, and the lord high Tresorer giuing place aboue all degrees of Nobility, the highest degree /30/ is that of Earles. And the Earle of *Ormond* in this tyme whereof I write, was lord high Tresorer of *Ireland*, and knight of the noble order of the *Garter* in *England*.

The next degree is that of *Barons*. And in generall, as the degrees of the *Irish* Nobility in *England* giue place to all the *English* of the same degree, so doe the *English* to the *Irish* in *Ireland*. But howsoeuer the *Irish* lordes to make their power greater in peace, are content to haue the titles of Earles and Barons, yet they most esteeme the titles of *O*, and *Mac*, sett before their Sirnames, after

¹⁴² Jointure, in this passage an inheritance to support her in viduity. See *OED* 4. a. and b. Hughes spells "Joyuncture", p. 233.

their barbarous manner /40/ (importing¹⁴³ the cheife of that Sept or name), as *Oneale O Donnell, mac Carthy*, and the like. And these names they vsed to resume when they would leade the people into Rebellion. The title of knights Barronetts, was not then knowne in Ireland. They haue no order of knighthood like that of the order of the Garter in *England*, and the like in other kingdomes, but only as in *England*, such knights as are made by the sword of the king, or of the lord *Deputy* there, who alwayes had the power by his *Commission* from the king to make any man knight, whome he iudgeth worthy of that dignity. /50/ The poorest of any great Sept, or name, repute themselues //

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gentlemen, and so wilbe sword men despising all Arts and trades to mantayne them, yet such is the oppression of the great lordes towards the inferior sorte, the gentlemen and freeholders, as I haue seene the cheefe of a Sept ryde, with a gentleman of his owne name (and so learned as he spake good lattin) running bare footed by his stirrop. The husbandmen were then as slaues, and most exercised grasing, as the most idle life, vsing tyllage only for necessitye.

{ m.n. 10, 11. The degrees in the Family. }

Touching the degrees in the Family. The Cittisens of /10/ munster, as in waterford, limricke, and more spetially in

¹⁴³ "ppl. a. 1. That 'imports' or signifies..." OED

Corke, and they of Galloway in Connaght, vpon the lawe forbidding mariage with the meere Irish, and espetially to keepe the wealth of the Cittyes within the walles thereof, haue of old Custome vsed to marye with their owne Cittisens, whereby most of the Familyes and priuate branches of them, were in neere degree of consanguinity one with another, frequently marrying within the degrees forbidden by the lawe of God.¹⁴⁴ And the maryed wemen of Ireland still retayne their owne /20/ surnames, whereas the English leeing then vtterly, doe all take the surnames of their husbandes. The men hold it disgracefull to walke with their owne wiues abroade, or to ryde with their wiues behinde them. The meere Irish diuorced wiues and with their consent tooke them agayne frequently, and for small yea ridiculous causes, allwayes paying a bribe of Cowes to the Brehowne Iudges, and sending the wife away with some fewe Cowes more then shee brought, And I could name agreat lord among them, who was credibly reported to haue /30/ putt away his wife of a good Family and beautill¹⁴⁵ only for a fault as light as wynde (which the Irish in generall abhorr) but I dare not name it, lest I offend the perfumed sences, of some whose censure I haue incurred in that

¹⁴⁴ This is yet a further sign of the moral obloquy of the Catholic Irish to Moryson.

¹⁴⁵ Hughes amends to "beautifull", p. 235.

kynde.¹⁴⁶ The more Ciuill sorte were not ashamed, and the meere Irish much lesse, to owne theire bastards, and to giue them legacies by that name. Insomuch as they haue pleasant fables, of a mother who vpon her death bedd (according to theire aboue mentioned Custome) giuing true Fathers to her children, and fynding her husband offended therewith, bad him hold /40/ his peace, or ells shee would giue away all his Children. As also of a boy, who seeing his mother giue base Fathers to some of his bretheren, prayed her with teares to giue him a good father. The Children of the English Irish, and much more of the meere Irish, are brought vp with small or no austerity, rather with great liberty yea licentiousnes.¹⁴⁷ And when you reade of the fore sayde frequent diuorces, and generally of the wemens immoderate drincking, you may well iudge that incontineny is not rare among them, yet euen in that licentiousnes they hold the /50/ generall ill affection to the English, sooner yealding those ill fruites of loue to an Irish horsboy, then to any Eenglish of better

¹⁴⁶ It seems to be the case, that the fault as light as wind is not metaphorical language. Compare,
Mendoza: The Duke hates thee.
Malevole: As the Irish do bumcracks.
John Marston, *The Malcontent*, III. 3. 46 - 47, in *Jacobean Tragedies*, edited by A. H. Gomme (Oxford, 1969), p. 44.

¹⁴⁷ Ascham deplored the severity of the English methods. "...love is fitter than feare, jentlenes better than beating, to bring up a childe rightlie in learninge." Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London, 1570), sig. C3, [STC 832]. Presumably Moryson was not of Ascham's mind.

condition,¹⁴⁸ but howe their Priests triumph in this
luxurious field, lett them tell who haue seene their
practise. //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:285.

{ m.n. 1 - 3. *Of their military affaires.* }

It remaynes to speake something of their military affayres.
Their horsemen are all gentlemen, I mean of great *Septs* or
names, how base soeuer otherwise, and generally the *Irish*
abhorr from vsing mares for their Sadle, and indeed they
vse no sadles, but either long narrow pillions bumbasted,
or bare boardes of that fashion.¹⁴⁹ So as they may easily
be cast of from their horses, yet being very nimble doe as
easily mount them againe, leaping vpp without any helpe of
stirroppe, which they neither vse nor haue, as like wise
they vse no bootes nor spurre. They carry waighe /10/
speares not with points vppward resting them on their sides
or thighes, but holding them in their hands with the poynts
downe wards, and striking with them as with darts, which
darts they also vse to carry, and to cast them after their
enemies when they wheele about,. These speares they vse to
shake ouer their heads, and by their sydes carry long
swords, and haue no defensiu Armor, but only a Morion on

¹⁴⁸ Had Moryson been turned down ?

¹⁴⁹ *OED* uses this passage to explain pillion "n. 1. a.
a kind of saddle", which is obviously different from the
English type Moryson was used to. It comes from the Gaelic
pillin. Bumbasted implies padding, something that would
certainly be needed over bare boards, or the rider would
soon be galled.

their heads.¹⁵⁰ They are more fitt to make a brauado,¹⁵¹ and to offer light skirmishes then for a sound incounter. Neither did I euer see them performe any thing with bold /20/ resolution. They assaile not in a ioynt body but scattered, and are cruell Executioners vppon flying enemyes, but otherwise, howsoeuer, they make a good noyse, and Clamor, [in the assault, yet when they come neere] they sodenly and ridiculously wheele about, neuer daring to abide the shock. So as howsoeuer the troopes of *English* horse by their strong second giue Courage and strength to their Foote Companies, yet these *Irish* horse men basely withdrawing themselues from daunger, are of small or no vse, and all the strength of the *Irish* consists of their Foote, since they dare not stand in a playne feilde, /30/ but alwayes fight vppon boggs, and paces or skirts of woods, where the Foote being very nimble, come of and on at pleasure, and if the Enemyes be fearefull vppon the deformity and strength of their bodyes, or barbarous Cryes they make in the assault, or vppon any ill accident shew feare and begin to flye, the *Irish* Foote without any helpe of horse [and] [are] exceeding swift and terrible Executioners, in which Case only of flying or fearing, they haue at any tyme preuailed against the *English*. And how

¹⁵⁰ "1. 1. A kind of helmet, without beaver or visor worn by soldiers in the 16th and 17th c." *OED*

¹⁵¹ "1. b. to make a bravado: to make a display in the face of the enemy..." *OED*

vnprofitable their horse are, and of what small moment to helpe their foote, /40/ that one battell at *Kinsall* did abundantly shewe, where the *Irish* horse and Foote being encouraged by the *Spaniards* to stand in the Playne feild, the horse were so farr from giving the Foote any courage or second, as for feare they brake first through their owne bodyes of Foote, and after withdrawing themselues to a hill distant from the Foote, as if they intended rather to behold the battell then to fight themselues, by this forsaking of their Foote, they might iustly be said to be the cheife Cause of their ouerthrowe. Their horses are of a small stature, excellent Amblers, but of litle or no boldnes, /50/ and small strength either for battell or long marches, fitt and vsed only for short excursions in fighting, and short Iourneyes and being fedd vppon boggs, and soft ground, are tender houed and soone grow lame, vsed vppon hard ground. //

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So as our *English* horsemen having deepe warr sadles and vsing pistolls aswell as Speares and swords, and many of them having Corsletts,¹⁵² and like defensiu Armes, and being bold and strong for incounters and long marches, and of greater stature then the *Irish*, our Troopes must needs haue great advantages ouer theirs.

¹⁵² Defensive body armour. See *OED* 1 and 2. a.

Touching their Foote, he that had seene them in the beginning of the Rebellion so rude, [and] [as being to shoote off a muskett, one had it laid on his shoulders, an other aymed it at the marke, and a third gaue fyer, and [that] not without feare and trembling, /10/ would haue wondered in short tyme after to see them most bold and ready in the vse of their peeces, and would haue sayd that the *Spartaynes*, had great reason who made a lawe, neuer to make long warr with any of their neighbors, but after they had giuen them one or two foyles¹⁵³ for strengthning of their subiECTION, to giue them peace, and lead their forces against some other, so keeping their men well trayned, and their neighbors rude in the Feates of warr. But when the Earl of *Tyrone* first intended to rebell, he vsed two Crafty practises. The first to pretend a purpose of building a fayre house, /20/ (which we hold a sure argument of faithfull hartes to the State) and to couer it with leade, whereby he gott license to transport a great quantity of leade out of *England*, which after he converted to make bulletts.¹⁵⁴ The second to pretend to ioyne his forces in Ayde of the *Englishe* against the first Rebels, which himselfe had putt forth, whereby he gott our Captaines with license of the State to trayne his men, who were after

¹⁵³ "n. 2. 2. A repulse." *OED*

¹⁵⁴ "During the years before he went into rebellion, O'Neill/ built a modern manor house in the Elizabethan style at his seat in Dungannon." Myers, pp. 238 - 239.

called *Butter Captaines*, because they and their men liued vppon *Sesse* in his Country, having only victualls for their reward.¹⁵⁵ And surely howsoever some of /30/ the English State, lightly regarded the frequent Rebellions of the *Irish*, thincking them rather profitable to exercise the *English* in Armes, then dangerous to disturbe the State; yet wofull experience taught vs that the last Rebellion wanted very litle of loosing that kingdome. The *Irish* foote in generall are such, as [I] thinck men of more actiue bodyes, more able to suffer Cold, heat hunger, and thirst, and whose myndes are more voyde of feare, can hardly be founde. It is true that they rather know not then despise the rules of honor, obserued by other nations, That they are desyrus of /40/ vayne glory, and fearefull of infamy, appeares by their estimation of these *Bards* or *Poetts*, whome they gladly heare sing of their prayse, as they feare nothing more then *Rymes* made in their reproche. Yet because they are onely trayned to skirmish vppon *Boggs*, and difficult paces or passages of woods, and not to stand and fight in a firme body vppon the playnes, they thinck it no shame to flye, or runn off from fighting, as they finde advantage, (and indeed at *Kinsale*, when they were drawne by the *Spaniards* to stand in firme bodyes, vppon the playne, they were easily defeated). And because /50/ they are not

¹⁵⁵ *Sess* is an Irish word still in use, and an aphetic form of *assess* or *assessment*. *OED* The victuals provided obviously included butter.

trayned to keepe or take strong places, they are easily beaten out of any Forts or Trenches, and a weake house or Forte may easily be defended with a few shott against their rude multitude. diuerse kyndes of Foote, vse diuerse kyndes of Armes. First the *Galliglasses* are armed with Moryons, and Halberts,¹⁵⁶ Secondly the *Kerne*, and some of their Footemen, are armed with waighty Iron males, and Iacks,¹⁵⁷ and assayle horsemen aloofe with casting darts and at // *Booke. ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:287.* hand with the sword.¹⁵⁸ Thirdly their shott, which I said to be so rude in the beginning of the Rebellion, as three men were vsed to shoote off one peece not without feare, became in fewe yeares most actiue, bold, and expert in the vse of their peeces. All these Foote assayle the Enemy with rude barbarous Cryes, and hope to make them afraid therewith, as also with their nakednes, and barbarous lookes, in which case they insist violently, being terrible

¹⁵⁶ From the Gaelic *galloglach*, foreign soldier. Myers, p. 239. Halberts were long-handled weapons, a combination of spear and battle-axe. *OED*

¹⁵⁷ Jacks are jackets of quilted leather or mail. Myers, p. 239. Spenser gets Irenius to say "...the quilted leather jack is old English, for it was the proper weed of the horseman as ye may read in Chaucer, where he describeth Sir Thopas's apparel and armour when he went to fight against the Geant in his robe of Checklatoun, which Checklatoun is a kind of gilden leather...", and that it is "most uncomely, seeming like a player's painted coat." *View*, p. 70, 71.

¹⁵⁸ Under kern 1. *OED* has a quotation from 1600 by J. Dymmock, "The kerne is a kinde of footeman, sleightly armed with a sworde, a targett of woode, or a bow or sheafe of arrows with barbed heades, or els 3 dartes."

Executioners by their swiftnes of Foote vppon flying
Enemyes, neuer sparing any that yeild to mercy, yea being
most bloody and cruell towards their /10/ Captiues vppon
[cold blood, contrary to the practise of all noble]
enemyes, and not only mangling the bodyes of their dead
Enemyes, but neuer beleeuing them to be fully dead till
they haue cutt of their heads.¹⁵⁹ But after the *English* had
learned to abide their first assault firmly, and without
feare, notwithstanding their boldnes, and actiuity, they
found them faintly to assayle, and easily to giue ground,
when they were assayled, yet neuer could doe any great
execution, on them vppon the Boggs and [in] woods where
they were nimble to flye, and skilfull in all passages,
especially our horse there not being able to serue vppon
them.¹⁶⁰ To conclude, as they /20/ Beginn to fight with
barbarous Cryes, so it is ridiculous and most true, that
when they Beginn to retyre from the skirmish, some runn out
to braule and scowlde like women with the next Enemyes,
which signe of their skirmish ending and their retyring

¹⁵⁹ The bleeding Captain reports how Macbeth dealt with
the rebel Macdonald supplied with kerns and galloglasses
from the western isles, he,

...ne'er shook hands nor bade farewell to him
Till he unseamed him from the nave to the chops
And fixed his head upon our battlements.

Macbeth, I. 2. 21 - 23.

In the play and here, this gratuitous violence is ignoble
and excessive, but perhaps not wholly unexpected to a
contemporary, since the Scots and Irish are cognate.

¹⁶⁰ The horsemen could not do their duty or function,
by raining down blows upon them. See *OED* serve n. 1. 22.

into the thick woods neuer fayled vs.

{ m.n. 26 - 28. *Of their shipping.* }

Touching the Shipps in *Ireland*, they had then no men of warr, nor marchants Shipps armed, only some three or fower trading for *Spaine*, and *Fraunce*, carryed a fewe Iron peeces for defence against Pyratts in our Channell, that might assayle them in boates, and they were all vnder /30/ one hundreth Tonnes burthen. The rest of their Shipps were all of much lesse burthen seruing only to transport passengers to and fro, and horses and marchandize out of *England* litle, or nothing being carryed out of *Ireland* in tyme of the Rebellion. And these were not many in numbell,¹⁶¹ the *English* shipps, most commonly seruing for those purposes. So as litle can be said of their Marriners for Navigation, only by the generall nature of the people, I suppose, that they being witty, bold and slouggish, if they had liberty to build great Shipps for trade, they were like to proue /40/ skilfull and bold in nauigation, but neuer industrious in traffique. It is true, that the Arch Traytor *Tyrone* vppon his good successes grewe at last so proude, as in a Treaty of peace he propounded an Article, that it might be lawfull for the *Irish* to builde great armed Shipps for trade, and men of warr for the defence of the Coast, but it was with skorne reiected by the *Queenes Commissioners*.

¹⁶¹ Hughes corrects to "number", p. 239.

Lastly I thinck I may boldly say, that no *Iland* in the world hath more large and Commodious Hauens for the greatest shippes and whole Fleetes of them, then *Ireland* hath on all sydes, /50/ excepting *St Georges* Channell, which hath many Flatts, and they¹⁶² havens there be fewe, small and barred or vnsafe to enter; For otherwise in one third part of *Ireland* from *Galloway* to *Calebeg* in the North, it hath 14 large Hauens, whereof some may receiue 200th, some 300th, some 400th great Shippes, and only two or three, are barred and shallowe, besides diuerse large and Commodious Hauens in *Mounster*. //

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{ m.n. 1, 2. *In generall of the Irish warrs.* }

Having spoken particularly of their horse and Foote and shipping, I will add some thing in generall of the *Irish* warrs. It hath beene obserued that euery Rebellion in *Ireland*, hath growne more dangerous then the former, and though *Maryners* are industrious, & vigilant in a Tempest; yet the *English* haue euer bene slowe in resisting the beginnings of sedition, but as *Maryners* sleepe securely in Calmes, so the *English* having appeased any Rebellion, euer became secure w^hout taking any constant Course to preuent future dangers in that kinde. In this last Rebellion, I am afrayd to remember how litle that kingdome wanted of being

¹⁶² Hughes corrects to "the", p. 240.

lost, and rent from the *English* government /10/ for it was not a small disturbance of peace or a light trouble to the State, but the very foundations of the *English* power in that kingdome, were shaken and fearefully tottered, and were preserued from ruyne more by the prouidence of God out of his great mercye, (as may appeare by the particular affayres at the seige of *Kinsale*) then by our Counsellis and Remidyes (which were in the beginning full of negligence in the Progresse distracted with strong factions, and to the end, slowe and sparing in all Supplyes), so as if the *Irish* Soldiers which were at first vnskilfull (and ought to haue bene so kept in true policye of State) as in short tyme they /20/ grew skilfull and ready in the vse of the peece, the sword and other Armes, and very actiue and valiant in light skirmishes, had likewise attained the discipline of warr to marche orderly, and fight vppon the playne to assault and keepe Fortes, and to manage great Ordinance, (which they neither had nor knew to vse). If the barbarous lordes, as they were full of pride, some vaunting themselues to bee descended from the old kings of *Ireland* so had not nourished factions among themselues, but had consented to chuse a king ouer them, after their many good successes, more specially after the [good] defeate of *Blackwater*, (when it was truely said to the Earle of *Tyrone*, that /30/ the *Romans* said of *Hanniball* after the defeate of *Cannas*, thou knowest to ouercome, but knowest

not to make vse of thy victory).¹⁶³ Not to speake 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. And it was iustly feared, that if constant serious remedyes were not vsed to preuent future eruptions, the next Rebellion might proue fatall to the *English* State.¹⁶⁴

Now that I may not seeme forward to reprove others, but negligent in obseruing our owne errors, giue me leaue to say boldly, and to /40/ shewe particularly, that the following and no other causes brought vppon vs all the mischeifes to which the last rebellion, made vs subiect. When any Rebell troubled the State, our Custome was, for saving of Charges, not to suppress him with our owne Armes, but to rayse vpp some of his Neighbors against him, supporting him with meanes to annoy him, and promoting him to greater dignities and possessions of land, and if he were of his owne bloud, then making him cheefe of the name,

¹⁶³ At Cannae in Apulia in 216 BC, the consul Aemilius Paulus and 50,000 Romans were killed. Harvey. "According to the Roman historian Livy, it was Maharbal, Hannibal's outstanding cavalry leader, who criticized Hannibal with the words Moryson attributes to the Romans." Myers, p. 239.

¹⁶⁴ Moryson's judgement is uncannily accurate. The Ulster Rebellion of 1641 coming when it did, helped to destroy Charles I's conception of the English state. It foregrounded the issue of who should control its suppression, if not the king. See Ivan Roots, *The Great Rebellion 1642 - 1660* (London, 1966), pp. 48 - 58.

(which dignity wee should constantly haue extinguished, since nothing could more disturbe peace then to haue all Septs combyned vnder one head). And these /50/ Neighbor lordes thus rayseed neuer fayled to proue more pernicious Rebels, then th<e>y against whome they were supported by vs. One instance shall serue for prooffe of the Earl of Tyrone rayseed by our State from the lowest degree, against his kinsman *Tirlogh Linnaghe*, whome the Queene too long supported, euen till his men were expert in Armes, and too highly exalted, euen till he had all his opposites power in his hand, which he vsed farr woorse then the other, or any of the *Oneales* [before him].¹⁶⁵ In our State *parcatur sumptui; lett cost be spared*, were euer two most fatall wordes to our gouernment in *Ireland*, as by this and that which followes, shall playnely appeare.¹⁶⁶ /60/ //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:289.

¹⁶⁵ Moryson seems to be forgetting the rebellion of Shane O'Neale in the 1560s. Turlough Luineach O'Neill, "the O'Neill" was forced to abdicate as head of the clan by his nephew Hugh O'Neill Baron Dungannon and Earl of Tyrone in 1593. Myers, p. 239. The English government had hoped to divide and rule, particularly as Tyrone "...had been lifted up by Her Majesty out of the dust..." Spenser, *View*, p. 114.

¹⁶⁶ The parsimony started right at the top. Queen Elizabeth was famous for her 'closeness', but her resources were limited. "Despite a lack of policy, there was a fixed objective in the minds of many [English] governments: that of maintaining a secure foothold in Ireland without any cost to the crown." Nicholas P. Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565 - 76* (Hassocks, 1976), p. 31.

When the Rebellion first began we too saue charges not only vsed the *Irish* one against the other, but long forbore to levye *English* Soldiers vayneley thincking to reduce them by Treatyes,. When the Rebellion was increased, wee too saue charge in transporting *English* Soldiers, rayseed whole Companies of the *English Irish*, and as our Captaynes had trayned *Tyrone*s men while he pretended seruice to the State, so [now] we trayned in our Army all the *English Irish* giuing them free vse of Armes, which should be kept only in the hands of faithfull Subiects. This raysing of whole Companies of Foote and Troopes of horse among them, was a great error, /10/ For they once having gotten the vse of Armes, wee durst not Cast them, lest they should fall to the Rebels party. Perhappes their sociall Armes might haue bene vsefull, if wee had mixed them in our Companies, and that in small limited numbers, but wee not only rayseed whole bands of them, and all of one Sept, or name, (easily conspiring in mischeife,) and vsed their seruice at home, (where they would not drawe bloud vpon any Neighbor Sept, and liued idly vpon their own prouisions, putting all the Queenes pay into their purses, which might haue bene preuented by imploying them in remote places), but sometymes trusted them with /20/ keeping of Forts, for which seruice they are most vnfit, though we doubted not of their faithfulness, iustly then suspected, yea further weakned all our owne bands and troopes by intertayning them. For an *English* Troope of horse sent out of *England*

commonly in a yeares space, was turned halfe into *Irish* (having woorse horses and Armes and no sadles, besides the losse of the *English* horsemen) only because the *Irish* would serue with their owne horses, and could make better shift with lesse pay. And in like sort our *English* bands of Foote were in short tyme filled with *English Irish*, because they could make better shift for Clothes and meate, with lesse pay /30/ from their Captaynes.

In all the warr we only vsed the *English Irish* for horseboyes, who were slothfull in our seruice, and litle loued vs, but having learned our vse of Armes, and growing of ripe yeares often proued stout Rebels. To conclude these errors, I confesse that the *English Irish* serued valiantly and honestly in our Army, whereof many tymes a third part consisted of them, but many particular events taught vs, that these our Counsells were dangerous, and made vs wish they had beene preuented at first, though in the end for necessity we made the best vse we could of the /40/ woorst.

Other great abuses though lesse concerning the *Irish* in particular, were committed in our Army, The munition in great part was of sale wares, as namely the tooles for Pyoners, & Musketts slightly made to gayne by the emption which our Officers might haue shamed to see compared with

those of the *Spaniards* brought to *Kinsale*.¹⁶⁷ Our Powder and all munitions were daily sold to the Rebels by diuerse practises. For sometymes the vnder officers of the Ordinance there would sell some proportions of diuerse kindes of munition to Citizens or ill affected Subiects, and /50/ sometymes the Cast Captaynes commonly vsing to appropriate to themselues the Armes of their Cast Soldiers, did sell them to the Citizens, and sometymes the Common soldier, having proportion of Powder allowed him for exercise of his peece, sold to the Citizens whatsoever he could spare thereof, or the powder left him after skirmishes, and all these munitions sold to the Citizens, were by them vnderhand conveyed to the Rebels, who would giue more for them then they were woorth. In like sort the Contractors seruing the Army with victualls, having obtayned from the Counsell in *England* liberty to sell to the Citizens and poore Subiects such /60/ //

- fol:290. Booke ii. The *common* wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. victualls as were like to grow mowldye, their seruants in Ireland many tymes, whiles they serued the Army with

¹⁶⁷ "Sale wares" implies that the material was of inferior quality, only fit for army surplus. The officers may well have been shamed because it was their responsibility to feed, clothe, and it would appear from what Moryson writes here, to arm their troops, from money allowed out of central funds. The quality of the tools and muskets was inferior because they were made with an eye to profit on the emption, or purchase, by those officers who could then pocket the difference. *OED*

mouldye biskett, and cheese,¹⁶⁸ did vnderhand sell the best to such Citizens and Subiects by whome it was conveyed to the Rebels. For reforming of which abuses, Commaund was giuen out of *England*, that some offenders should be detected, and seuerely punished for example, and that the Citizens should be forbidden vppon great penalty to buy any munition vppon pretence to sell it to Subiects, who should rather be serued out of the publike Stores, and that the victualers should be restrayned from selling any victualls, or because that could /10/ not be without great losse to the publike State in allowing great wast, that faithfull ouerseers at least might be appointed to veiwe what was mouldye, and to whome it was sold. But these abuses were not detected till towards the end of the Rebellion, so as the Remidyres too late prescribed, were neuer putt in execution.

Againe one great mischeife did great preiudice to vs, that our stores were not alwayes furnished aforehand, so as the mouing of our Army was often stayed till the munition and victualls ariued which is most dangerous especially in *Ireland*, where wyndes out of *England*, are /20/ very rare, and sometymes blowe contrary halfe a yeare together, whereof we had experience at *Kinsale*, where assoone as our soldiers, munition and victualls, were happily ariued, the

¹⁶⁸ Hughes has "cheefe", p. 244, which makes scant sense.

wynde turned presently to the west, and blew <n>o more out of *England* till the *Spaniards* had yeilded vppon Composition.¹⁶⁹

Agayne our Prouant masters¹⁷⁰ for apparrelling the soldier, dealt as corruptly as the rest, not sending halfe the proportion of Apparrell due to the Soldier, but compounding for great part thereof with the Captaines in ready mony, they having many *Irish* soldiers, who were content to serue without any Clothes, besides that the apparrell /30/ prouided by them was nothing neere¹⁷¹ so good, as the allowed price required. The Prouant Masters thus compounding with the Captaymes, they contented the Soldiers, 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. So as in a hard winter seige, as at *Kinsale* (and likewise at other tymes) they dyed for colde in great numbers, to the greife of all beholders.

Agayne wee had no hospitalls to releiue the sick and hurt

¹⁶⁹ Terms of agreement. *OED* Hughes's proofreader failed to excise an otiose line, which must have come from elsewhere, "their musters, who should have nothing to do with Armes" p. 244.

¹⁷⁰ Quartermasters. Myers, p. 239.

¹⁷¹ Hughes omits "which were content" to here almost certainly in error.

soldiers, so as they dyed vppon a small Colde taken, or a prick of the finger, for want of Convenient releife for fewe dayes till they might /40/ recouer.

Thus howsoeuer they wanted not excellent Chirurgeons & carefull of them, yet particularly at the seige of *Kinsale*, they dyed by dozens on an heape, for want of litle cherishing with hott meat, and warme lodging, Notwithstanding the lord *Deputyes* care, who had imposed on his Chapleine the Taske to be as it were the sick Soldiers Steward to dispence a good proportion of victualls ready dressed for comfort of the sick, and hurt soldiers, at the Charitable Almes of the Captaines aboue the Soldiers pay. Where a king fights in the head of [the] [his] Army, such braue Soldiers as ours were could not haue suffered want, /50/ but deputies and Generalls though honourable and Charitable persons, cannot goe much beyond their tedder.¹⁷² To conclude, nothing hath more preserued the Army of the vnited *Netherlanders*, then such publique houses, where great numbers haue bene recouered, that without them must needs haue perished.

Lastly *Guicciardine* writes that the Popes are more abused in their musters of Soldiers then any other Prince; which may be true compared with the frugall *Venetians*, and States

¹⁷² Myers modernizes to "tether", p. 222.

of the lowe Countryes, and with Armyes where the Prince is in person.¹⁷³ But I //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:29i.

will boldly say that Queene Elizabeth of happy memory, fighting by her Generalls, was incredibly abused in the musters of her Army, both in the low Countryes and *Fraunce*, and especially in *Ireland*, where the strongest bands of one hundreth Fiftye by list, neuer exceeded 120 by Pole at the taking of the Feilde, vppon pretence of tenn dead payes¹⁷⁴ allowed the Captayne for his seruants wayting on him, and for extraordinary payes, he might giue some gentlemen of his Company, as also for sick soldiers left in his Garrison, besydes that many tymes the strongest bands were much weaker, by wanting of supplyes of *English* men to fill them.¹⁷⁵ But they were farr /10/ more weake at the Coming out of the Feilde and retyring to Garrisons vppon pretence of men dead in the sommer seruice.¹⁷⁶ yet were the Checks nothing answerable to the deficient numbers, wherein the Queene was much wronged, paying more then she had, and her

¹⁷³ Moryson has already mentioned this on Fol. 164.

¹⁷⁴ "Nonexistent soldiers listed on the captain's muster sheets (by means of which the officer could augment his pay)." Myers, p. 239.

¹⁷⁵ All of this sounds very Falstaffian. See *2 Henry IV* III. 2. for an hilarious recruitment scene. Note how Moryson continues on the racial theme that only the English can be trusted.

¹⁷⁶ Hughes confuses the sense by faulty proofreading of transposed lines, p. 246.

Generall serued with great disadvantages, being reputed to fight with great[er] numbers in list, when he had not two thirds parts of them by Pole, yea scarce halfe of them, considering the men taken out of the Army, for Warders in Castles, and Fortes. It is pittie the Popes should not be much more abused in their musters, who should haue nothing to doe with Armes; but /20/ temporall Princes, to whome the mistery of Armes properly belongeth, ought carefully to preuent this mischeife, to pay men in list, who are not to be found by Pole when they should fight.¹⁷⁷ And more specially in Fortes, where the Couetous Captaines abating their numbers, and passing their false musters by bribery, lye open to the Enemyes surprisall, as besides many other examples, we founde by the destruction of our Garrison at the *Derry in Odogherties* Rebellion, where the Captaine wanted many of his number, and of those he had many were *English Irish*, seruing for small paye, to whome the keeping of Fortes should not be committed.¹⁷⁸ The Queene /30/ to preuent this mischeife, increased the number of Commissaryes, but that was found only to increase the Captaynes bribes, not the number of his men. Therefore some

¹⁷⁷ Warmaking is seen as a mystery, a craft, an occupation, proper to princes. Hughes misses a line "their musters...arms" in faulty proofreading again, p. 246.

¹⁷⁸ "Sir Cahir O'Dougherty, betrayed by his former English allies, went into rebellion in 1608. One of his outstanding achievements was the surprising and subsequent destruction of the important fortress at the Derry (later Londonderry)." Myers, p. 240.

thought the best reformation would be, if the pay formerly made to the Captayne for his whole band, were payd by a sworne Commissary to the soldiers by Pole, and those Commissaryes exemplarily punished vpon any deceite, whose punishment the Soldier would not only well indure, but ioyfully applaude.¹⁷⁹ Others thought the Pay should still be made to the Captaynes as honourable persons, so their deceit were punished by note of infamy, and Cashing out of imployment, in /40/ which Case their honor being deare to them, they would either not offend, or few examples of punishment would reduce all to good order in short tyme.

{ m.n. 44 - 46. *Reformation intended at the end of the last Rebellion.* }

Having largely written of all mischeifes growne in the gouernment of *Ireland*, I will add something of the Reformation intended at the end of the last Rebellion. The worthy lord *Mountioy* (as I haue mentioned in the end of the second part of this woorke) having reduced *Ireland* from the most desperate estate, in which it had euer beene since the Conquest, to the most absolute subiection, being made as a fayre payre of Tables wherein /50/ our State might write, what lawes best fitted it; yet knowing that He left that great woorke vnperfect, and subiect to relapse, except his

¹⁷⁹ Hughes's printer mixes lines and has "induce" for "indure" p. 246, which, as Myers says, makes nonsense. p. 240.

Successors should finish the building, whereof he had layd the foundation, and should polish the stones, which he had only rough hewed. And fynding euery Rebellion in Ireland to haue //

fol:292. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

beene more dangerous then the former, and the last to haue wanted litle of Casting the *English* out of that kingdome, was most carefull to preuent all future mischeefes. To which end (howsoeuer his diseignes were diuerted) I dare boldly say, both from his discourse with nearest frendes, and from the papers he left, that he proiected many good poynts of Reformation, wherof these fewe that followe are worthy to be remembred.

First to establish the maintenance of some necessary Forts planted within land remote from Seas & Riuers, /10/ the warders whereof might cleare all paces (or passages of Boages¹⁸⁰ and woodes) and might not only keepe the Irish in awe, but be to the State as it were spyes to advertise all mutinous and seditious inclinations. Also to plant like Garrysons vpon such hauens, as be easy and commodious for the discent of forrayne enemyes. And because the Cittyes (esppecially of mounster) hauing large priuiledges graunted to the first English inhabitants (as namely the Profitt of Fynes and penall Statutes) had many wayes abused them in

¹⁸⁰ Hughes corrects to "Bogges", p. 247.

/20/ the last Rebellion to the prejudice of the Commonwealth (as namely in remitting to the delinquents all Fynes and penaltyes imposed on them, for transporting & importing Iesuites and Priests and prohibited wares) and also because these Cittyes in the Rebellion had nourished the same by secreet practises, and in the ende thereof, had by open sedition in the cause of Religion forfeited their Charteres, his lordship purposed to procure the Cutting off many exorbitant priuiledges in the renewing of their Charteres, and likewise the establishing of Forts /30/ with strong garrysons vpon those Cittyes which has shewed themselues most false harted and Mutinus, more spetially Corke and Watterford, who had denied entrance to the kings Forces, and were only reduced by a strong hand from their obstinate sedition, without which Fortes he thought the Cittyes would nether be kept in obedience for the safetie of the Army, nor be brought to any due reformation in Religion. But howsoever Dublin was no lesse ill affected in the cause of Religion then the rest, yet he thought /40/ it sufficently restrayned by the residency of the lord Deputy in the Castle, and great numbers of English that lodged in the Citty attending vpon the State. For the Fortes within land, he hoped they would in shorte tyme become townes well inhabited, as was founde by experience in the old Fortes of

Lease and Ophalia,¹⁸¹ and in some newe Fortes in Vlster, and that they would much strengthen the State, so great Caution were had that only English soldyers shoulde keepe them, and that by faythfull Musters¹⁸² they were kept strong, /50/ so as the Covetousnes of Captaynes might not lay them open to surprisall, ether by taking Irish soldyers seruing for lesse [pay], or by wanting theire full number of warders, and that, as the garrysons were to haue land allotted and many priuiledges graunted to them so constant care were taken to kepe them from //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:293.

spoyling the Countrye by seuere discipline. Agayne for the Fortes, because he feared the soldyers could not be kept from making affinity by maryage with the neighboring Irish, and for that the Captaynes and officers were likely to intertayne the Irish for Soldyers and seruants as Content with small or no wages, whereby the Fortes could not but be subiect to betraying, as likewise for that the Captaynes were likely in tyme by letters Pattens from the State to aproprate to themselues the land allotted to each Forte for the pub/10/like vse of the garrysons, and for diuers like reasons, more spetially for that the Continuall sound

¹⁸¹ Leix and Offaly. Myers, pp. 225, 240. They were "old" in that they had been planted in the time of Philip and Mary, and were thereafter called King's and Queen's County.

¹⁸² i.e. of English, as opposed to those whose faith was suspect.

of Drommes and Trumpitts was dissonant from a Commonwealth peaceably governed: His lordship thought these Fortes were not like to yeald such strength to the State as the planting of Faythfull Colonyes. And so his lordshipp in the second place purposed to perswade the Reformation of the old Colonyes, and the leading of newe into that kingdome, both to be planted vpon the Sea Coasts, and vpon Riuers and Nauigable lakes lying vpon the Sea, /20/ Forsing the Irish to inhabitt the Countryes within land, whereby these Colonyes might be free or more safe from their assaultes, and not only be easely releued out of England, but growe rich with forrayne traffique, And to this purpose to exchange inland possessions pertayning to the old Colonyes or belonging to the king, with such Irish as then had their lands vpon the Sea Coasts, Riuers, and lakes, giuing them greater proportions of ground, to make them better content with this exchange. Some aduised in this exchange, to giue /30/ the Irish also those spirituall liuings which the¹⁸³ helde by Custody as vacant at that tyme, but this course was thought to ouerthrowe the foundation of all good reformation, that must beginn with Religion, which could not be established without settling a learned and honest Cleargy, nor they be mantayned without these liuinges.¹⁸⁴ But because the Irish and English Irish were obstinate in

¹⁸³ Hughes corrects to "they", p. 249.

¹⁸⁴ To Moryson if religion were reformed, all further good effects would follow.

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 /40/ 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. In which respect caution was thought fitt to be had, that these newe Colonyes, should not Consist of obstinate Papists, nor Criminall fugitiues, Cuttpurses, and infamous weomen, or persons rather drawne out to Clense England of ill members, then to reduce Ireland to /50/ Ciuility and true Religion, but of honest gentlemen and husbandmen to inhabitt the Country, and honest Cittisens and marchants to inhabitt the Cittyes, with weomen of good fame, and espetically learned and honest Preachers and ministers for them both. That the Cittisens consisting of noble and Plebean Familyes, should builde and fortifye //

fol:294. Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

Cittyes, vpon the riuers and lakes, to be thoroughfayres for the whole kingdome, all other by passages through woodes and desert places being shutt vp, so as theeues and malefactors might more easily be apprehended, and all Cattle, being not otherwise to be solde or bough then in publike marketts of Cittyes, All theftes and Rapines might

easily betected,¹⁸⁵ and the barbarous people seeing the Cittisens to liue plentifully vnder good gouernment, and to growe rich by trades and traffique, might in tyme be allured to imbrace theire Ciuill manners and profitable industrie. /10/ That the gentlemen inhabiting the adioyning Countryes, should dwell in Castles of stone, and not keepe there husbandmen vnder absolute Commaun[d]d as Tennants at will, but graunt them freeholds, Copieholdes, and leases, with obligation to mantayne horse and Foote, and to rise vp with them for defence of the [Army] [Country], from theftes and incursions. And in case England was not able to supply these Colonyes, or the English (as lesse industrious) were not thought so fitt for this purpose, without others ioyned with them, then his lordship Iudged the Netherlanders most /20/ fitt to be drawne to this worke, as a people most industrious, peaceable, and subiect to iust commaund, and abounding with inhabitants, but streaightend by not hauing large teritoryes.¹⁸⁶ Many other cautions were projected for the quality of these Colonies, as that they should not dwell together in great numbers of one Sept or name, nor

¹⁸⁵ Hughes amends to "be detected", p. 250.

¹⁸⁶ I take this in the sense of "straitened circumstances", so that the Netherlanders are kept poor by their lack of territory. This was not a new initiative on Mountjoy's part, but rather a continuation of a policy originally advocated by Sir Henry Sidney to encourage craftsmen, industry and the prosperity that it brought. Forty families from Flanders were settled at Swords, County Dublin. See Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565 - 1576* (Hassocks, 1976), p. 67.

should Consist of bordering people, (vsed to liue like outlawes vpon spoyle, and one Sept to haue deadly quarrells and hatred (as it were by inheritance) with an other) That they should be a Free people /30/ like [the] Flemings, and vsed to liue of themselues like them and the Italians, not vsed to the absolute Commandes of lords after the seruile manner of Ireland, which dependancye makes them apt to followe their lords into Rebellion and priuate quarells. That they should be such, as were not vsed to liue in smoaky Cotages and Cabines, or to goe naked and in ragged apparrell, but in Commodious houses and decently attyred, that so they might not be apt to fall to the Irish manners, but rather to bring them to Ciuility. That they should be planted in remote /40/ places [...] [in] their natiue home, lest in seditions they might easily drawe their neighboring frendes and Countrymen to take part with them. Finally & espetially, that they should be soundly affected to the Reformed Religion.

Thirdly because his lordship knewe all endeouours would be in vayne, if Ciuill magistrates should thincke by fayre meanes without the sworde to reduce the Irish to due obedience (they hauing beene Conquered by the sword, and that Maxime being infallible, that /50/ all kingdomes must be preserued by the meanes by which they were first gayned, and the Irish espetially being by their nature plyable to a harde hand, and Iadish when vpon the least pricking of

prouender the bridle is lett loose vnto them¹⁸⁷) Therefore it was thought fitt that the Irish should not only beare no armes in the pay of the State (which should euer be committed to the hands of most faithfull Subiects) but should also haue all priuate Armes taken from them, till by Parliament it might be agreed, what vse of swordes or Peeeces //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:295.
were fitt to be graunted some men by priuiledge for grace & ornament, or for necessary vse, as for fowling and like vses. And howsoever this disarming of the *Irish* could not well be done during the Rebellion, when the Counsell of *England* commaunded it, because the submitted *Irish* should thereby [be] [haue beene] left a pray to the spoyling of those that were still in Rebellion, yet nothing seemed more fitt and easy to be done when the Rebellion was fully appeased, and our Conquering Army houered like Falcons ouer the heads of any that should dare to resist,. And likewise that lawes of Reformation should be enacted by Parliament, if either the *Irish* would consent /10/ or could be ouertopped by the voyces of the new Colonyes and Bishopps, or otherwise should be imposed by absolute power, as no doubt the king of *Spaine* would doe vppon any his Subiects in like case, to whose subiection the *Irish* seemed then strongly affected. Fourthly for the last alledged reason,

¹⁸⁷ Once again the Irish are seen as wilful horses, keener to feed than obey.

his lordshipp purposed to procure that the *English Army* should be continued in some strength, till [Rebellion] [Religion] were reformed, whereof I shall treat in the last Chapter of the next Booke, and till the kings Reuenues Customes and Tributes were established, whereof some thing must here be added.

Of old the Customes of exported or imported marchandize, were /20/ very small, the people having fewe Commodities to export, and desyring not to haue more imported then wyne and such things for necessity, vpon which things the ancient kings imposed small or no Customes, in regard the Conquered *Irish* were basely poore, and content with any apparrell, yea¹⁸⁸ with nakednes, and with milke and butter for foode, and for that it was fitt the *English Irish*, should haue immunity from such burthens, thereby to drawe more Inhabitants into that kingdome. For which reason also the Tolles within land, and the Rents of the kings lands of Inheritance were of small value, and both they and the Customes, yea the very /30/ Fynes of penall Statutes, were for rewardes of seruice giuen or lett vpon a small Rent to the *English Irish* Cittyes, and lordes of Countreyes. In the last Rebellion the whole Reuenues of the kingdome amounting to some thirty thousand pounds yearely, were so farr from defraying the Charge of the Army, as it cost the State of

¹⁸⁸ Hughes changes to "yet", p. 252.

England one yeare with an other, all Reckonings cast vpp betweene 200 and 300th thousand pounds yearely aboue the Reuenue. And the Rebellion being appeased, when the Army was reduced to i200 Foote, and some 400 horse, yet the Charge of these small forces, and the Stipends of Magistrates and Iudges, /40/ exceeded the Reuenues some 45 thousand pounds yearely.

But due Courses being taken in this tyme of peace, it was thought the Reuenues might be much increased, then which nothing was more necessary. The *Irish Cowes* are so stubborne, as many tymes they will not be milked but by some one woman, when, how, and by whome they list.¹⁸⁹ If their Calves be taken from them, or they otherwise grewe stubborne, the skinnes of the Calues stuffed with strawe must be sett by them to smell on, and many fooleries done to please them, or els they will yeilde no milke. And the Inhabitants of that tyme were no lesse froward¹⁹⁰ in their /50/ obedience to the State, then their beasts were to them. But I would gladly know from them by what right they challenge more priuiledge then *England* hath, why they should not beare the same tributes and Subsidyes that *England* beareth, and why so rich a kingdome should be so

¹⁸⁹ Ireland even makes the cows refractory.

¹⁹⁰ "A. adj. 1. Disposed to go counter to what is demanded or reasonable; perverse...refractory, ungovernable..." OED

great a burthen to the State of *England* and not rather
yeild profitt aboue the Charge thereof. One lord //

{ c.w. of the County }

fol:296. Booke.II. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

Countye of *Carberie* being in Rebellion mantayned one
thousand Rebels against the State, who after becoming a
Subiect, was hardly drawne to serue the State with thirty
foote, at the invasion of the *Spaniards*, and yet thought he
deserued thankes and reward for that [poore] Supply.¹⁹¹ I
cannot wonder inough, how the lordes of *Ireland* can be so
blinde in their owne affections as having mantayned some
15000 men in Rebellion, they should thinck much in tyme of
peace to pay the Stipends of Magistrates and Iudges, and to
mantayne the small Remnant of the *English Army* being some
1200 Foote, and vnder 500 horse. Of old after the first
Conquest, /10/ when *Ulster* was obedient to the State, that
Prouince alone paid 30000 markes yearely into the
Exchequer, and besides, (as many Relations witnes)
mantayned some thousands of Foote for the States seruice,
yeilding also Tymber to build the kings Shippes, and other
helpes of great importance to the State. No doubt *Ireland*
after the Rebellion appeased, was in short tyme [like to
be] more rich, and happy in all aboundance, then euer it
had bene, if the Subiects would delight in the Arts of

¹⁹¹ Moryson may be referring to Florence Mac Carty who
"had great power in Carbray and Desmond.../...That Florence
had levied of the Provincials and Bonnaghts (so they call
waged souldiers) 2000 foot". *Itinerary A, II, 360, 361.*

peace, and the fertility of *Ireland* yeildeth not to *England*, if it had as many, and as industrious Inhabitants. In Sommer it hath lesse heat then *England*, which proceeding /20/ from the reflection of the sunne vppon the earth, is abated by the frequent Boggs and lakes, (which together with rawe or litle rosted meates, cause the Country diseases, of Fluxes and Agues fatall to the *English*) but this defect might be helped by the in<d>ustry of Husbandmen drayning the grounds, and may hinder the ripening of some fruites, but no way hurtes the Corne, though perhapps it may cause a later Haruest then *England* hath.¹⁹² Againe in winter by the hu<mi>ditye of Sea and land, *Ireland* is lesse subiect to Colde then *England*, so as the Pastures are greene, and the Gardens full of Rosemary, laurell and sweete hearbes, which the Colde of *England* /30/ often destroyeth. It passeth *England* in Riuers, and frequent lakes abounding with fish, whereof one lake called the *Bande* yeildeth 500 *libri* yearely Rent by Fishing.¹⁹³ The Hauens from *Galloway* to *Calebeg*¹⁹⁴ a third part of the kingdome, are fowerteene in number, whereof some will

¹⁹² Medieval physiology is combined with practical solutions. In this period Europe was suffering a little Ice Age, which had important effects, "...a drop in 1 degree Celsius in average summer temperatures reduces the farm growing season in northern Europe by about 30 days." Parker, p. 22. With the varieties then available, corn production on a significant scale would have probably failed.

¹⁹³ Myers suggests the River Bann, p. 240.

¹⁹⁴ Galway to the Killybegs. Myers, p. 240.

receiue 200th, some 300th, some 400th great shipps, and only two or three of them are barred, and shallowe, and all these with the other Harbors, Creekes, and Seas, on all sydes of *Ireland*, abound with plenty of excellent fish, if the Inhabitants were industrious to gett them for foode and traffique.

For the increasing of the kings Customes [in tyme] by vnsensible degrees, /40/ it was thought the *Irish* were not likely to repyne much thereat, since that burthen greiueth none that are content with natiue Commodityes, and affect not forayne luxuryes, but they haue bene litle vsed to taxes and Tributes vppon their land, and haue euer kicked at the least burthen in that kinde for the seruice of the State, only bearing it chearefully for their owne ends, as to support the Popish Religion, and to mantayne Agents in *England*, to pleade for that, and other Clamo<ro>us greiuances. Howsoeuer the question is not how willingly they will yeilde profitt to the king, but how it may be most commodiously rayسد. /50/ To which purpose in regard the wealth of *Ireland* consists especially in Cattell and victualls, and wanted nothing more then mony, the best Relations of the *Irish* estate in those tymes of the Rebellion appeased, thought not so fitt to rayse it by new Compositions of all Countryes, and increasing the old, as by making *Ireland* only to beare the Charge of the magistrates, and Iudges Stipends, and moreouer, to be (as

it were) a nursery for some Competent //

Booke II. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:297.

English forces, extracting old Soldiers from thence vppon occasion of seruice, and sending new men to be trayned vpp in their place. This done whereas forayne Enemyes heretofore thought *Ireland* the weakest place wherein *England* might be annoyed, henceforward, they would rather dare to invade *England*, then *Ireland* thus armed. And the Rents by Compositions would be a trifle in respect of this profitt of Sessing soldiers. By sessing I meane, the allotting of Certayne numbers to each Citty and shire to be mantayned by them, who would be as so many Spyes to obserue their Parleyes and Conspiracyes, and as Garisons in /10/ Townes to keepe them in awe, whether they might be sent in greater or lesse numbers as the publike seruice required. Prouided alwayes, that this Sessing should be to the kings profitt only, not (as it was in the last Rebellion for the Captaynes profitt, who tooke all the profitt thereof without taking a penny lesse pay from the State, or making any satisfaction to the Subiects, though they had their hands to charge them. As this Sessing was thought to be most profitable to the State, (easing it of the Armyes charge, espetially for victualls, whereof the publike stores could neuer be replenished but with farr greater expence then any Compositions were like /20/ to yeilde), so was this kinde of Charge most easy for the *Irish* abounding in victualls. Prouided that the Soldiers were restrayned

from extorting by violence more then should be due to them, and the due prouision were [...] gathered by orderly course. For preuention whereof, and for the Soldiers safety, they should not lye scattered in the Country, but together in Garisons, yet not leaving it in the power of the *Irish* to starue them, but they fetching in victualls aforehand, if according to order it were not brought to them. Prouided also, that the Soldiers traueelling for any seruice, should in like sort be restrayned from extortions. When the Rebellion was ended, and the *English* /30/ Army in strength, this course was thought easy to be settled, and if at any tyme after, the State should thinck fitter to receiue yearely <R>ents, it was [not] doubted but this Course for a tyme would after make the people glad to raise their Compositions, so as the Sessing might be taken away. And by this practise we see that *Fraunce* hath of late rayseed great Tributes, increasing them vppon new burthens of warr, and so making the most seditious to abhorr troubles, and loue peace.¹⁹⁵

Then it was proiected that Commissioners should be sent ouer out of *England*. To veiue such lands, for which small or no rent had long /40/ bene payd to the king, vppon false pretence that they lay waste. To rayse the Rents of those vndertakers in *Mounster*, to whome the Queene having

¹⁹⁵ This probably refers to the financial reforms of Sully, Henry IV's minister.

graunted to some 3000, to some more Acres of good land for small Rent, or they having bought it at second hand at so easy a price, as some of them rayed as much profitt in one yeare as payd the Purchase, [and that by breaking] [and they hauing broken] all their Couenants with the Queene, not peopling the land with *English* Tenants, nor having *English* seruants, but vsing the *Irish* for both, as seruing vppon base Conditions, and not building their Castles, but suffering the old Castles to goe to ruine, and so in the Rebellion being betrayde /50/ by their owne *Irish* men, and having no *English* to serue the State, or keepe their owne possessions, were forced vppon the first tumults to quitt their lands, or charge the Queene with warders to keepe their Castles, for which causes, if their estates were not taken from them vppon breach of Couenants, yet at least they deserued to be charged with greater rents,. To tye them strictly to the obseruing hereafter of all Couenants for the publike good, vppon payne to forfeite their graunts,. To dispose for the kings best profitt [of] all concealed lands giuen to superstitious vses, which were thought of great value. //

fol:298. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

To dispose of spirituall lands and livings by custody to the kings profitt, for a tyme till [a] learned Clergie might be settled. To rate the Sessing of Soldiers in *Vlster* where it was thought the people would willingly beare any reasonable burthen, so they might be freed from the great

lords Tyranny. To doe the like in other parts of the kingdome, at least for a tyme, since if after yearely Rents were thought more commodious the people would more willingly rayse the Compositions to be freed from this Sessing, and mantayning of Garisons. Lastly to rayse the Customes by degrees, and to consider /10/ what priuiledges of Cittyes, or of priuate men, for that present deseruing litle of the State, were fitt to be cutt of, or restrayned.

By these meanes it was thought no difficult thing in fewe yeares, highly to rayse the kings Reuenues, and to reforme in some good measure the Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall policy. Prouided that these Comm^{is}sioners being of the best sort, for Nobility, and experience, were after the first Reformation continued still in that imployment, and sent ouer once in fiue yeares, or like space of tyme, to visitt that kingdome /20/ especially for the administration of Iustice, yet by the way ([by which] with Arts of peace, and by degrees) for settling and increasing the kings Reuenues, which wee see daily and wisely to haue beene done in England.¹⁹⁶ Thus the Irish bearing Common and equall

¹⁹⁶ James I's needs were pressing. Under Elizabeth the English had had their monarchy "on the cheap". She was content to continue with Mary's 1558 book of rates of customs throughout her reign, despite inflation. Moryson's attitude of uncritical acceptance of the need for increased taxes is interesting, but then he saw the revenue being spent. He also had a personal motive in the King being paid. His own pension of six shillings a day might be more secure. See entry 19 June 1604 of *The Chronology of Moryson's life* in Appendix I.

burthen with the *English*, should haue no iust cause to complayne and finding Rebellions to increase their burthens, would be taught to loue peace, the *English* should be eased from bearing the wonted burthen of their seditions; the king should haue meanes in *Ireland* to reward his magistrates, and seruants in that kingdome. And it was hoped such treasure might in tyme be drawne out of *Ireland*, /30/ as might in some measure repay the great expences, *England* hath heretofore disbursed to keepe *Ireland* in peace, without raying any least profitt from a Conquered kingdome.

{ m.n. 34. *The conclusion.* }

To conclude as I haue taken the boldnes playnely and truely to giue some light of the doubtfull State of *Ireland* about the tyme of the last Rebellioun, soe me thinkes noe *Irish* or *English Irish* of theise tymes should take offence at any thinge I haue written if they be Cleere from yll affeccions wherewith those tymes weare polluted (. I meane in generall, since I haue not Concealed that some of them deserued well in those worst tymes), And for all /40/ other men I trust that in theire loue to truth and for the vse may be made of this plaine narracion in future tymes they will perdon any rudenes of stile or Errors of Iudgment which I may haue incurred: God is my witnes that I enuye not to the *English Irish* any wealth liberty or prerogatiue they may Iustly Challenge, nor yet [to] the meere *Irish* a

gentle and moderatt gouernment, soe the English Irish had the noble and faithfull hartes of their progenitors towards the Kinges of England, or that lenitye wold make the Irish more obedient, which heretofore hath rather puffed them with pride and wanton /50/ frowardnes: But as they weare both in those tymes very dissobedient (if not malitious) to the State of England I haue byn bould to say that thinges soe standinge England ought to vse power where reason avaieth not, nothings is soe //

{ c.w. proper as to rule }

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:299.

proper as to rule by force, whome force hath subiected. To keepe the *Irish* in obedience by o<ath>es¹⁹⁷ who were first conquered by Armes, and to vse the like br<id>le towards the *English Irish* who de[ge]nerating became Partners in their Rebellions. To impose lawes on them by authority for the publike good, whome reason cannot perswade, to make them by consent for their owne good. To reforme the old Colonyes deformed by their owne faults, and to establish them by planting newe. And to take the sword out of madd mens hands, for such are they that vse Armes against those that armed them. All Subiects /10/ must be kept in duty by loue or feare; loue were better towards both, and especially the *English Irish*, but the meere *Irish* are more plyable, to feare, and such of the other as by habitt haue

¹⁹⁷ "Armes", Hughes, p. 258.

gotten their barbarous affections, must be manacled in the same Chayne with them. Reformation is necessary; neither of them admitts any. Wee must reforme, and that will gall them, and their pride in those tymes was likely to make them kick.¹⁹⁸ It remayned that by Constant Counsell and all honest meanes, we should take from such Subiects all power to wreake their malice. For to vse remedies sufficient to prouoke them to /20/ anger, and to with hold those that might suppress their furye, were great folly. In a word nothing is more dangerous then midle Counsell, which *England* of old too much practised in *Ireland*.¹⁹⁹ To what purpose are good lawes made, if the people cannot be ledd, or forced to obedience. A man in those dayes might more easily leade Beares and Lyons, then the *Irish*. If *Orpheus* himselfe could not make those stones and trees daunce after his Harpe, then *Hercules* and *Theseus* must make them follow their Clubbs.²⁰⁰ The marshalls must make them

¹⁹⁸ Note yet again how the image is of unruly and dangerous horses.

¹⁹⁹ This anticipates Strafford's "thorough" policy in Ireland in the 1630s.

²⁰⁰ If persuasion fails, force must follow. In addition to the reasons already quoted earlier, Moryson may have called Orpheus's instrument a harp because it was a symbol of Ireland, having first appeared on the coinage of Henry VIII. The harp appeared so regularly thereafter that the Irish shillings were known as "Harpers". See *Itinerary A*, II, 138 - 139. Virgil in *Georgic IV*, line 464 calls Orpheus's instrument a lyre, or more literally *testudine*, a tortoise shell in which the sound of the plucked strings reverberated. The reference to Hercules and his club of justice may be an echo from the *Faerie Queen*, Book V Canto 1, verse 2,

feelee punishment, whome Philosophers, and lawgiuers finde without all feeling of their publike /30/ good. Lett any man who hath beene serued with *Irish* Footemen in sober sadnes tell me the truth, if he haue not alwayes founde them most obedient (by generall experience) vnder a hard hand, but stubborne and froward towards their Masters, as soone as they are well cloathed, and sett on horseback, for they are all in their opinion, and they all wilbe gentlemen, which pouerty made them forgett.²⁰¹ This properly belongs to the meere *Irish*, but such of the *English Irish* as are become of that nature, must be content to be ioyned with them, till they retorne to *English* manners and affections. Some of our old Gouvernors /40/ wisely obserued this nature of the *Irish*, and practised the right Course to bridle it, proclayming their Comaunde[r]s at the point of the sword. Such was the lord *Gray* in the late Queenes Raigne lord *Deputy* of *Ireland*, who knew best of all his Predecessors to bridle this feirce and Clamorous Nation. Such was Sir *Richard Bingham*, though only a subordinate Gouvernor of the Prouince of *Connaght*, who with a handfull [of] Soldiers, and a heauy hand of Iustice,

Next *Hercules* his like ensample shewed,
Who all the West with equall conquest wonne,
And monstrous tyrants with his club subdewed;
The club of Iustice dread, with kingly powre endewed.
Edmund Spenser, *Poetical Works* edited by J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1912), p. 277.

²⁰¹ Compare two proverbs recorded by Tilley. B 239. Set a *BEGGAR* on horseback and he will ride to the devil. V 57. Set a *VILLEIN* on a mule and he knows not God or the world.

taught vs what Reformation might be wrought this way if it were constantly and sincerely followed.²⁰² But I know not vppon what grounds of policye the Counsellors /50/ of our State in those dayes, did not approue their actions. For the Complaynts of the subdued *Irish* (which no nation can more skilfully frame to gayne, or at least tye their Iudges, they being alwayes Clamorous, but in aduersity as abiect Suppliants, as proude enemyes in prosperity) I say their Complaynts founde such pittye in the Royall (may I with leaue say womanly) breast of the late famous Queene, and such fauour with the lordes of her Counsell, (//
{ c.w. perhapps }

fol:300. Booke.iii. Of Germany touching religion. Chap:i.
(perhapps desyring the present, rather then durable peace of that kingdome) as these late Rebels were sent back comforted for their losses with fayre promises, and the Magistrates recalled into *England*, reaped heauy reproofe for their merited reward. So as their Successors either terrified by that ill successe, or ambitious to gayne the hartes of the *Irish*, (at which the Counsell [themselues]

²⁰² Arthur, Lord Grey de Wilton, was the choice for Lord Deputy of the Walsingham/Leicester hard line Protestant faction in Elizabeth's council. His term of office was from 1580 - 1582. The depopulation of Munster with all its attendant miseries, and massacre of the Spanish and papal garrison at Smerwick were his responsibility in the Desmond Wars. Sir Richard Bingham Lord President of Connaught witnessed the massacre at Smerwick, and massacred over a thousand Scots gallowglass mercenaries in 1586. See *DNB* and *Berleth*, *passim*.

of the next lord *Deputy* seemed to ayme²⁰³) or vpon vayne hope to reduce that nation to obedience by lenity, did in all iudiciall causes so much respect the *Irish*, as to that end they spared not to lay vnequall burthens some/10/tymes on the *English*: Thus new Magistrates bringing newe lawes and Counsells wrought that Confusion which they sought to avoyde. For one Deputy was sharp and seuere, an other affable and gentle, whereas in all good governments howsoever the magistrates are changed, the face of Iustice should constantly remayne one and the same. And what preiudice to the Commonwealth this Course hath of old wrought in Ireland particularly, experience hath made mainifest. God graunt that hereafter wee may at least (according to the lattin Proverb) growe wise /20/ with the wounded fisherman, and as in the last rebellion wee were good Epimethei, to discerne (by the sence of ill accidents) the true Causes thereof [so] heareafter we may become prouident Promethei, in diuerting fore knowne dangers, before they fall heauily vpon vs.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ In 1584 Sir John Perrot was appointed Lord Deputy. "So far as Perrot was concerned, the Irish stood in more need of protection than the English." Berleth, p. 220. Edmund Spenser complained of Perrot that he "...did tread down and disgrace all the English, and set up and countenance the Irish all that he could...thinking thereby to make them more tractable and buxom to his government..." *View*, p. 109. Moryson is writing in this tradition.

²⁰⁴ I have been unable to trace the Latin proverb. Epimetheus (afterthought) was the brother of Prometheus (forethought). Moryson makes them plural. The image does not fit well for Moryson's purposes. Prometheus was a rebel against Zeus. Harvey. Epimetheus opened Pandora's box, an

image that Spenser also uses to describe the impediments to good government in Ireland, "*Irenius*: Surely, Eudoxius, the evils which you desire to be recounted are very many and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of Pandora...". *View*, p. 2.

Booke iii. Chap:i.

Of Germany touching religion.

I purpose not to dispute of any poynts of Religion, but only to sett downe the mayne differences in the diuersity of Religion through the dominions whereof I write, and in each breifely /30/ to shewe the chaunges and Reformations thereof, and what Religion the [se<v>erall] States Prouinces and Cheefe Cittyes mantayned at the tyme whereof I write, and such obseruations in the poynts of Religion, as a straunger in short abode might gather, by his eye, by discourse, and by reading their owne Bookes. As for the degrees whereby the Pope ascended to his absolute power, and the declining thereof to our tyme, I haue breiefely sett [them] downe in the *Historicall Introduction* of each Common wealth, more specially in that of *Germany* in the third Part, and those of *Italy* and *Fraunce* in this Part. /40/

The *Germans* of old being *Idolaters* (as all the *Gentiles* were) did especially obserue lotts, and the flying of birdes. And the lotts they made of Twiggs cutt into knobbs, seuerally marked and casually scattered vppon a white garment, from which they gathered diuerse Interpretations. In like sort they gathered Prophecyes from the Intrailes of beasts, and the neighing of their horses. *Cæsar* writes, that the *Germans* were by their women *Prophetesses* forbidden

to fight before new moone shoane,¹ *Methodius* writes, that they tooke, and gaue oathes by the names of their horses, but they swore likewise by their *Druides* /50/ // *Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:I. fol:30i.* (that is by their Preistes and their women) and by the wynde and their Curtle axes, (that is by life and death) and also by liberty [and] or freedome.² *Tacitus* writes, that they mantayned Preists, not so much for diuine seruice and sacrifices, as to doe the duty of Sargeants in apprehending, binding, and whipping Malefactors.³ In the beginning of any woorke they obserued the full and new moone, and thincking women to haue some divinity in them, admitted them to all Counsellis of greatest moment. *Boden*

¹ "...Caesar was told that the German matrons, who used to draw lots and employ other methods of divination to decide whether it was advisable to join in battle, had pronounced that the Germans were not destined to win if they fought before the new moon." Caesar, Book I. 50. p. 55. "Moone shoane" is, presumably, moon shine.

² *Methodius* (c.825 - 885) converted the Slavs of Moravia to Christianity. John VIII allowed him to celebrate Mass in Slav rather than Latin. After his death, outside German interests prevailed, and the Latin liturgy supplanted the Slavic. *EB* A curtle-axe is any slashing sword. The word cutlass is related to it. *OED*

³ The *Germania* of *Tacitus* (c.55 - c.117) was issued about 98. It deals with the geographical and physical aspects of the land inhabited by the Germanic tribes, and their social and cultural customs. Harvey. Part of Chapter VII states, "But to reprimand, to imprison, even to flog, is permitted to the priests alone, and that not as a punishment, or at the general's bidding, but, as it were, by the mandate of the god whom they believe to inspire the warrior." *Tacitus, Agricola and Germany*, translated by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb, revised edition (London, 1877), p. 92, referred to as *Germany* hereafter.

tasketh the *Germans* to be inconstant in Religion, and proueth all Northern, more then *Southerne* men inclinable /10/ to that vice, but how the *Germans* most constant and graue in all other actions of humane life, should only in the waighty Care of their soules proue light and inconstant, passeth my vnderstanding.⁴ It is manifest that the *Sweitzers*, the most *Southernly* people of all *Germanye*, first, or with the first forsooke the *Romane* Religion and obedience to the Popes, and I should rather say that the *Germans* are sincere in Religion, and finding themselues seduced into errors, and Captiued in their Consciences by fraude, can lesse dissemble or temporise in that point, and are prone by nature to violent Reformation. And since *Cæsar* in his /20/ *Commentaryes* witnesseth, that the *Germans* were of old wont to woorshipp no other Gods, then such by whose ayde, they receiued manifest benefitt, as the Sunne, the moone, & *Vulcane* or fyer)⁵ this seemes to me confirmed, in that the first cause of their Reuolt from the Pope, was the exactions and spoyling of their goods by Popish ministers, preaching the sale of Pardons and Indulgences. To which purpose they haue a Prouerb to this day.

⁴ Moryson is probably thinking of Jean Bodin. See his *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, abridged and translated by M. J. Tooley (Oxford, 1955), pp. 145 - 157. Book V Chapter I deals with how men differ with climate and country.

⁵ "The only beings they recognize as gods are things that they can see, and by which they are obviously benefited, such as Sun, Moon, and Fire..." Caesar, Book VI. 21. p. 143.

was Got bescheret, das nempt Sant Peter.

what God bestowes each day, Saint Peter takes away.

They were first converted to *Christianity* about the tyme of the /30/ french Emperor *Charles* the great, not all at one tyme, but those bordering vppon the *Alpes* on the South syde of the *Danowe*,⁶ and those on the westsyde of the *Rheine* were first by degrees converted before the *Saxons* and those inhabiting within the said Riuers. And so their Conversion fell into the tymes of the Popes growing power, and as it grewe, so they were from age to age infected with the *Roman* superstitions.

{ m.n. 38, 39. *The reformation of religion.* }

Touching the Reformation of Religion corrupted by the Popes tyranny. After that the *Valdenses*, and the *Albigenses* in *Fraunce*, and *wickleffe* with his disciples in *England*, and *John* /40/ *Hus* with *Hierome* of *Prage*, and their followers in *Bohemia*,⁷ had for the space of some 200th yeares in the greatest pride of the Popes, preached against the Errors of

⁶ *Donau* or the *Danube*. After repeated Saxon revolts, "...from 785, the Franks began a 'thorough' policy; the Saxons were not only to be conquered but also converted, if / necessary by force." Charlemagne was a Christian Emperor, and he felt this to be his duty. Davis, pp. 144 - 145.

⁷ The *Waldensians* and *Albigensians* were condemned as heretics in the thirteenth century. *Wyclif* and his followers, the *Lollards*, and *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, and their followers, the *Bohemian Brethren*, were precursors of the Reformation.

the *Roman* church, and cried out for reformation, though daily prosecuted by fyre and sworde, some hundreth yeares of darknes passed without any opposition to the Popes tyranny till [fu.ther] [luther a] *German*, and an *Augustine fryer* borne at *Isleben*⁸ in *Saxony*, hearing that Pope *Leo* the tenth had sent aboundance of Pardons and Indulgences into *Germany*, the sale whereof was advanced by *Tecelius*⁹ and other ministers of the Pope, with blasphemous ser/50/mons to magnify them in the yeare 1517, he then being a Professor of diuinity in the vniuersity of *Witteberge*, and being much offended therewith publicly preached against their wicked doctrines in the vttering of such trash, wherevppon in the yeare 1518, he wrote humble letters to pacify the Pope, and defended //

fol:302. Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:I. his reformed doctrine at *Augsburge*, before the Cardinall *Caetan*, who dismissed him thence vppon his promise, that his aduersaryes being silent, he would preach no more of those poynts for the Elector of *Saxony* would in no sorte yealde that *luther* should be deliuered into the Cardinalls handes to answer his cause at *Rome*.¹⁰ The same yeare Philip

⁸ *Eisleben*.

⁹ He was also known as *Tetzel*, of the Dominican order, which was a traditional rival to the *Augustinians*. *Elton*, p. 19.

¹⁰ Cardinal *Cajetan*, leading Thomist theologian, and General of the Dominican Order met *Luther* at *Augsburg* in October 1518. For *Luther*, it was "one of the turning points in his career." See *E. G. Rupp* and *Benjamin Drewery*, *Martin*

Melancton came to Wittenberge and Ioynded himselfe with luther to aduance the Reformation of Religion.¹¹ In the yeare 1519 Luther by humble letters to the Pope renewed the conditionall promise of silence formerly made to the /10/ Cardinall, and Eccius came to Leipzig (yet professing Poperye) to dispute with luther.¹² And howsoeuer Erasmus Roterodamus, not disallowing the Reformation of Religion, yet in his [publike] [policlike] affections desyred moderation therein, no doubt he ment of the poynts questioned, not of the manner in proceeding, wherein luther did nothings with sedition or tumult,¹³ The Popes Chamberlen brought from his master to the Elector of Saxony

Luther (London, 1970), pp. 30 - 33, (p. 30), referred to hereafter as Rupp and Drewery.

¹¹ Philip Melanchthon (1497 - 1560), "...the systematic thinker of early Lutheranism." Elton, p. 53. He was "Luther's good right arm", professor, diplomat, humanist, educator, and with the publication of his *Loci Communes* in 1521, the first "systematic theologian" of Protestantism. Koenigsberger, pp. 134, 164, 166.

¹² John Eck (1486 - 1543), Professor at Ingolstadt, and supported by the Bavarian family of Wittelsbachs, met Luther at Leipzig in June/July 1519. In showing Luther to support articles of the condemned heretic John Hus, Eck made Luther "face [the] implications of his teaching" and "press him into open defiance." Rupp and Drewery, p. 34.

¹³ The great scholar and humanist, Desiderius Erasmus (1466 - 1536) of Rotterdam, never broke with Rome. Nevertheless, Jerome Aleander, Papal Nuncio at Worms accused him of being "...the source of all this evil which he has scattered around Flanders and the Rhine land..." Rupp and Drewery, p. 55. Moryson visited his house in the spring of 1593, *Itinerary A*, I, 100 - 101.

an hallowed Rose for a present,¹⁴ and when he perceived he could not obtayne that luther should be sent to Rome, he exhorted both partyes to peace, /20/ and so bitterly reproved Tecelius, as [he] shortly he dyed vpon greefe. The same yeare 1519 Zwinglius began to preach Reformation at Zurech in Sweizerland,¹⁵ from whome, and from Caluin shortly after preaching the same doctryne at Geneua, the Reformed church began to be deuided into two Rules, differing in some points that shall heereafter be shewed, the one called Lutheran, the other Caluinist.¹⁶ In the yeare 1520 Pope Leo hauing excommunicated Luther by a published Bull, commanded Frederick Elector of Saxony, ether to putt him to death, /30/ or banish him, but the

¹⁴ The Papal Chamberlain, Charles von Miltitz was despatched to give Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, a golden rose. Rupp and Drewery, p. 32. Since Frederick had amassed over nineteen thousand holy bones when counted in 1520, he must have felt this to be a great honour. See Daniel Waley, *Later Medieval Europe From St Louis to Luther* (London, 1964), p. 272.

¹⁵ Huldrych Zwingli (1484 - 1531) was the reformer at Zurich who claimed to have arrived at his theological position independently of Luther. Zwingli was much less visceral than Luther. Characteristically, Luther took the words "This is my body", to mean just that, whilst Zwingli riposted, on good scriptural authority, that "is" means "signifies". The two men were unable to reach agreement in 1529, [see below] when the Reformation was most threatened by the Habsburgs, newly victorious over the French. Zwingli was killed at Kappel in a war with the Catholic Swiss cantons which he had done so much to promote. See Elton, pp. 66 - 74.

¹⁶ Calvin was only ten years old in 1519. However, Moryson is surely correct in stating that only Calvin's authority was great enough to carry on Zwingli's work. Elton detects in Zwinglianism a moderating humanizing influence on the rigours of Calvinism, p. 74.

Elector as yet nether defended his doctryne, nor forbad the preaching thereof, and [called] calling Erasmus from Louan,¹⁷ asked his Iudgment of Luther, who confessed his doctryne to be true, only requiring moderation, and Ieastingly sayd that Luther had committed two great Crymes, in touching the Popes Crowne, and the monkes bellyes. Luther being excommunicated, did appeale from Antichrist the Pope to a generall Counsell, and did publikely burne the Cannon Lawe, and the Popes Bull. In the year 1521 Luther, /40/ vpon the Emperors safe conduct, came to the dyett at Wormes, and in the moneth of may the Emperor proscribed him, and the Pope agayne excommunicated him.¹⁸ Therefore the Elector of Saxony gaue certayne gentlmen charge of Luther, to keepe him safe in Wartpurg Castle. And this yeare the Roman masse was abrogated at witteberg. In the yeare 1522 Carolostadius at witteberg tumulteously broake downe the Images, so as luther was forced to retorne

¹⁷ Louvain.

¹⁸ One excommunication was sufficient. Moryson confuses *Exsurge Domine* which condemned Luther's teachings in June 1520, with *Decet Romanum* which excommunicated him and his followers in January 1521. See Rupp and Drewery, pp. 36 - 40, 62 - 67. The Diet of Worms was well known enough for Shakespeare to improve upon the truism of kings and beggars feeding worms. Put into the mouth of that Wittenberg ex-student, Prince Hamlet, the truism serves to remind us that Hamlet will no more recant his hostility to Claudius than Luther to Catholicism. Perhaps it is also a signal that Hamlet, like Luther at Worms, is to be banished and is in immense danger, something confirmed soon after by Claudius himself. See *Hamlet*, IV. 3. 20 - 70.

thether, and appease his violent proceeding.¹⁹ This yeare the Priests began to marye, and the Monkes /50/ and Nunnes left their Cloysters, and the Rents thereof were converted to other vses, of the Church, the vniversities and Scholes. In the yeare 1523 the fyue bookes of Moses, and the next yeare the Psalmes were published in the German tounge. In the yeare 1525 the furye of the Anabaptists hindred the Reformation: and this yeare Luther married a Nunn of noble Family. Also this yeare the different opinions about the Sacrament of the lords supper brake out betweene the Reformed Churches, where vpon some were called Lutherans some /60/ //

Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:I. fol:303.

Caluinists.²⁰ In the yeare 1528, the Cittyes of Saxony abolished the Roman Religion, and established the Reformation of the Gospell, and in the yeare 1529 the Reformed began to be called Protestants, vpon their protestations exhibited in the Imperiall Chamber at Spira.²¹ In the yeare 1530, the Confession of Augsburg (so called vpon the exhibiting thereof at the Dyett or

¹⁹ Luther returned to Wittenberg to show that Reformation did not mean social revolution. The radical Andreas Karlstadt (1480 - 1541), who had married in the meantime, was exiled by Luther's patron, the Elector of Saxony. Rupp and Drewery, pp. 79 - 80.

²⁰ The Marburg Colloquy between Luther and Zwingli on the exact nature of Eucharist took place in 1529. Elton, pp. 73 - 74. See Moryson's description on fol. 322. Calvinism is a later creed than Zwinglianism.

²¹ Speyer.

Parlament of Augsburg) was not only by the diuines, but [the] by the Reformed Princes and Cittyes exhibited to the Emporor, in the lattine and German Tounges, and by his Com/10/maundement was published in the French and Italian Tounges. At the same Dyett another Confession was exhibited by foure Cittyes, Strassburg, Costnetz Mening, and lindaw, which differed from Luther in the doctryne of the Sacrament, but shortly after they ioyned themselues to the Church of Saxony.²² In the yeare 1532 the Archbishop of Mentz²³ and the Palatine of the Rhene made peace betweene the Emperor and the Protestants, so as till a generall free Councell were called, the Confession of Augsburg might freely be taught. In the yeare 1536, /20/ the whole Byble being translated into the German Tounge, brought greater light to the Gospell.²⁴ In the yeare 1539 the Prouinces of Misnia and Marchia²⁵ established the Reformed Religion. In the yeare 1546 Luther dyed, and the same yeare the Emperor Charles the fifth made warr against the Protestants, which many had long expected, but Luther had often foretold it should not happen in his dayes, and this warr produced the deposing of Iohn Frederick Duke of Saxony from the

²² Known as the Tetrapolitan Confession, the signatories were Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau. Elton, p. 148.

²³ Mainz.

²⁴ This was Luther's great achievement.

²⁵ Meissen and the Mark of Brandenburg. *OL*

Electorship, which the Emporor transferred to Mauritz his kinsman /30/ Duke of Saxony in Misen,²⁶ but by the helpe of the sayd Mauritz and of the French king Henry the second it wrought no preiudice to the State of the Empire, or the generall cause of Religion. At last in the yeare 1548, the Emperor at a Dyett in Augsburg composed a forme of Religion to be obserued by the Protestantes till the Councell of Trent: against which decree (called Interim of the sayd limited tyme) the diuines of the confession of Augsburg printed divers bookes, yet in the Cittyes neare the power of the Emporor, some /40/ diuines were putt out of their places, because they obserued it not. But after the Reformed diuines had refused to goe to the Councell of Trent, in the yeare 1551, because it was vnder the Popes power, and they had no safe Conduct graunted them,²⁷ the Emperor at a Dyett in Augsburg in the yeare 1555, gaue peace to the Reformed Religion, by a decree, that no warr should be made vpon any for the cause of Religion. In the foresayd short tyme of some 37 yeares the Reformed Religion was established, by the three lay Electors of the Empire, /50/ namely lodwicke Palatine of the Rheine, Iohn Frederick Duke of Saxony, and Ioachim Marquis of Brandeburg, and by the [two] sonnes of the deposed Elector Iohn F[e]rederick

²⁶ Meissen.

²⁷ "Protestant representatives attended the second group of meetings [of the Council of Trent] in 1551 - 2." Elton, p. 197.

(namely Frederick Duke of Saxony in wineburg, and Iohn Duke of Saxony in Coburg), and by Mauritz Duke of Saxony in Misen newly made Elector, and by lodwicke Duke of Wirtenburg, william and Phillip landgraues //
{ c.w. of Hessen, and many }

fol:304. Booke iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i.
of Hessen and many Dukes namely of Brunswick of Luneburg, of Pomeran, of Meckelburg, of Holsetz (then named Iohn Adolp) and the Prince of Anhalt, the doome Prouost of Magdeburg, the Duke of Prussen, the Marquis of Baden, and of Anspach, and other Princes of those Familyes, whose names I remember not, all being absolute Princes vnder the Emperor of large Prouinces, in which they established the reformed Religion, which themselues professed.²⁸ In like sort it was established in the Imperiall and free Cittyes, and many great Cittyes vnder Princes namely Hamburg Lubeck

²⁸ Henry Cohn Chairman of the Department of History, the University of Warwick has helped me to unravel this list. I shall use his initials hereafter. Ludwig V, the Elector Palatine (1508 - 1544) did not establish the Reformation, but rather his brother and successor, Friedrich II (1544 - 1556). In electoral Saxony it was Luther's patron Friedrich (the Wise) and Johann (1525 - 1532) who established the Reformation. Johann Friedrich I (1532 - 1554) and his sons Johann Friedrich II (1554 - 1567) who ruled in Coburg, and Johann Wilhelm (1554 - 1573) who ruled in Weimar inherited this situation. The Reformation was already well established. It was Ulrich of Württemberg, and in Hesse Count Philip not William who established the Reformation. Otherwise, Moryson is correct. The Protestant princes and potentates whose names have changed with time, include the Dukes of Pomerania, of Mecklenberg, and of Holstein called Johann Adolf, the Duke of Anhalt, the Provost (with power of judging or dooming) in Magdeburg, and the Duke of Prussia, and the Marquis of Ansbach. Brunswick is the English name for Braunschweig.

*Stoade, Brunswick, Luneburge /10/ Magdeburge, Nurenburg
Strassburg, Augsburg, (for almost all the Citizens were
Lutherans, though some Marchants trading in Spaine and
Italy remayned Papists) wormes, Spire, Regenspurg,
Francfort, vppon the Mæne, Vlm, Costnetz, lindawe, Ach,
Fryburg, Esslingen, Reutlingen, Nortlingen, Rotenberge
Erfort, Rotomilla, Memmingen, Gosslar, Dertmund, Wetzlar
Haylbrun, Dunckelspiel, Stetine, Dantzke, Konigsburg,
Rostock Meckelberg, and Breme.²⁹ Yea the Archbishopp
Elector of Colen³⁰ with his Cannons, could not restrayne
the Citizens thereof from professing the reformed religion,
which after in the yeare 1584 /20/ Truchsess Archbishopp
thereof himselfe imbraced, and maryed a wife, but was for
that Cause shortly after deposed by the Emperour and Pope.*

But since I cannot name all reformed places, and some of these follow the rule of *Luther*, others of *Caluin*, I thinck it better to explaine the religion professed in each Prouince and Citty, at the tyme when I passed them. *Germany* the vpper is diuided into eleuen Prouinces, whereof the

²⁹ The only new names which present difficulty are Regensburg which is anglicized to Ratisbon, Frankfurt am Main, Freiburg, Nördlingen, Rothenburg ober der Taube, Erfurt, Rottweil (originally Rotumvila), Goslar, Dortmund, Heilbronn, Dinkelsbühl, Stettin, Danzig, Königsberg, and Bremen. HC I owe the identification of Rotomilla to Professor Peter Skrine, Head of the Department of German at the University of Bristol. Where I am indebted to him in the following pages, I will use his initials.

³⁰ This is mid-metamorphosis between Köln and Cologne.

first [is] *Styria* whose Cheefe Citty is *Grietz*,³¹ the second *Carinthia*, having no Citty of moment,³² and the third *Tyrol*, whose cheefe Citty is /30/ *Inspruck*, all lye within the highest *Alpes*,³³ and are subiect to the house of *Austria*, then diuided into three branches, of the Emperor at *Prage*, the Archduke of *Inspruck*, and the Arch Dukes of *Grietz*, all which Princes were Papists, and likewise most part of the Inhabitants, but a great part were *Lutherans* allowed freedome of Religion euen to the Frontyers of *Italy*, yea many *Italians* there, and likewise in *Lombardy* vppon the Frontyers of *Sweitzerland*, were *Lutherans* in hart, though they durst not professe it.

The fourth *Austria*, subiect to the Emperor, whereof the cheife /40/ Citty is *wien*,³⁴ did for the greatest part professe the *Lutheran* Religion with freedome of Conscience. And in the way from *wien* to *Padoa*, the Inhabitants of the Citty *Brock*³⁵ (as of the other Cittyes towards *Germany*)

³¹ *Graz* in *Styria* in the south east of the Empire. See the map in *Koenigsberg*, p. 509.

³² *Carinthia* was south of *Styria*, comprising parts of modern *Slovenia* and *Hungary*. See *Koenigsberger*, p. 509.

³³ *Innsbruck* is now in *Austria*, and the *Tyrol* is now the *Italo-Austrian* border. *Koenigsberger*, p. 509.

³⁴ *Vienna*.

³⁵ *Moryson* passed through *Brock* an der *Mur*, on the fourth day of his journey between *Vienna* and *Padua*. See *Itinerary A*, I, 143.

were part *Lutherans*, part *Papists*. The fifth *Rhetia*,³⁶ and the sixth *Heluetia* both belong to *Sweitzerland*, whereof I shall speake in his due place.

The seauenth *Vindelicia*³⁷ was all of the *Lutheran Religion* excepting *Ingolstatt*, and the Territory thereof, subiect to the *Duke of Bauaria*, who compelled all his Subiects to be *Papists*. The free Cittyes *Regenspurg* and *Passawe*³⁸ were *Lutherans*, /50/ and for the free City of *Augsburge*, most of the Inhabitants were *Lutherans*, but the *Fugari*, and some great Marchants trading in *Spaine* were *Papists*, and by their liberality, building houses to be lett at low Rents to poore *Papists*, drewe some of the [power] poorer sort to be of their religion.³⁹

The Eight *Bauaria* subiect to the *Duke of Bauaria* and the //
{ c.w. Territorye of }
Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:I. fol 305.
Territory the Bishopp of *Saltzburg* therein conteyned, admitted no Inhabitants, but only *Papists*.

³⁶ *Raetia*, *Grisonia*. *OL Rhaetia* was equivalent to *Switzerland*.

³⁷ *Augusta Vindellicorum*. *OL*

³⁸ *Passau*.

³⁹ The *Fuggers* grew immensely wealthy due to their contacts and loans to the *Habsburgs*, who in turn gave them mining monopolies. Naturally, they kept to the old religion. *Koenigsberger*, pp. 55, 114.

In the ninth *Sueuia*⁴⁰ subiect to the Emperor the greater part of the Inhabitants was *Lutherans*, part *Papists*. The Citizens of *Vlme* and of the free Citty *Bubery*,⁴¹ were part *Lutherans*, part *Papists*. The Citizens of the free Citty *Lindawe*, were *Lutherans*, yet they had a *Nunnerie* wherein they brought vpp their daughters, and a like *Nunnerie*, was in the Emperors Country ouer the *Rheine*, but in both the *Nunnes* might marry, though being the daughters of *Banckroutes*, and wanting *Dowryes*, they did not /10/ easily fynde husbands. The Citty *Constantia* (vulgarly *Costnetz*) was altogether *Lutheran* having expelled the *Papists*, but the Emperor restored them by force.

In the Tenth *Alsatia*⁴² both vpper, and lower, all professed *Luthers* reformation. The great and free Citty *Strassburg* and the Territory were all *Lutherans*, and the Bishopp thereof was of old a great Prince, and dwelt together with his *Channons*⁴³ in a stately Pallace called *Brüder, Hoff* that is brothers Court, In which at this day the *Channons* dwelt, whereof *Truchsess* was the *Deane* (who being formerly *Archbishopp* of *Collen* /20/ marryed a wife, and professed *Luthers* religion, For which Causes the Emperor and Pope

⁴⁰ Swabia. Moryson is using the classical spelling of the Germanic tribe the *Suevi* or *Suebi*.

⁴¹ Biberach.

⁴² Alisatia, *OL*, *Alsace*, *OED*.

⁴³ Canons.

deposed him by Armes),⁴⁴ and a yonger sonne of the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, and two Earles maryed, and thirteene gentlemen of the *Lutheran* Religion, and seuen Gentlemen Papists made vpp the number of 24 Channons, having no Bishopp in the Citty. But at *Sauern* vppon the the Frontiers of *Lorayne*,⁴⁵ the Papist Bishopp with the full number of 24 Channons had fortified that Citty against the *Strassburgers* lordes thereof having the *Duke of Lorayne* for their Protector, and receiuing the greatest part of the Bishopps /30/ Rents, leaving only to *Strassburg* the rents of such lands, as lye neare that Citty on that syde, and all the lands on the other syde towards *Germany*, being farr distant from *Sauern*, and vnder the power of *Strassburg*. This Bishopp dyed when I passed that way, and the Channons of *Sauern* chose the *Duke of Loraynes* sonne, and those of *Strassburg*, chose the Marquis of *Brandeburgs* sonne for their Bishopp[s], wherevppon warr was rayed betweene them, but the *Germans* were not able to preuaile against the old soldiers of *Lorayne* trayned vpp in the *french* warrs, so as they were forced to accept Conditions of peace, and at that tyme /40/ they had two Bishopps, one at *Strassburg Lutheran*, an other at *Sauern* Papist, and a double number of *Channons*, among whome the Rents of the Bishopprick were

⁴⁴ "The Cologne affair, which marked the turning of the Protestant tide in Germany, revealed...the increasing probability of armed conflict between the faiths." Elliott, p. 249.

⁴⁵ Saverne, now in France, near Lorraine.

diuided, being so large as they well sufficed them both.

Touching the Eleuenth Prouince called the Tract vppon the *Rheine* the Citty *Brisac*,⁴⁶ and the Territory subiect to the Arch *Dukes* of *Austria* on the East syde of the Riuer, were *Papists*, but the *Inhabitants* of the *Marquisate* of *Baden* were *Lutherans*; yet at my second coming that way the *Marquis* new come out of *Italy*, was reported to be turned *Papist*.⁴⁷ Other *Subiects* of *Bishopps* /50/ were *Papists*, and others subiect to diuerse lordes, some *Papists* some *Lutherans*, those subiect to the *Palatine* of the *Rheine* were *Caluenists*, others subiect to *Princes* of his Family, were part *Lutherans*, part *Caluinists*, the *Citizens* of *Spire* and of *wormz* were *Lutherans*, and the *Inhabitants* of the Territory of the *Archbishopp* of *Trier* *Elector*, were partly *Papists* partly *Lutherans*.

On the west syde of the *Rheine*, the *Duke* of *wirtemberg*⁴⁸ and all his *Subiects* were *Lutherans*. //

fol:306. Booke iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i.

Touching the *Elector* *Palatine* of the *Rheine* *Frederick* then *Palatine* when he was vnder age, had for his *Tutor*, his

⁴⁶ Breisach.

⁴⁷ For Moryson and many of his contemporaries, Italy was always dangerous for the soul. See the denunciation in Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London, 1570), passim, [STC 832].

⁴⁸ Württemberg.

Fathers brother *Cassimere*, who beseiging *Collen* on the behalfe of the Archbishopp *Truchsess*, and there hearing that his brother was dead, hasted by Posthorses to *Heydelberg*, where he founde that his brother by his last will had appointed the Emperor and the Duke (as I remember) of *Bauaria* to be Tutors to his sonne, but he being a Couragious Prince, and a good soldier, trayned vpp in the warrs of *Netherland* and *Fraunce*, compelled the Subiects to obey him, and sent back the Emperors Ambassadors, pleading his right, (to be Tutor to /10/ his Nephewe) in the Imperiall Chamber at *Spire*, and preuayling therein. This *Cassimere* followed the rule of *Caluins* reformation, and carefully instructed his Nephewe therein, and in all good precepts of piety and policye. The Citizens of *Heidelberg* exhibited a Petition to him to permitt the Lutheran Religion, and he gaue them hope till they had all sett their hands to the Petition, which done he denyed their request, and aduised them to carry themselues dutifully and modestly, for he would obserue their actions. So as the Elector *Frederick*, and almost all his Subiects of the lower Palatinate, when I passed that way were /20/ *Caluinists* though some in the very Citty of *Heidelberg* were knowne to approue *Luthers* doctrine,. But in the vpper Palatinate lying Eastward to[wards] the Confines of *Bohemia*, most of his Subiects were *Lutherans*, and not only the Gentlemen mantayned that Religion, but encouraged the people to perseuer in it, professing that howsoeuer they held their

lands in Fee from the Prince, yet the Emperor was their cheife lord. And when I passed that way, a sedition was rayseed in *Amberg*⁴⁹ the Cheife Citty thereof in which the *Lutheran* Citizens killed the Gouvernor, and a *Caluenist* Preacher sett ouer them by /30/ the Elector *Palatine* to mantayne the Professors of *Caluins* doctrine. *Richard* the Electors vnkle was an earnest *Lutheran* and of Fiue brothers *Dukes* of *zweybruck*⁵⁰ &c. and next heyres to the Elector, and his Children, only the second was a *Caluenist*, the other earnest *Lutherans*. And I haue formerly shewed that the *Duke* of *Bauaria* next heyre after all these, was a great Protector of the *Roman* Religion. *wassenberg* a litle Imperiall free Citty,⁵¹ and *Manheime* a litle Citty, and subiect to the *Palatine* of *Newberg*, one of the Electors Family, both seated in those parts, did professe /40/ *Luthers* religion.⁵² The Consorts of my Iourney shewed me there a fayre Monastery, which they said was giuen to the Elector *Palatine* by the Emperor, vppon Condition he should permitt the moncks to liue freely in the *Roman* Religion. The lower *Germany* is diuided into nineteene Prouinces. The first *Franconia*, is for the most part subiect to the Elector Marquis of *Brandeburg*; the rest to Bishoppes, and

⁴⁹ *Amberg* in der *Oberpfalz*, near *Regensburg*.

⁵⁰ *Zweibrücken*.

⁵¹ *Wasserburg*, near *Munich*.

⁵² *Mannheim*, *Neuberg*.

some Imperiall Cittyes.

The Marquis with all his Subiects were *Lutherans*, as also the Marquis of *Anspach* (a Prince of his Family) with his Subiects, /50/ only the Bishopp of *Ashtyde* with his Subiects were Papists⁵³ In the Territory of the Elector Archbishopp of *Metz* the people were *Lutherans*, and Papists, but in the City of *Metz* the grea//

Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i. fol. 307.

ter part being Papists, the *Lutherans* went into the Subvrs⁵⁴ to receiue the lords supper [to receive the lords super].⁵⁵ In the teritoryes of the Bishops of *Banberg* and of *wirtzburg*,⁵⁶ many were *lutherans* though they did indeauor to banish them. In the free City *Nurenberg*⁵⁷ the Senators were sayd to be *Caluinists*, but only the *lutheran* Religion was professed publikely. In the free City of

⁵³ "Ashtyde is no doubt to be identified with Eichstätt, which is quite near Ansbach (sic; Anspach is, I think, an older spelling especially in English) and is an old bishopric created by St Willibald in 741: it became an important Counter-Reformation and Jesuit centre." Private communication from PS, as are all further citations.

⁵⁴ "Subvrbs" ?

⁵⁵ Mainz is meant for Metz (in French and obselete English Mayence, hence the confusion here). This occurs again on fol. 310. PS

⁵⁶ Bamberg, Würzburg.

⁵⁷ This is midway between the English Nurenberg, and the German Nürnberg.

Francford vpon the [mayne] [mæne]⁵⁸ famous for the yearely
martts, all were lutherans, but in the free Citty
Freydeburg⁵⁹ part were lutherans, part were /10/
Caluinists.

Of the second Bohemia, and of the third Morauia, and of the
fourth Silesia (both belonging to that kingdome) I shall
speake in the next Chapter.

The fifth Saxony, Contayes⁶⁰ by relations of old writers
all that lyes betweene Hassia, Bohemia, Silesia, and
Polonia,⁶¹ to the Baltick and German Seas, wherof I shall
speake in the percular partes thereof following.

The sixth Lusatia, a little Region, is annexed to the /20/
kingdome of Bohemia, but great part thereof ingaged by the
Emperor and not like to be redeemed was subiect to the Duke
of Saxony lately made Elector by the Emperor Charles the
Fyfth.⁶²

⁵⁸ Frankfurt am Main.

⁵⁹ Friedberg.

⁶⁰ "Contaynes" ?

⁶¹ Hesse and Poland.

⁶² "Lusatia is the Latin and English name for *die Lausitz*. Divided into Upper and Lower Lusatia which became semi-independent parts of Bohemia in the 14c, [they] adopted the reformed religion in the 16c: in 1635 Lusatia was ceded to Electoral Saxony, and in 1815 most of it went to Prussia." PS

To whome also is subiect the seuenth Misnia,⁶³ with the title of Marquis, being very fertill, hauing many fayre Cittyes. Misnia (vulgarly Misen), Torg, leipzig, and witteberg (two last vniuersities). Fryburg⁶⁴ (the fieldes whereof haue rich Mines of siluer) Dresden (the seate of the Saxon Elector) /30/ Remnitz and Sincania,⁶⁵ all these are Luthers first preaching of Reformation with full consent imbraced his doctryne. But at the tyme of my being there the Elector Christian imbracing Caluines Reformation, had for many yeares labored to establish the same, yet not so much by authority and force, as by arte, appointing Caluinists Preachers, to perswade amd teach the people, and hoping that they being instructed would themselues desyre that Reformation, which he thought not safe to impose vpon them by his /40/ command. While I liued at Leipzig, a preacher was cast into prison, and for a mounth fedd with bread and water, and after banished, for hauing preached that the Elector was forsworne in seeking to change that Religion which at his entrance he was bound by oath to mantayne. The Elector appointed a disputation at Leipzig, but the lutherans broke it off by Immodest hissing at the Caluinists. At witte[n]berg a Decon Baptising a Chylde

⁶³ Meissen.

⁶⁴ Freiberg (near Dresden).

⁶⁵ Chemnitz ? I cannot find a German equivalent of Sincania, although *OL* has Sentiaca. *HC* suggested Zwickau as a possibility.

without the Crosse or exorcisme, the Godfathers and other invited /50/ strangers, made a tumult, so as some chosen students were Armed, to keepe peace and appease the vprore. And continually by night lybells were cast forth by both parties, provoking one another to disputation. About this tyme the neighbour Princes confederate in the Cause // *fol:308. Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i.* of Religion, did meete together, and after long conferance about Religion, in the ende decreed that Caluines doctryne might for the tyme be tolerated, but that no change should be established without Common consent, and secondly they decreed that ayde should be sent to the king of Nauarr in France, yet as voluntary men, leuyed at the kings charge, the Princes being bound to the Emperor not to make any warr, vpon payne of leeing their Fees. Att this meeting the Marquis of Brandeburg Elector, whose daughter Christian the Elector of Saxony /10/ had marryed, stode stiftly for the lutheran Religion, and was sayd to [haue] obtayned promise of his sonne in lawe, that no alteration should be made. yet fewe weeckes after the Elector Christian [put Doctor nicholaus Crellius] a Caluinist in the place of his lutheran Chancelor, resigning it because he sawe his Prince did not fauor him [putt Doctor Nicholas Crellius].⁶⁶ And in like sorte he dismissed out of his intertaynment Melius

⁶⁶ The Elector of Saxony, Christian I (1566 - 1591) did appoint the crypto-Calvinist Dr Niklaus Krell (1551 - 1601) as his Chancellor. HC See fol. 309 for his fate as witnessed by Moryson after his protector died.

Superintendant of witteberg and Policarpus both Professors of Diuinity and Arch-lutherans, and putt Pierius a Caluinist Superin/20/tendant and Professor⁶⁷ in the place of Melius (who was intertayned by the Duke of wyneberg the Electors kinsman, as Policapus was intertayned by the Senate of Brunswick and there made Superintendent).⁶⁸ But now when very many Students and Cittises⁶⁹ of Leipzig and wittenberg, and many in other Cittyes, seemed well affected to the Doctryne of Caluin, sodenly the Elector *Christian* fell sick, and in the tyme of his sicknes (while I yet liued at *Leip[z][.]ig*) these two verses were by night sett on the dore of the cheife Church in *Dresden* (where the Electors resyde). /30/

Calua cohors cessa, funes laqueosque paratos,

Seu Princeps uiuat seu moriatur, habes.

Bald Caluenists cease, halters you shall haue,

*what ere betyde the Prince, life or the graue.*⁷⁰

Shortly after, the Reformation after Caluins Rule being rather prepared then begunn, the Elector dyed, and then my eyes, and eares were witnesses, what threatnings, what reproches, what violent abuses the *lutherans* cast vppon the

⁶⁷ Urbanus Pierius (1546 - 1591). HC

⁶⁸ I have been unable to find out who Melius and Polycapus were. The Duke of "wyneberg" is the Duke of (Sachsen-)Weimar, the Weimar part of Saxony. HC

⁶⁹ Hughes amends to "Cittisens", p. 262.

⁷⁰ Moryson ensures that the pun on *calua*, baldhead and Calvinist is not missed in the translation.

Caluenists, preferring the Papists yea *Turkes* before them, as their owne printed bookes testify, fuller of reproches then arguments against them. And /40/ because the duke of *wyneberg* one of the sonnes to the deposed Elector, as next kinsman to the young Elector, was by Imperiall lawes to be his Tutor, it seemed the people knowing him to be a *lutheran*, thought he would beare with wrongs done to the *Caluenists*, for they hardly refrayned from laying hands, or⁷¹ their bodyes and goods, yea they did not altogether refrayne from that violence. For at *Leipzig* some houses were spoyled, & [G..d.man] Gunderman the superintendant or cheife Minister of the *Caluenists*, was cast into prison (whome it was thought inough to haue banished) and the Students walking in troopes by night, assembled before /50/ his dore, and with ridiculous solemnity, there araigned one in his person, and condemned him of many Capitall Crimes with many fowle reproches, and then like Cryers proclaymed in the streets.

*Lieken*⁷² heren lasset euch sagen
der Teuffel hatt rote bart weg getragen,
Louing Gentlemen to you truth [to] say,
the Diuell hath taken redd beard away.

And within few weekes when they continued to vse such cruelty towards him, as no body was admitted to come to

⁷¹ Hughes amends to "on", p. 263.

⁷² Hughes amends to "Lieben", p. 263.

him, no not his wife, his //

Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i. fol:309.

Barber his Cooke, or any that might doe him seruice, so that his poore wife having many Children whereof some were Infants, fell into such despayre as she hanged herselfe, and it was credibly spoken that this poore minister knowing nothing of his wiues death, did the night following desyre his keeper to lett in his wife, knocking at the doore, and well knowne to him by her voyce. The like Cruelty they vsed at *Dresden* towards *Crellius* the late Chancelor for having restored to that dignity *Hawboldus* at *Einsiedeln* the *Lutheran chancelor* of *Seauenty* yeares old, whome I said formerly to haue resigned that place, they cast *Crellius* into Prison, and when he requested /10/ to haue the windowe of his prison enlarged, the magistrate commaunded the litle windowe he had to be stopped vpp, denying him the benefitt of light and ayre. The Prince of *Anhalt*, whose Territory borders vppon *Misen*, then being a Caluinist was not invited to the Electors Funeralls. And to stirr vpp more hatred against the *Caluinists* many rumors were diuulged of Gentlemen and Citizens that had bene secretly putt to death, and of others that were appointed to dye for professing the *lutheran* Religion, and of straunge persecutions intended against the *lutherans*, whereof nothing was manifest, nor credible to be done by a Prince of *Germany*, yet all was beleueed /20/ by the Credulous people. Among these tumults a ridiculous strife fell at

Leipzig betweene two *lutheran* Ministers suing for *Gunde[r]mans* place for one of them perceiuing that the other should be preferred before him, and seeing the people to flock to him for *auricular* confession fell first to brawling wordes, and after both going out the gates fought at *Cuffes* till they were parted by the Students. It is incredible what hatred the *Lutherans* shewed against the *Caluinists* openly professing that they would rather turne *Papists* then agree with them. When any men kill themselues, the manner is not to bury them in the Church yard (except they liued after the fact /30/ so long as to giue signes of Repentance⁷³), but that the infamous hangman putting their bodyes on a sledge, should bury them in the ditches of the highway.⁷⁴ Thus not many yeares past a Student of *witteberg* denied his degree, for shame hanged himselfe, and was in like sort buryed. And at *Dresden* the *Dukes* Steward hanging himselfe, his body was cast out of the windowe with the face turned from heauen to the infamous hangman [() (not permitted to enter into the *Dukes* Court to take the bodye) and by him was buryed vnder the Gallowes.⁷⁵ But howsoeuer

⁷³ Repentance was needed for the sin of despair.

⁷⁴ When Shakespeare's *Richard II* talks of being buried "in the king's highway", *Richard II*, III. 3. 154, he implicitly recognizes that his fate has been self-inflicted.

⁷⁵ Throughout Europe, the hangman seems to have been the lowest grade occupation. His infamy, like the plague, is also catching. See the story of the concubine who would have nothing to do with her old lover one he had been strappadoed by the hangman, fol. 585.

this Custome is not to be reprov'd, yet in [a] Case so lamentable, so deserving /40/ pittie and Compassion, as that before mentioned of *Gundermans* wife, my mynde abhorrs to remember, that they not only denyed her the buriall of a Christian, but that the young men and Children cast durt and stones at the dead body, following it with scoffes and reproches, yea that the very magistrates beheld this sadd spectacle with laughter.⁷⁶ At which, while I seemed to wonder, a Student of that vniuersity, and borne in that Prouince credibly informed me, that the Elector *Augustus* not many yeares before having cast, a Caluinist Preacher into Prison, whome after hard vsage he sett at liberty, and banished, and he hapning to dye within fewe /50/ dayes, while he prepared to goe into exile, his body lay fower dayes vnburied, no *lutheran* being founde that would carry his dead body, which at last was drawne out of the Citty by fower horses //

fol:310. Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i.
all the boyes, in the sight of the Magistrates vsing like behauour towards the dead Corps.

Thuringia the eight Prouince of lower *Germany* was subiect to the *Duke of Coburg*, and the *Duke of wineberg* sonnes to the Elector of *Saxony*, *Iohn Frederick* deposed by the

⁷⁶ Compare the reaction of the Priest to Ophelia,
For charitable prayers,
Shards, flints and pebbles should be thrown on her...
Hamlet, V. 1. 224 - 225.

Emperor *Charles* the Fifth in his warr against the Protestants, both which with all their Subiects were Lutherans.⁷⁷ The Metropolitan Citty *Erford* (being great and one of the free Cittyes of the Empire, yet paying some tribute not only to the *Duke of wineberg*, but also to the Archbishopp of *Metz*), had 42 Churches, whereof only 16, were vsed /10/ for diuine seruices, the two Cathedrall Churches, and six others by the Papists (which were not frequented, because the number of them besydes the Clergy were not aboue 300th), and the other eight by the Lutherans.⁷⁸

The nynthe Prouince, *Marchia* the old and the newe, were both subiect to the Elector Margraue (or Marquis) of *Brandeburg* a Lutheran, and the [old] inhabitants of the olde *Marchia*, and of the cheefe Citty *Francford* vpon the *Odern*, as likewise the Inhabitants of the newe *Marchia*, and of the two cheefe Cittyes *Berlin* (the seate of the Elector) and /20/ *Brandeburg* (of which he is styled) were all Lutherans.

⁷⁷ "Wineberg seems most likely to be Weimar; this would fit in with what happened after the deposition of Johann Friedrich I of Saxony in 1547." PS

⁷⁸ This description of Erfurt expands that given in *Itinerary A*, I, 437, whilst not explaining, as done before, that the Archbishop of Mainz was only in charge of the Catholics resident there. Wineberg, as before, is Weimar. PS A metropolitan city has an archbishop, or a bishop in charge of a province. *OED*

The tenth Brunswick, is subject to the Duke of Brunswicke, and the Duke and all his subjects were Lutherans, yet in a little Citty vpon the Confines, subject to the Archbishop of Metz the greatest part of the Cittisens were Papists, the rest Lutherans who had their Church in the Suburbs, The Imperiall Free Citty Brunswick giues the tytle and name to the Duke residing at wolffenbeiten,⁷⁹ and to the whole Prouince, and the Cathedrall Church thereof had fiftye Channons, yet being all Lutherans, as all the /30/ Inhabitants were. In this Prouince must be reckned the Dukedome of Luneburg subject to the Duke thereof, who with all his subjects were Lutherans. The Imperiall free Citty *Luneburg* giueth name to the *Duke*, and *Dukedome*, and all the Inhabitants were *Lutherans*. Without the Citty remayned a faire Close Nunnery, where young virgins were brought vpp yet being *Lutherans*, and free to marry, and within the Citty was a Monastery, whereof the Abbott and the five moncks must be gentlemen of Eight degrees by fathers and mothers syde,⁸⁰ but they were *lutherans* as the rest, neither /40/ having name nor habitt of Moncks, and they were putt out for vnchastity or mariage. Likewise to this Prouince must be added the large Bishopprick of *Magdeberg* gouerned by the eldest sonne of the Elector *Brandeburg*, as Administrator thereof, and all the Inhabitants were

⁷⁹ Wolfenbüttel.

⁸⁰ This probably means four steps of noble collateral descent on each side. *OED*

Lutherans.

The Eleuenth *Meckelburg* is subiect to the *Duke* thereof, who with all the Inhabitants of the *Dukedome*, and of the two Cittyes *Wismar*, and *Rostoch*⁸¹ (an vniuersity) were all *Lutherans.*

The twelueth *Pomerania* with the Cheife City *Stetin*, & *Gripwalt* (an old vniuersity)⁸² and other fayre Townes were all subiect to /50/ the *Duke of Pomerania*, who himselfe and all the Inhabitants were *Lutherans.*

The thirteenth *westphalia* a large Prouince, was subiect to diuerse lords, and all the Inhabitants thereof were *Lutherans. //*

Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i. fol:311

It contaynes the Bishoppriek of *Breame*, the Inhabitants whereof were *Lutherans*, only the Citizens of the free City *Breame* were *Caluinists.*⁸³ It contaynes the free City *Stoade* with the Territory, whereof the Inhabitants were *Lutherans*, yet permitting a Monastery, not Popish, but for the releife of the poore. It contaynes also the *Dukedome* of

⁸¹ Rostock.

⁸² The University of Greifswald was founded in 1456. PS

⁸³ "Breame is Bremen (still Brême in French)...it is still a Free Hanseatic City and a Land in its own right." PS.

Oldenburg, the *Duke* whereof, and all the *Inhabitants* were *Lutherans*. The two fayre Imperiall free Cittyes *Lubeck*, and *Hamburg* belong to the *Dukedome* of *Holst*⁸⁴ part of *Denmarke* yet being free and vnited to the Empire, may best be sett downe in this Prouince, and the /10/ *Inhabitants* thereof, and of theire teritoryes were all *lutherans*, as the rest of those partes. And this Prouince is the last contayned vnder *Saxony*.

The [fourth] [fourteenth] Province *East Freesland*, is subiect to the Earle of *Emden*, and he with all the *inhabitants* were *lutherans*, only the cheefe Citty *Emden* supported by the *netherlanders*, had expelled the Earle, and were by profession *Caluinists*, but with such liberty of Religion as no Citty in the world had more Confusion of Sects.

Aboue these Prouinces lyes the Fiftenth *Hassia*,⁸⁵ subiect /20/ to the Family of the *langraues*, whereof not long before my passing that way, were th[.]ree brothers, *willian* of *Cassiles*,⁸⁶ (where he held his Court) *lodwicke* of *marpurg*,⁸⁷ and *Georg* (as I remember) of *Dormstat*,⁸⁸

⁸⁴ *Holstein*.

⁸⁵ *Hesse*.

⁸⁶ *Kassel*.

⁸⁷ *Marburg an der Lahn*.

william surnamed the wise, was a Caluineſt, but his Father hauing in his laſt will and teſtament ordayned, that if any of his ſonnes ſhould alter the reformation eſtabliſhed by luther his parte in the Prouince ſhould fall to his brothers, he altered nothinge in Religion for feare that his brothers ſhould inuaide his patri/30/mony, only he placed Caluiniſts Preachers in his Cittyes and townes, by whose inſtruction great part of his ſubiectes were become Caluiniſts, when I paſſed that way william was dead, yet Mauritz his ſonne being of his Religion, durſt not publikely abolith luthers Reformation, becauſe his vnclē of marpurg being old and hauing no Children, threatned in that caſe to giue his Patrimony to his brother of Dormſtat hauing many Children and being of the ſame lutheran Religion with him. Only I obſerued /40/ at Caſſiles, that they had no Images in the Churches, as the lutherans haue, though they worſhipp them not, and that moſt of the Cittizens profeſſed Caluins doctryne. And within fewe yeares after I heard that his vnclē of ma[.]r]purg dying he left his Patrimony to him, and that in the ſame and in his owne he had publikely eſtabliſhed the Reformation of Caluin.

To this Prouince may be added the County of *Nassawe*⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Darmſtadt.

⁸⁹ Nassau.

subiect to the Earles thereof, and professing *Luthers* reformation. And likewise the small Territory of the Elector /50/ Archbishopp of *Collen*, having most of his Reuenues from other parts. Not many yeares before the Archbishopp *Truchsess* was a *lutheran*, and had marryed a wife, for which he was deposed by the Emperor and Pope, but at my passing that way, the Archbishopp and his Clergie were Papists, yet most //

fol:312. Booke iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i.
of the people in his Territory were *Lutherans*.

The sixteenth and seunteenth Prouinces are the two *Dukedomes* of *Iulock* and *Cleue*⁹⁰ both by mariage fallen to the heyres generall, the Elector *Margraue* of *Brandeburg* a *lutheran*, and the *Duke* of *Newburg* a Papist depending on *Spaine*, but most of their Subiects were *Caluinists*.

The Eighteenth *Prussen*, is a large and rich Prouince on the North syde of *Polonia*.⁹¹ The free Cittyes *Dantzke*, and *Meluin*, and the Duke of *Prussen*, residing at *K[R]onigsperg*, (of the family of the Elector of *Brandeburg* [.]) holding his *Dukedome* by Compo/10/sition in Fee from the kingdome of

⁹⁰ These are Kleve and Jülich, sometimes known as Cleves-Julich in English. Strictly, they should not be linked as they were only in brief dynastic union from 1511 - 1521. PS

⁹¹ This area gave its name to Prussia, but in this era the area corresponds to what became known as East Prussia. PS

Polonia), and all their Subjects, were of the reformed religion;⁹² But the Subjects of the *Duke* were altogether *lutherans* whereas in the free *Cittyes* and their *Territories*, aswell *Caluinists* as *lutherans* had their *Churches*, and free exercise of reformed religion.

In the *Cittyes* *Marieburg*, *Elbing* and *Thorn*,⁹³ by the same *Composition* presently subiected to the kingdome of *Poland*, the *Common* people were part *Lutherans*, part *Papists*.

The nineteenth *Prouince* *Liuania* [were] [neere] adioyning, whose cheefe *Citty* is *Riga* lying on the *Baltick* sea, did partake the confusion /20/ of Religion, to which all *Poland* is subiect, especially on that syde towards *Moscovy*,⁹⁴ and vppon the *Frontiers* on all sydes. Thus it appeares that among the secular absolute *Princes*, only the *Archdukes* of *Austria*, and the *Duke* of *Bauaria* were *Papists*, and that most of the *ArchDukes* *Subiects* were *lutherans*, the *Duke* of *Bauaria* only admitting no other then the *Roman* religion. And for the *Bishopps* that the three *Princes* & *Electors* *Archbishopps* of *Trier*, of *Metz*, and of *Collen*, and likewise

⁹² "The former lands of the Teutonic Order were in 1525 created a Duchy in fief to Poland." PS The towns are Danzig, Memel and Königsberg. Post 1989 there has been talk of restoring these old names, although Professor Skrine says that the whole area is still in a state of flux.

⁹³ Marienburg, Elbing and Thorn (Torun).

⁹⁴ Muscovy is the old name of the Russian state. OED

the Bishoppes of the second Ranck being also absolute Princes, namely the Bishoppes of *Augsburg*, of *wirtzburg*, of *worms* of *Ashtide* /30/ of *Spire*, of *Bamberg*, and diuerse others, were themselues Papists, but forced to permitt the *lutheran* religion to their Subiects. And these Bishoppes of old had great authority vnder the Emperors, which they would needs, and did indeede greatly increase by forsaking the Emperors, and depending vppon the Popes, and therefore are now iustly punished to haue their authority daily more and more eclipsed, as the power of the Popes (God be prayed) daily diminisheth. In the reformed Prouinces the secular Princes had appropriated to themselues and their Children, many Bishoppricks & Monasteries /40/ which they held vnder the title of Administrators, and other like Reuenues they haue converted to other vses, of the Church, vniuersityes, and Schooles,. So [as] the eldest sonne of the Elector of *Brandeburg*, was Administrator of the Bishopprick of *Magdeburg*, the eldest sonne to the Duke of *Brunswick* was Administrator of *Halberstadt*, his second sonne of *Verden*, and the Duke of *Holst*, of the Bishoppricks of *Breame* & *Lubeck*. Yet like Reuenues were in many places applyed to holy vses, (as the bringing vpp of Orphans, and widowes of deceased Preachers, and the mantayning of /50/ poore schollers in the vniuersityes, and like good woorkes). Thus in the Territory of the Elector of *Saxony* his three sonnes in the assembly of the States, were chosen Administrators of three Bishoppricks, of *Misen*, of

Mersburg, and of Naumburg,⁹⁵ and out of confiscated Reuenues of the Church //

Booke iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:I. fol:3i3
the Elector, <ga>ue yearely one hundred thousand *Guldens*⁹⁶
to mantayne the Orphans of deceased Preachers, and the
widowes so long as they remayned widowes. And besydes he
mantayned fyfty poore schollers in his Vniversityes with
food Apparell Bookes and all necessaryes out of the
Confiscated rents of some monasteryes, yet in many places
the monasteryes still inioyed theire Rents, so as in most
places the Monckes had nether the habitt nor name of
Monckes, and being lutherans had liberty to marry leauing
the Monasterye, in which kynde /10/ some Nunneryes were
allso vsed to bring vp the younng virginnes, with liberty
to goe out and marry. Thus Stoade⁹⁷ had a monasterye of
lutheran monckes. And in some places the monckes and nunnes
remayned Papists, as the Administrator of Breame was chosen
by a Popish monasterye, taking his Oath to [most] permitt
them liberty of theire Religion. But in most places these
Rents were Employed to bring vp boyes and virgins, in some
places proper only to the gentrye, allwayes with liberty to
leauē the Cloysters. Thus in /20/ Lubeck the Channons of

⁹⁵ Meissen, Merseburg, and Naumburg.

⁹⁶ "...and the silver gulden is accounted three shillings foure pence English." *Itinerary A*, I, xxiii. Thus the revenues given in charity would amount to over £17,000.

⁹⁷ Stade.

the Cathedriall Church being lutherans, still Inioyed
theire old priuiledges, and they had a Nunnery of twenty
foure Nunnes, each hauing theire priuate Cells hand somely
furnished, and therein foure of old Nunnes Papists were
still permitted to liue. And if the Cittizens sent theire
daughters aboue that number to be brought vp theire, they
payed for their apparrell and dyett, and when theire
Parents founde husbands for them, they tooke them home to
be marryed. Thus I formerly shewed that in Luneburg they
haue a Nunnery /30/ without the walls and that Close, not
permitting the Nunnes to goe abroade, and within the walls
they had a Monasterye wherein the Abbott and fyue Moncks
liued, who could not be admitted except they could proue
themselues gentle men of Eight degrees by the Fathers and
mothers syde. And these were all lutherans, vsing nether
the habitt nor the name of Moncks, only they were bound to
liue Chastly and vnmarryed, yet with liberty to marye if
they would leaue the Monastery, and each of them was
allowed a seruant to wayte vpon him. And /40/ the same
Monasterye mantayned two schoole masters to teach
gentlemens sonnes freely and without rewarde. Thus in the
Free Citty Vlme professing the lutheran Religion, they had
a fayre house belonging to the Deutch herren, that is the
knights of the Teutonick Order (of which I haue written in
the historicall introduction of Germany) which house had
great Reuennues, and they had likewise a Monastery, in both
which they permitted the knights and Moncks to be Papists.

Hence it may appeare how farr the vulgar saying is true or false, that the Empire permitts Freedome to all Religions, For the Imperiall lawes only permitt the lutheran confession of Augsburg.⁹⁸ And the Empire, //

{ c.w. the Archdukes }

fol:3i4. Booke iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i.
the ArchDukes of Austria, and the Cheife Bishopps remaying Papists, because most of their Subiects are *lutherans*, [and] are forced only to permitt that religion and no other. It is true that I shall in the next Chapter shewe great Confusion[s] of religions to be in the kingdome of *Bohemia*, as I haue already shewed the like Confusion to be *Emden* the Cheife Citty of *East Friseland* part of the Empire. But the *Duke of Bauaria* a Papist permitts no Subiect of any other religion. And the Princes of the reformed religion neither permitt Papists, nor the *Lutherans* and *Caluinists* permitt /10/ one an other in their Territoryes, but the Prince and people are of one Religion.

Before I speake more particularly of the reformed religion giue me leaue to mention one obseruation of my owne, which

⁹⁸ "The main provisions of the Peace of Augsburg were later summarized as the principle *cuius regio eius religio* - the right of Princes (and of the magistrates of the free imperial cities) to impose their own confession on their subjects. The Calvinists were left out of the peace..." Koenigsberger, p. 241.

to me seemes wonderfull, howsoever it may appeare to others. Namely that not without the great prouidence of God, Printing and Artillery were first brought into *Europe*, not long before the preaching of Reformation by the *Albigeois* in *Fraunce*, and the *Hussites* in *Bohemia*. For they being to reforme religion, the preaching thereof publikely was Capitall, yet /20/ by printing made knowne the truth [of] [to] the world, while themselues liued in Caues and Corners. And this litle flock being to be preserued from the iawes of innumerable enemyes, I thinck this could not possibly haue bene done without the vse of Artillery.⁹⁹

Thus I retorne to my purpose. The *Germans* aboue all nations respect their owne doctors in the Chayre, and their owne Captaines in the warr, for they despise straungers, by whome they will nether be ledd nor drawne. And indeed they only are the men with whome a Prophett is esteemed in his

⁹⁹ Moryson sees God's Providence everywhere. However, his chronology is awry. The Albigensians were suppressed in the early thirteenth century, a century before the first mention of artillery in a Florentine document of 1326. See the picture in Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion 1400 - 1700* (London, 1965), p. 32. Gutenberg started printing in the 1450s, when Hus had been burned forty years previously. Moryson is undoubtedly correct that Luther's influence was able to penetrate beyond the castle walls of the Wartburg through his printed pamphlets. What is of equal importance, is that Luther was able to appeal to those who wielded the artillery, the princes and kings, by restraining Karlstadt, by condemning peasant uprisings, and by becoming a trustworthy apologist for the status quo. Without his princely backers, Luther might have suffered the fate of Hus.

owne /30/ Country.¹⁰⁰ For in their vniuersityes I haue obserued the Students more willingly to reade the printed bookes of their owne Countrymen and their owne professors, then any other forraine booke whatsoeuer, and so great was the estimation of *Luther* as his word was insteede of a thousand witnesses, and like *αὐτὸς εἶπεν*. (*he said it*) to the disciples of *Pithagoras*. In all *Germany*, but especially in the lower his owne natiue Country, all professed his doctrine with obstinacy, yea seemed to woorshipp or vnfitly to reuerence the memory of him, and of *Phillipp Melancton*, being both dead, for they did putt of their hatts, if /40/ either of them were named, and were bold to say in Common speach that *Luther* was the third *Elias*.¹⁰¹ While he yet liued the Students attending him wrote all his wordes, and many of his actions, which after his death they published in print by a booke called his *Tishreade* (that is table talke) which after was corrected, yet men best reputed for piety and learning, and being of his religion both in *Saxony* and other parts, did not approue the same, as contayning many ridiculous things, namely that *Luther* had such power ouer the Diuell, as he was obedient to him like a Page. That *Phillipp Melancton* desyring to see the /50/

¹⁰⁰ "A Prophet is not without honor, saue in his owne countrey, and in his owne house." Matthew 13. 57; see also Mark 6. 4; and John 4. 44.

¹⁰¹ *Luther* was in the tradition of Old Testament prophets. "The spirite of *Eliiah* doeth rest on *Elisha*..." II Kings 2. 15. *Luther* was the third such prophet.

diuell, *Luther* sent him in the habitt of a seruant to call him to his Chamber, at whose first sight *Phillipp Melancton* fell into a Swounde, as one no lesse inferior to *Luther* in Courage then holines. And againe that *Luther* by chance casting ouer his //

{ c.w. sand boxe }

Booke iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i. fol:3i5.

sandbox, commaunded the diuell to gather vpp euery moate thereof.¹⁰² To omitt many follyes of this kinde, it is

certaine that the Students did so much reuerence *Luther* in his life tyme, as nothing fell from his mouth in ieast or earnest, which some curious yong men did not write, as the sentences of *Seneca*, or rather the Precepts of St. Paul.¹⁰³

And howsoeuer this did much further the reformation, yet I haue heard graue and learned *Lutherans* confesse, that it much displeased *Luther*. Insomuch as they haue a vulgar speach to this day, that *Luther* seeing his familiar speeches, and actions to be made by others, as rules of their speech /10/ and action, and obseruing a young scholler at his table to write his wordes, (w[h]yth reuerence may I relate it) he broake winde backward, and bad him add that braue act to his notes, with that

¹⁰² Sand was used for drying ink on manuscripts until the last century.

¹⁰³ *Seneca the Elder*, (55 BC - AD 37) father of the dramatist, collected the *Suasoriae*, rhetorical saws, or *sententiae*, which were excerpted from famous philosophers. FB, Harvey. I do not recognize the Precepts of St Paul.

significant (though slouenly) simboll taxing his foolish Curiosity.¹⁰⁴ Moreouer the *Germans* not only of the Comon sort, but of them that are not vnlearned, giue too much Creditt to predictions (which they call Propheyses) of their owne Countrymen,. They told me that one *Paul Grobner* of *Schneberg* in lower *Germany*, not many yeares dead, left a Prophesey, that as *Rodolphus* was the first Emperor of the house of *Austria*, so *Rodulphus /20/* then Emperor should be the last, and then *Augustus* the peaceable should be chosen Emperor, in whose tyme he named many Cittyes that should be destroyed, some by Earthquakes, others by warr.¹⁰⁵ Againe that one *Charles Hartman* borne in *Germany*, did (in the tyme of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth) foretell all the actions of the following Emperors to that day, which the euent had proued most true. In generall the *Germans* seeme to haue singuler credulity towards forraine Prophetts, and Astronomers, but espetially to their owne. And I remember that while I liued in *Leipzig*, one *Scotus* an *Italian*, calling himselfe an Astrologer */30/* and doing straunge iugling tricks, but by others reputed a *Negromant*,¹⁰⁶ roade

¹⁰⁴ Luther had a troubled constitution. John Osborne uses this fact to colour Luther's language in his play *Luther*.

¹⁰⁵ Paul Grebner of Schneeberg (c.1530s - c. 1590s?) was supposedly in England in 1582, where he presented his *Serieum Mundi Filium* to Queen Elizabeth. The copy ended up in the Cambridge University Library. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* HC Moryson was at Cambridge in the 1580s, and might have met him, or heard of him there.

¹⁰⁶ Necromancer. I have been unable to trace them.

in a Coache with six horses, and was intertayned and rewarded by great Princes, to cast the natiuityes of their Children.

The *Germans* in lower *Germany* frequently take iourneyes on Sabaoth day especially in the tymes of great Marts and Fayres, and make no conscience of keeping the Sabaoth day, further then by presence at the Church seruice, so as in many *Lutheran* Cittyes, I haue obserued Shopps to be open & wares shewed and sold vppon Sondayes, which they excused as done, /40/ for the Country peoples sake, who that day of purpose came to the Citty, but neither the act, nor the excuse is approuable.

When they take an oath before the Magistrate, they lay not the hand vppon the Bible, as we doe, but as the *Sweitzers* lift vpp three fingers, so the [*Germans* lift vp] two fingers to heaven. Lett me haue fauour freely to deliuer my opinion, that not only the men, but the women and young people of both kindes, more frequently sweare and Curse in Common speech, then any Nation, except the *Italians*, who in vices and vertues wilbe singuler aboue others, and if any man thinck this rashly spoken, I pray him to remember, how frequent /50/ these wordes are in <very> boyes and virgins mouthes. *bey gott den herrn* (by God the lord) *Gotts*

kranckheit (Gods sicknes) *der Tiuel hole*¹⁰⁷ *dich* (the diuell take thee) *meiner seale* (by my soule) and the like. But the nationall vice, wherein all sorts offend without any measure, yea¹⁰⁸ daily and houely is drunckennes, yet myselfe for the space of one yeare and a halfe frequenting their Churches, neuer heard any Preacher speake one worde against it, and no maruel //

fol:3i6. Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:I.

Turpe est Doctori cum culpa redarguat ipsum,

*The teacher needs must be ashamed*¹⁰⁹

who for that fault himselfe is blamed.

Yea when men condemned to be broken vppon the wheele, goe to execution, because the torment is greate, the Preachers having rectified their Consciences, then suffer their freinds to drinck with them till they be so druncken, as they seeme to haue no sence of payne, and for so doing, they alledged the text of the *Prouerbs*, advising to giue *strong drinck to them that are to dye;*¹¹⁰ but me thincks it were better to mitigate the torment, then to permitt /10/ that [a...sse] excesse.

To be short the *Germans* in religion are rather good and

¹⁰⁷ Hughes has "holc", p. 268.

¹⁰⁸ Hughes has "yet", p. 268.

¹⁰⁹ Hughes amends to "ashamed", p. 268.

¹¹⁰ "Giue yee strong drinke vnto him that is ready to perish..." Proverbs. 31. 6.

honest then zealous or superstitious. The Churches are in many places curiously carued on the outsyde, especially the Cathedrall Churches, being all of free stone, but they are commonly Couered with tyles, some fewe with brasse, and Copper, growing in *Germany*, but neuer, or rarely with leade being a forraine Commodity.

And among the *lutherans* their Churches on the insyde were curiously painted with Images, (not defaced at the Reformation) /20/ and fayre alters standing as they were of old; yet [to] no vse of religion For *Luther* thought it inough to take the woorshipping of Images out of their harts, though the beauty of them were not defaced in the Churches. And in some places, as at *Lubeck*, I haue seene all the seates, being faire of Carued wainscott to be hung weekely in sommer tyme with boughes of Oake, seeming rather a pleasant Groue then a Church. But in generall they frequented the Churches with great modesty and piety, and it was reputed a great offence to come late, or to goe out before the end of diuine seruice. In particular, I commend the mariners of *Germany*, who /30/ putting to Sea, continually sing *Psalmes*, and impose penalties vppon swearing and Cursing, or so much as naming the diuell, but I cannot commend them when they are out of danger in the hauen, and vppon land.

Among the great varietyes of opinions about Religion in

Germany, where not only diuerse sects of Christians liue together, but the very *Iewes* are permitted to liue (as at *Franckford* vppon the *Moene*^{lll} in *Germany*, where they haue a streete to dwell in, not to speake in this place of their scattering through the kingdome of *Bohemia*, and a Citty allowed them to dwell in at *Prage*) I say /40/ in this great variety of religions, the *Germans* converse peaceably and freindly together, only the *Iewes* howsoever they liue in safety, yet are subiect there to all indignityes and reproches, being reuiled by all that meete them in the Streets. yet in this poynt I speake only of vpper *Germany*, and the Emperors Court at *Prage*, where this Con<f>usion is only found, and where the Subiects of the Emperor of the o<th>er ArchDukes of *Austria*, and of the Popish Bishoppes, are forced to this patience in regard the greatest number are *Lutherans*, and where the Subiects of diuerse Princes meete together at *Marts*, and like[wise] publike assemblies, whome I neuer /50/ obserued to dispute seriously about religion, but only sometymes to passe many quipps, and leasts one against the other. For in other parts, especially in lower *Germany* where each absolute Prince allowes but one Religion in his dominion, they will not heare other doctrine preached without tumult. And as I haue shewed in the particular Electorshipp of *Saxony* so generally in vpper *Germany*, and especially in the lower, it

^{lll} Moryson uses the classical name for the Main, *Moenus*.

is incredible, with what [bitter] frowardnes yea malicious
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Booke.iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i. fol:3i7.

hatred the *lutherans* persecute the *Caluinists*, often professing that they would rather torne *Papists* yea *Turkes*, then admitt the doctrine of *Caluin*, whereof no sufficient reason can be yeilded. Only some *Philosopher* or *Statesman* rather then *diuine*, may alledge this reason, that the next degrees of religion are most dangerous to seduce, since no *christian* will easily be converted to *Iudaisme* or *Turcismie*,¹¹² but mans nature being subject to variety of disputable opinions not apparently wicked, one sect of *Christians* may easily be drawne to an other, and most easily to the nearest, in which kinde wee daily see that dissentions are more frequat and /10/ [bitter among neighbors] (as well in *Familyes* as *Common wealthes*), then among those that dwell further of. And that I deseruedly blame the *lutherans* for this frowardnes may well appeare, not only by continuall experience, but by their printed bookes, wherein the *lutherans* vse vnseemely reproches, and reuilings against the *Caluinists*.

Among the *lutherans* any man may preach with the leaue of the *Superintendent* (so they call the *Cheife Minister* in each *Citty* and *Prouince* placed as *Bishopp* ouer the rest) I

¹¹² Islam.

say any man with his leaue may preach though he haue not taken the orders of a minister or of a deacon, which orders they /20/ giue to none, but to such as haue a lawfull calling (as they terme it) namely such as are chosen by some Parish or Congregation to be their Pastor, and who bring their letters of Commendation to that end. The ordayning of ministers is done by the hands of all that haue orders, and (as they say) in place, and after the manner appointed by Christ and his Apostles, and practised in the Primitiue Church. He that is to be ordeyned, is first examined, then he preacheth publicquely at which tyme before all the Congregation prayers are made for him, then handes are layd vpon his head and power [is giuen [him]] him to preach the Gospell, and to administer the Sacramments. /30/ At Wittenburg I did see Bohemian ministers ordayned, (because they had no Bishopp in Bohemia), who could nether [neither] speake dutch¹¹³ nor latin, yet were admitted vppon good testimony of their sufficiency for that charge by letters from the Congregations which had chosen them to be their Pastors. The Electorshipp of Saxony had three Superintendants, whereof he that was resident in the place did examine the minister¹¹⁴ to be ordayned before all the Clergy of that place, and not only he but all the rest of the ministers

¹¹³ This is Moryson's corruption of *Deutsch*, German.

¹¹⁴ Hughes has "Ministers", p. 271.

and *Deacons* laid their hands on his head at the ordination. These *Deacons* vsed to preach, which /40/ liberty by leaue was also giuen to them that had no orders, but theire peculiar charge is for ease of the ministers to Celebrate mariages, to visite the sicke to buyrie the dead, and to heare Confessions before the receaving of the Sacrament. For the lutherans retayne Confession, but not altogether Popish not auricular but only generall not of all particular sinnes, according to the forme, which followeth in shewing the forme of receaving our lords supper.

The place of a Superintendant is like to that of a /50/ Bishop, and howsoever they haue not the trayne nor habitt of Bishoppes, yet they were much esteemed and in great Authority. In free Cittyes I haue seene them take place next to the Consull or Burgomaster, aboue all the other Senators, and in all places they had great //

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Authority with the Princes or Senates, espetially in matters concerning the Care of the Church committe¹¹⁵ to theire charge, nether they nor any minister had any tythes nor Arable or pasture growndes, lest they should thereby [be] be diverted from theire bookes, but aswell in the teritoryes of Princes as in free Cittyes, they had a

¹¹⁵ Hughes supplies the missing 'd', p. 272.

Competent stipend of mony, for small acates¹¹⁶ apprarell,
and bookes, and a like proportion of greater prouisions
necessary to mantayne their Family. In some places the
Superintendentants had not much aboute. 150. guldens /10/
yearely in mony, besydes convenient prouisions of Corne,
beefe, and wood for their Familyes, and such yearely
guiftes as their Parishioners voluntarily and freely
bestoed on them. Yet in the Free Citty lubeck (as I was
informed) the Superintendent had 1500li yearely in mony,
besydes good proportions of Corne Beefe and wood, and large
guifts of the Cittisens freely bestowed on him, and I
thincke no other in Germany had greater Reuennue though
some had more some lesse according to the riches and
dignity of the place, and quality /20/ of the person. At
lubeck he did reade a lecture twice a weeke to all the
Clargy, and the Cathedriall Church had fyue ministers, who
in Course made three sermons on the Sabboth day, and one
each day of the weeke earely in the morning, excepting
wensdaye, In like sort through out all Germany euery Church
had two three or more Ministers, who distributed the
Charge betweene themselues. And in most places they had a
laudable Custome, that on the Sabboth day they had prayers
at six of the Clocke in the morning and a shorte /30/

¹¹⁶ Hughes puts "actes", p. 272. However, he misses out the 'a' between the 'c' and 't'. Perhaps the first 'a' is redundant, and the word is small "cates", provisions, which is contrasted with the "greater prouisions" needed for the sustenance of the large families of the ministers.

Catechising sermon, for Cookes and such seruants as were to attend houshoulde buisnesse. Then from eight of the Clooke forward they had prayers and a Sermon for the Cittisens theire Children and the other seruants that had no buisnesse at home, and it was a shame to come late or goe forth before the end. At one in the after noone they had prayers and Catechising for the Children and servants, and at three of the Clooke one expounded the Epistle read that day, yea each morning at six of the Clooke (excepting wensdayes) they had a Sermon, wherein the Preachers /40/ seuerally Continued to expounde such scripture as they had chosen. In all Churches at euery Piller they had Alters, to which from olde tyme great Reuenues belonged. In most Cittyes they did not buyrie the dead in Churchyardes, but in a walled fielde without the Citty, which fielde at Leipzig was called gotts aker (the Aker of God), and there a Cittisen might buy a place of buyriall vnder the Covered Cloysters for himselfe for forty shillings, and for himselfe and his Family for twenty ponde, the Common sorte being freely buyryed in the open fielde so /50/ inclosed. The said Reuennues of Alters and the old Tythes, gathered by the magistrates, did serue to pay the Stipends of the Clargy, and for one idle ignorant Priest of old, each Church had now many learned and industrious //

Booke iii of Germany touching Religion Cap.i. fol 3i9.

teachers, and by the same Reuennues the reperation¹¹⁷ and all necessities of the Church were most Carefully supplied.

Touching the lithurgy or forme of Diuine seruice vsed. The ministers lutherans wore Su[r]plices and somtymes Coapes (as when the Sacrament was administred) only in the tyme of prayer and singing; not in the pulpitt.¹¹⁸ First in the morning on the Sabboth day the poore Children of the Schooles came through the streetes to the Church singing a latine song (as in like sorte they goe singing a /10/ but the streetes at Dinner tyme the same day, receaving Almes at every doore). These singing boyes serued all the Churches, hauing diuine seruice at diuers howers, and by the way lett mee note, that all or most of the Cittisens Children had the Arte of singing. Before diuine seruice they had musicke in a gallery of the Church, of wynde Instruments, namely Organs, Cornetts, Sagbuttes and the like.¹¹⁹ And by the way note that these musitians, together with trumpeters mantayned in most Cittyes of Germany, vsed

¹¹⁷ Repairs. *OED*

¹¹⁸ An ecclesiastical cope is like a long cloak made of semicircular cloth usually worn on special occasions. *OED* In Moryson's England, it would have been unusual to have ministers wearing copes, as it would have deemed to be too Catholic, and too reminiscent of the rags of Rome. The Canons of 1604 had to insist that ministers even wear a surplice. See J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 142.

¹¹⁹ A sackbut was a cross between a base trumpet and trombone. *OED*

to sounde in the Steeples of the Cheefe Church at noonne on the /20/ Sabbath day, and such dayes of the weecke as the Senators did meete in Counsell.¹²⁰ After the sayd musicke the ministers and singing boyes song a Psalme and some short prayers in the lattin tounge. Then the minister on the midst of the Church did reade the Epistle for that day in the vulgar tounge, Then agayne they sunge the song of Zacharias called Benedictus,¹²¹ and short prayers in the lattine Tounge, Then the minister did reade the Gospell in the vulgar tounge, and after in the midst of the Church be[gaes][gane] a song in lattin. These and all their songs were printed /30/ together in a booke vulgarly called Geistlich Leyder, that is spirituall songs whereof only some fewe are Dauids Psalmes translated into Dutch verse by luther, but most of them are songs which wee reade in the Gospell (as that of the blessed virgin¹²² and of Zachary or others taken out of the Gospell, about Christs birth, his Passion, & his Resurrection and the like subiectes, all composed by luther in verse and the Dutch language, At Leipzig, these songs were songe one weeke in the latten another in Dutch tounge, all the people did sing with their hatts on, as also the ministers /40/ Preached

¹²⁰ All this music-making and musicality helps to explain subsequent German achievement from J. S. Bach onwards.

¹²¹ See Luke. 1. 68 - 79.

¹²² See Luke 1. 46 - 55. It is known as the *Magnificat*.

with their heads Covered. All did stand on their feet when the Preacher did read his Text, and I observed that in many Churches, as well Lutherans as Calvinists continually prayed standing not kneeling.¹²³ After they had sung the Creede,¹²⁴ the preachers begins, and in the time of the Sermon, all the people turned their faces towards the preacher in the body of the Church, but in the time of prayer all turned their faces towards the high Altar in the Chancel. During the Sermon two officers went about the Church to gather Alms, each having an open purse at the end of a stick, and a little bell at the bottom of the purse, which being gently sounded they that were next prepared money to give, and if any man did sleep they used gently to pass the bell by his ears, that he might awake to hear the Sermon.

By the way give me leave to note, that the Germans being very industrious, have few beggars in the streets,¹²⁵ or in

¹²³ The Protestants are consciously going back to an older tradition. Praying with hands together and kneeling was a medieval tradition derived from the feudal taking of land and plighting of troth. To medieval minds, God was the lord paramount. Tenth century carvings in the Cathedral of Saint Bénigne in Dijon, of worshippers with arms outstretched, point to an earlier tradition still.

¹²⁴ Hughes amends to "they", p. 274. Moryson means the Apostle's Creed, the statement of Christian faith. He may have been surprised that it was sung, rather than spoken.

¹²⁵ Hughes amends to "streets", p. 274. Note the implication here. The poor are poor because they are not industrious, that is, idle.

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{ c.w. the highwayes, }

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the high wayes, excepting lepers, which espetially in vpper Germany, frequently begg by the high wayes with Clappers standing farr off, as also at the Doores of their hospitalls, hauing a box sett vp into which the passengers cast their Almes. And ingenerall the Germans euen of the poorest sorte, neuer refused to giue Almes to beggers, hauing small brasse monnyes of litle value which the poorest may giue.

But I returnne to the forme of the diuine seruice. The Sermon ended, if any desyred the prayers of the Congre/10/gation, the Preacher did reade their names, and after his prayer did blesse the people, and when they had song the lords prayer in the Dutch tounge, the Congregation was dissolved, and the singing boyes returned singing through the streetes from the Church to the Schoole, vnderstand that the foresayd wind instruments continually sounded, [hile] while the boyes song the Psalmes with all the Congregation, during all Diuine seruice.

In Baptisme the lutherans vse exorcisme as it were to Coniure the Deuill out of the Infant, then the minister layes /20/ the Infant starke naked with his nauell on the Palme of his hand, and the face downward (which to me

seemed an vncomly sight for the bluddy Couller of the Infant), then he putts the whole body of the Infant into a bason of heated water giuing it the name and signing it with the Crosse.

When the lutherans Administer the Supper of our lord, the wax tapers are lighted, which otherwise continually stand vpon the [high] Alter vnlighted. And they so much reverence this sacred mistery, and are so farr from neglecting to /30/ pertake it, as they would denye Christian buryall to any they should fynde so Impious. Touching the forme of the Communion, the minister whose course it is to blesse the bread and wyne, stands at the high Alter cladd with a surplice and Coape, and at his backe another minister or Deacon in a Surplice, and fowre boyes in Redd gownes and Surplices kneele vpon their knees, while the Cheefe minister reades the Gospell of our lords eating his last Supper with his Disciples. Then all the Congregation singes the lordes prayer, which ended a litle /40/ Bell is sounded that all may rise on their feete, and be attentiu to the wordes our lord vsed in deliuering the bread and the Cupp. Then the cheefe minister with two boyes attending goes to the right syde of the Alter, hauing the consecrated bread (or waffer Cakes for such they vse) and the other minister with two boyes attending him goes to the left syde of the Alter, hauing the blessed wyne sett [by] him. Then all [the] men, in [the] [a] rancke, with much gravity walke vp

to the right syde of the Alter, where kneeling downe two by two the first /50/ minister giues them the body of our lord vnder which the two boyes holde a Cleane napkin lest any Crumm should fall to the grownd, and so they passe behinde the Alter to the left syde, [where vpon theire knees and with the same]; where vpon theire knees and with the same ceremony they receave[d] the Cupp, and so walke downe to theire seates, where they vse private //

{ c.w. Prayer, }

Booke.III. of Germany touching Religion Capt.I. fol 32i.
prayer, till the weomen all together in like order going about the Alter, haue Receaved with like ceremony, and be returned to theire seates, the diuers Instruments of musicke all this whyle most pleasantly sounding. when all haue Receaved, the ministers and boyes (with Consorte of the musicall Instruments being in a loft or Gallery) sing a prayer and a blessing to the people, and so the Congregation is dissolved. The day before this Communion they number the Communicantes, that they may blesse no more wafer Cakes then they presently /10/ shall vse, in which kynde they retayne some Papisticall superstition, not eating but swallowing the wafer cakes lest any crumme should fall, not yet themselues touching the Cupp or wiping theire mouthes, lest any dropp shoulde spille. And the number they may fully knowe, because two or three dayes before the Receauing they must make auricular Confession to the Priests, yet only ingenerall tearmes that they are

miserable sinners, amplifying the same by generall breaches of Gods Commandments, in thought, worde, and deede, but they /20/ are nether bounde nor vse to confesse perticular sinnes and Circumstances, as the Papists are bounde, without any the least Omission. After this generall confession made and Repentance professed, the minister sayth, vpon Condition of thy true repentance, by the Authority committed to mee Mathew 18. 18. Iohn 20. 23 I absolue thee from thy sinnes, looke thou sinne no more, and goe in peace. I haue sayde that in their Churches they haue Images for ornament not for Adoration, and beautifull Pulpitts and Fvnts¹²⁶ and Alters, but for ornament only. And as they vse the /30/ Crosse in Baptisme publikely, so likewise priuately they signe their mouthes with a Crosse when they Iawne or snese, with wordes of benediction, and signe their foreheads vpon other occasions, as thundering and lightning, which they seemed much to fear, espetically in Saxony, and also vpon naming the Deuill, for howsoeuer in Cursing vpon passion they often name the Deuill, yet in Common speech they abhorre from that name, and when discourse leades them to mention him, they Commonly call him Dieser vnd Iener (this and that) or Der Boser man (the /40/ naughty man, or that wicked one).

When they say grace at the table, men, weomen, virgines,

¹²⁶ Fonts.

boyes, of all ages, stand rounde about the table, & lifting vp their Ioynd handes speake the same wordes together in a dissonant tunne of their differing voyces, and if any come in late to eate, ether at that table or another [) all the] (as often many tables are in the same Romme) all the rest stand vp to say grace agayne and agayne with them. As in Italy, each day at noone and at vesper tyme, vpon the sounding of a litle bell, all fall vpon their /50/ knees, be they in the house or in the streetes, and say the salutation to the virgin called Aue Maria, which they vse for a prayer, so in Saxony, since the Turkes invasion became fearefull to the Germans, vpon the sounding of a bell at the same tymes, all men are warned to pray for preservation against the Turkes. I neuer obserued any yearely lents or weekely //

fol 322 Booke iii of Germany touching Religion Capt I.

fasting dayes to be kept by the lutherans, and the Caluinists hold all commaunded fasts vpon sett dayes to be vnlawfull, saue only when by order of the Presbitery vpon perticular distresses of the Church a generall fast is inioynd for the tyme, and they held the ordinary lents and fasts in England to be no otherwise actes of Religion, then as they are done in obedience to the kings lawe, commaunding them for Ciuill Policye.

Mauritz Elector of Saxony in the yeare 1543, among other Constitutions for Reformation of that Church, restored /10/

[the] the vse of excommunication, among the lutherans, and at my being at witteburg, in the tyme of Christian pur[pos]posing to establish Caluins doctryne, I did heare the Superintendant Pierius being a Caluinist[s], puplikely excommunicate a man, and deliuer his body and soule to the power of Sathan till he satisfyed the Church, but he named not the man nor his Cryme. They differ litle or nothing in the vse of excommunication only the Caluinists vse it more spareingly.

The difference of Opinions, which gaue the names to /20/ lutherans and Caluinists, first brak out in the yeare 1525, and gaue agreat wounde to the Reformation. The cheefe difference is abut the Supper of our lord. The Caluinists say that the body and blood are not receaved corporally but spiritually, yet that the bread and wyne are not bare signes but Really the body and blood of Christ, not Corporally but spiritually Receaved. Luther holds the wordes. This is my body and this is my blood, must be simply vnderstood, howsoeuer it may seeme Contrary to sence and reason, and taught that not spiritually, and by /30/ the heart only, but corporally and by the mouth also, the body and blood of Christ were Receaved with the bread and wyne, not as the Papists hold by Transubstantiation, or changing the signes into the body and blood, [of Christ being] but by Consubstantiation, the body and blood of Christ being included in the signes still remaying bread

and wyne. Phillip Mellancton the famous assistant to luther, did at first approue this opinion, but after in the yeare 1544 he thus writes in his Epistle to Mycovius Pastor of Gota: I tolde Luther that I allwayes defended a Synecdoche in the wordes /40/ of Christ, so as the bread and wyne being taken Christ was truely present and made vs members of his body.¹²⁷ But luther in his Confession made alittle before his death in the yeare 1544, expressly sayth that he had rather be torne in peeces a hundreth tymes, then consent in his mynde to the Calvinists opinion in that point. Phillip Landgraue of Hassia in the yeare 1529. procured a meeting at marpurg betweene luther and Zwinglius and theire followers to compose all theire differences, wherein at last they agreed of all Articles, this only of the supper of our lord ex[.]c[epted], /50/ in which also thus farr they agreed. That it was to be administred to the people in both kyndes. That the masse is no such worke whereby [grace] may be obtayned to the liuing and to the dead. That the Sacrament (of the Alter as they call it) is a true Sacrament of the body and blood of our lord, that the spirituall eating of this body and blood is necessary

¹²⁷ A synecdoche is a part taken for a whole. Melanchthon believes that Christ takes the bread and wine to be a synecdoche, whilst Zwingli takes it as a metaphor. Luther and Zwingli, brought together by Philip of Hesse in 1529 at Marburg, could agree on everything apart from this. For documents on the Marburg Colloquy, see Rupp and Drewery, pp. 132 - 139. Melanchthon's correspondent, Friedrich Myconius of Gotha, (1490 - 1546) had previously been a Franciscan, and was called to undertake the reformation at Gotha by Duke Johann. EB

to euery Christian, and in a worde all with free Consent
graunted that the true body and true blood was in this //
Booke III. of Germany touching Religion Capt.I. fol 323.
Sacrament, but the Caluinists sayd really offered and
spiritually receaved, the lutherans sayd Corporally
presented and taken by the mouth. Therefore the Papists
haue no cause to [begg] [brag] of the different opinions
betweene the Reformed Churches, espetically consisting in
this one point, in which notwithstanding if they shall
aske, what is the materiall substance of the Sacrament
apprehended by the sences, they both will answer bread, not
only the accidents of bread as the Papists say. If they be
asked whether Christ be present in the Sacrament, /10/ they
both will answer that he is truly present, but for the
manner they dissent from the Papists as well as betweene
them selues. If they be asked whether the materiall
substance of the Sacrament presented to the sight and
feeleing be to be worshipped, both will answell¹²⁸ that to
be the worship of an Idole. In like sort they both abhorr
Transubstantiation, and the Sacrafice of the masse, and
both agree the Sacrament must be Communicated in both
kyndes, and so in all pointes are Contrary to the Papists.
Therefore if /20/ the want of Charity did not, the
difference of opinions cannot, make any great seperation
betweene them [.] They agree in the mayne doctryne of

¹²⁸ answer ?

Iustification, and differ generally in no material point. Only for Predestination the r<ig>ed¹²⁹ Caluinists holde with Calin,¹³⁰ that God did elect and Reprobate men because he would, without any foresight of their fall in Adam. The other Caluinists and the lutherans holde better that God seeing all men fallen in Adam, out of that /30/ masse, did elect some of his meere mercye vnto Salvation, and left others iustly vnto their owne Condemnation. I haue shewed that the lutherans tollerate many Ceremonyes and outward thinges, which the Caluinists for the former abuse vtterly reiect, for the Caluinists [...]] [only] song only Psalmes not any prayers, they nether permitt paynted nor Carved Images nor any Alters, (as the lutherans doe) Receaving the lords supper at a Communion table. The Caluinists in Netherland, and Fraunce doe take the Sacramentes sitting, so many as can sitt, the rest for necessity, and want /40/ of seates standing, all with heades vncovered. The minister only Consecrates, and takes it himselfe, giuing it to those that sett next him, the rest taking it one from another. They vse no surplice, much lesse Coapes, or burning tappers. They allowe no auricular Confession to the Pri[e]st, but only the generall confession of the whole Congregation to God in the begining of Diuine seruice. They allowe no exorcisme nor [singing]

¹²⁹ Presumably Moryson means "rigid", stiff in opinion.

¹³⁰ Calvin.

signing with the Crosse at Bapmisme, nor vse of the Crosse otherwise. They haue no Monnasteryes standing, nor prayer at sett tymes of the day as they passe /50/ the streetes at the sounding of a Bell, all which the lutherans practise. Both Caluinists and lutherans vse theire Presbiteries, and Consistoryes for making ecclesiasticall lawes, and for disciplyne, as the Episcopall Iurisdiction doth, only theire the power is diffused into many, but the Episcopall power is in one. And for the [Common] [Cannon] lawe, they esteeme it in theire writtings //

{ m. n. as we doe, }

fol 324 //

Booke.III. of Germany touching Religion. Capt.II fol 325 as wee doe, and for practise the make it no authenticall rule in theire Courtes, neither doe wee.

For the Presbittarye of the Caluinists, I obserued at Heydelberg, that the Superintendant, and the ministers, with two Professors for the vniuersity, and two gentlemen for the Court, and a Cittisen for every streete, held a spirituall Courte to Iudge offences and Controversyes of lesse moment, but the differences about Doctryne were handled in a full Ecclesiasticall Senate, Consisting of two noble men whereof one is President, and one Docter of the /10/ Ciuill lawe, and three cheefe Diuines, with some other ministers and Professors of the vniversity, chosen for that purpose. There I obserued that all did pray standing not

kneeling, the minister Preached and not only he but all the people sunge [the] Psalmes of Daud with theires heades Covered.

Chapter.II.

Of Bohemia touching Religion.

The Bohemians were first Converted to Christian Religion about the yeare 816. or litle after, and when the Popes /20/ of Rome had by degrees corrupted the Doctryne of the Gospell, they were the first that by suffering and by Armes wrought some Reformation. For the Albigois in Fraunce suffered like sheepe without resistance, and inveighed but prevailed not against the Pope, and Wicklefe in England had taught the errors but reformed none.¹ The Bohemian Hus borne in the village Huskin of which he had his name, being yet a Chylde, is sayd to haue applyed burning Coales to his body for tryall of his patience, as if his mynde presaged what he was to suffer. He and his Consort /30/ Ierome of Prage, (whereof one or both are sayd to haue beene instructed by wicklefe in England), did sharpely & constantly preach against the errors of the Roman Church, and being called to the Councell of Constantia (vulgarly Costnetz) a Citty of Germany, in the yeare 1417, vpon the Emperors safe Conduct, the Councell as superio[r]r to the Emperor, did violate his word, Condemning and burning them both. But the Hussites their followers made some

¹ The Albigensians and Wycliffe are favourite characters in Moryson's scheme of Protestant history. See fols 98, 195, 301.

Reformation, and by force of Armes established it, yet such as did rather admonish the Pope to restrayne his tyranny, then /40/ breake his power, as shall appeare by the Hussites doctryne. After in the tyme of luther, many Bohemians Imbraced his more large Reformation, and the greatest part fell from all obedience of the Pope. The Bohemians in those tymes more zelious² and valiant then learned and wise, in this Reformation gaue such liberty to Conscience, which by woefull experience they thought could not be forced without tyranny, as the whole kingdome was deuided into more variety, of opinions, then any parte of Germany, yea into no lesse confusion of Sects then the /50/ kingdome of Poland, vnder the Bohemians I comprehend the Prouince of Morauia speaking the same language, for the Prouince of Sylesia part of that kingdome, speaking the // fol 326 Booke III. of [Germany] [Bohemia] touching Religion Cappt.II.

German tounge, was for the most part Reformed after the Doctryne of luther, and among the Dukes thereof (whose Dukedomes at the tyme whereof I write were fallen to the Emperor as king of bohemia for want of heyres males), Frederick Duke zu lignitz,³ two brothers Dukes zu Brieg,⁴

² Zealous.

³ Friedrich IV Duke of Liegnitz (1552 - 1596). HC Moryson means that the Dukedomes escheated to the Emperor as King of Bohemia, because the Dukes had no male heirs.

and two brothers Dukes zu Munsterberg,⁵ subscribed with the Germans to the Confession of Augsburg, and at the same tyme Lubshatz and the Principality of Sagan, and the County of lippen, receaved the same Reformation.⁶

Generally in all the kingdome there was great confusion /10/ of Religions, so as in the same Citty some were Caluinists, some lutherans, some Hussites, some Anabaptists, some Picards,⁷ some Papists, not only in the Cheefe Citty Prage, and the other Cittyes of Bohemia, as Bodly and Spill, but in Sperona and Graniza Cittyes of Morauia.⁸ And as the Iewes haue a peculyar Citty at Prage,⁹

⁴ Joachim Friedrich Duke of Brieg (1586 - 1602), and Johann Georg, Duke of Wohlau (1586 - 1592) were brothers, but Wohlau was broken off from Brieg whilst the latter was still alive. HC

⁵ The Dukes of Münsterberg were of the Podjebrad family. HC

⁶ Lublinitz (?) The Duchy of Sagan, and Lippen. HC The problems of change of dynasty, from Protestant dukes to Catholic Hapsburgs, (by the agreed peace formula of Augsburg of 1555, that the ruler decides the religion of the state) are obvious. See Koenigsberger, p. 241.

⁷ The Picards or Pickharts were a group of religious radicals who appeared in Bohemia about 1420. They joined the left wing of the Hussite movement, the Taborites. Their views about the absence of the real presence in the sacrament caused even the Taborites to take alarm. They were purged, expelled and executed. Picard is a corruption of "Berghard". In general it refers to heretics associated with the beliefs and practices of the Free Spirit, which is why Moryson couples them with the Anabaptists. See Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley, Los Angeles) pp. 401 - 408.

⁸ I have been unable to find out the name of these cities.

so they had freedome throughout all the kingdome. Yea the same confusion was in all villages, and euen in most of the priuate Familyes, among those who liued at one table, and rested in one bed together. For I haue often seene seruants wayte vpon theire /20/ masters to the Church dore, and there leaue them to goe to another Church. Yea I haue seene some of the Emperors Guardes stand before his face laughing to see him creepe on his knees to kisse the Crucifix and other Reliques. For the Emperors Trabantoes (or Guardes of Foote) were for the most part of his German Subiectes, whereof I formerly sayd the greatest part to be lutherans, yet hauing generall freedome of Conscience, so as not long before my being in those partes, the Emperor Rodolphus publish[ed][ing] an edict against Caluinists and all other Religions but only the Papists /30/ and lutherans of the Augustan Confession,¹⁰ his subiectes in Austria rased a tumult, which he was forced to repress by restoring freedome of Conscience, they boldly denying to doe homage without that Caution, and protesting they would rather be subiect to the Turke permitting that freedome, then be vexed by a Christian Prince for theire Conscience. In which respect, as I sayd of the Emperors subiectes in Garmany, so

⁹ The Jews have their own district within Prague, peculiar to themselves.

¹⁰ The Augsburg Confession, (Augustan is a mistake) was a moderate Lutheran document produced mainly by Melanchthon in 1530, on the command of Charles V in order to resolve religious differences. Elton, p. 148.

I founde his subiectes in Bohemia more differing in opinions of Religion, yet to converse in strang amity and peace together, without which patience a turbulent spiritt /40/ could not liue in those partes. As the buyldings of Garmany generally, so the Churches and Monnasteryes particularly are much fayrer and more sumptously built then those of Bohemia, wherein I obserued litle Carued worke, excepting that of the Emperors Courte, and the insydes to haue litle beauty, and for the most parte to be vnclenly kept. The Reuennues of the Clargy in Bohemia were large inough. At Prage I was acquainted with a minister of a Neighbour towne, who tolde me he had weekly three Dollers in mony, a mutton, a proportion of beare, linnen for his house, and /50/ some like necessaryes out of the publike Treasure, besydes his owne oblations and profitts,¹¹ by Funeralls, mariages, and Christnings, together with a house, an Orcharde, a garden, and two vinyardes. The yearely Reuennues of the Archbishop of Prage were sayde to be twelue thousand Gold Guldens out of the publike treasure of the Citty, and twenty foure thousand from his owne landes.¹² //

¹¹ "4. The presentation of something to God for the services of the Church, [and] the maintenance of its ministers..." *OED*

¹² It is difficult to estimate the value of the golden gulden, as opposed to the silver one. "Bohemia...doth admit all the great Coynes of Germany", *Itinerary A*, II, 148, and "A Rhenish Gold Gulden was worth seven and twenty silver Groschen" whilst a Doller was worth twentyfour Meissen Groschen, *Itinerary A*, II, 145, which at the beginning of

Booke III of [Germani] [Bohemia] touching Religion Capt.II.
fol.327

Bohemia hath only this one Archbishop, whose Seate from the tyme of Hus was long voyde, then three Archbishoppes succeeded, and from the death of the third it was agayne voyde, and so remayned at my being there. Likewise Bohemia had one Bishop, but his Seate was voyde from the tyme of Hus to that day. Also Prage had an vniversity, but [in] the Hussites warre it was translated to leipzig in Misen. Touching the Hussites, the Reformation was not generall, for to this day they consent with the Papists in many thinges, and for Ceremonyes, if the Papist be super/10/stitious, surely the Hussites (according to their ignorant zeale) are ridiculous. Since the tyme of Hus, the Bohemians hauing nether Bishop nor vniversity, the Pastors cannot take orders at home, but the Papists seeke them of neighbour Bishops, the reformed from Superintendants and vniversityes in Germany neerest to them.

The excesse of the Bohemians in drincking is no lesse then of the Germans, yea greater in respect of the weomen, who drinke almost in as great excesse as the men, wherein the wemen of Germany are most /20/ temperate. The Hussites Pristes may not marry. Vpon the outsyde of the dore of the

the work we are told is worth four shillings and four pence, *Itinerary A, I, xxiii*. Thus a gold gulden was worth about five shillings. This exercise gives some idea of the difficulties of exchange.

Cathedrall Church in the cheefe Citty of Prague, (for it hath a newe, and an olde Citty, besydes a thirde of the Iewes) they haue ingrauen a sworde and a Challice, in memory that by the sworde they extorted from the Pope liberty to Communicate as well the Cupp or blood as the body of our lord in the holy Eucharist. For whereas the Papists giue not the Cupp to the layety, but only the bread, which they say contaynes the blood in the body, the Hussites giue both kyndes, not only to /30/ lay men, but to very Infants, because Christ sayth suffer litle ones to come vnto mee.¹³ But still they beleue with the Papists the Corporall eatinge of the body and blood of our lord with the mouth by stransubstation.¹⁴ But they deny that prayers may be made to Sayntes or before Images. They sing the masse in lattin, but they reade the Epistle, the Gospell, the forme of Baptisme and buyriall, in the Bohemian Tounge. They signe the Baptised Infants with the crosse, and anoynte them on the forehead and on the neck with oyle, and vse exorcisme at the dore of the Church /40/ before they admitt the Infant into the Church to be Baptised. They had no holy water, wherewith the Papists vse to sprinckle men in the Church, and leaue it in a kynde of Funt at the dore, that they which enter may sprinckle

¹³ "Suffer the litle children to come vnto mee, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdome of God." Mark 10. 14; Luke 18. 16 has the differing "Suffer the babes to come vnto mee..."

¹⁴ Hughes corrects to "transubstantiation", p. 277.

themselues therewith. The townes and villages were some more Reformed then other, hauing absolute freedome in Religion. They yealded no power to the Pope to remitt sinnes, nether beleued they or accknowledged the fyer of Purgatory. They agreed with the Papists for the number of Sacraments, and /50/ the doctryne of Predestination. They sunge no masses for the dead, but vsed ridiculous Ceremonyes in buyriall, as shalbe shewed in the next booke. They obserued the lawdable Custome of Germany to haue extraordinary prayers and Sermons earely in the morning for Cookes and such seruants as for housholde //

fol 328. Booke.III. of [Germany] [Bohemia] touching Religion Cap.II.

Dutyes could not come to Church at the ordinary tyme of Diuine seruice.

Touching the Picards and Anabaptists frequent in those partes. Theire profession is not so austere as humble, abiect, and industrious. They liued like bretheren in Colledges with theire wyues and Children, hauing one common purse, to which all that entred gaue theire goods. Each Family had lodginges aparte, and each morning earely all went to theire superiours & tooke theire meate and taske of worke for that day. For /10/ they exercised all manuary Artes,¹⁵ except the making of swordes and

¹⁵ "Manual skills". OED

Instruments to hurte other men. And I haue seene some of these men in their Iornyes apparreled with a long Coate of Course home spunne Cloth, (which all vse without difference) hauing a staffe in their handes without any other Armes. If any be expelled the Colledge for vnchastity or blasphemy, (as sweareing and vngodly speeches) or for like offences, they loose the goods they brought, and they vsed severe disciplyne without any respect of persons. They kept the Feasts /20/ of the Annuntiation and of Easter, but they did not obserue the Feast of the Natiuity of our lord.¹⁶

I was at Prage in lent, where I obserued that the Papists and Hussites did fast and eate fish, but the lutherans and Caluinists did eate flesh without keepeing any fasts. There I continued till Easter was past. And because it is a place of great liberty to come into any church without any offence to the Conscience, I had oportunity to satisfye my Curiosity in obseruing all Ceremonyes, whereof giue mee leaue to make /30/ some breefe Relation.

The Papists in the Church of the Emperors Courte, from thursdaye before, to Easter day in the morning, did night and day worship and pray vnto the Crucifix, as vnto Christ,

¹⁶ They observe the Annunciation by the Angel Gabriel to Mary of Christ's birth, celebrated on Lady Day, 25 March, and Easter but not Christmas. *OED* and Luke. 1. 26 - 38.

which Crucifix they buyried or rather intoombed with great Funerall pompe, and many processions, as likewise they Celebrated his Resurrection with pompous Ceremonyes on Easter day. Particularly, first on thursday in the morning the Emperor gaue to twelue poore men (after the number of the Apostles) /40/ three Ducates of golde, a Cloake, and Coate of Cloth, a payre of stockings and of shooes, a Hatt, a Shirte, and thee dollers instead of meate to each man.¹⁷ After dynner the cheefe of the Clargy washed the Feete of the Priests. Vpon good Fryday the Church was hung ouer with blacke Cloath, and all the Priests wore Mourning Robes. Then they carryed the Crucifix with great Poompe to the high Alter, whether the Emperor, his Courtyers, and all the people, in order crept on their knees to kisse it. Then they Consecrated the Hostia, at a mumbled /50/ masse, and lifted it vp as true Christ to be worshiped, and then Carryed it vnder a black vayle with Poompe to the high Alter, and there layde it in a sillver vessell // Booke.iii of [Germany] [Bohemia] touching Religion Capt.II. fol.329.

Covered with blacke Ciprise,¹⁸ and after Carryed the same with a Funerall poompe in to a Chappell of that Church,

¹⁷ "Three" rather than "thee" is undoubtedly meant. The gifts are symbols for Christ's voluntary abasement and gift of Himself in washing the feet of His disciples after the Last Supper. John. 13. 5 - 17.

¹⁸ A black satin used for mourning, originally from Cyprus, hence its name. OED

where after Continually the Priests sung mornefull tunnes without ceasing day and night, the silent tunes being continually heard though sometymes no Priest was seene.¹⁹ In like manner they left another Consecrated Hostia vpon the high Alter, to which the people continually Crept vpon theire knees, some licking the very Dust of the pavement. And for these dayes the very beggers gaue Mutuall Almes one to /10/ the other. The Funeralls Poompe was great. For at the high Alter was a Sepulcher in forme of a bed, with Pillers of Silver Covered on the outsyde with red veluitt, on the insyde with Cloth of golde, hauing many stayres or degrees to asscend, vpon each whereof were sett tenne Candles of wax in silver Candlestickes, and here (as in the foresayde Chappel) mournfull tunes were Continually heard, to the day of the Resurrection, the singers being vnseene, and all this tyme the people with silent Concurse and devoute superstition approached /20/ to worship. At the evening of good Fryday, they mumbled masses (which otherwise are not celebrated but in the morning fasting) because they fasted all this day. And the Priest setting fyfteene wax tapers before the high Alter, first putt out one to signifye an Apostle falling from Christ, and so twelue in order for the twelue Apostles, then two for Martha and Mary, and at last he putt out the fiftenth signifying the death of Christ, at which tyme all the

¹⁹ The oxymoron, "silent tunes", presumably means unaccompanied voices.

Church resounded with howlings and dispitefull spittings of the people, like noyse being /30/ made by the boyes with theire Feete, and with Clappers of wood made for that purpose, all to shewe theire indignation against the Iewes. And indeede the Iewes hauing a litle Citty proper to them within the walls of Prage, durst not stirr out of theire gates for any buisnesse what soeuer dureing the Celebration of Christs passion, which any doeing should willfully expose himselfe to many scornes.²⁰ During these three dayes no bell sounded[th] in any Church, till Easter daye when all are Rung without Ceasing. From three dayes /40/ before Easter, was [the] great Concourse of the people to the Churches, for making theire Confessions, which Priests in Churches, and Fryers in Chappells of monnasteryes, heare Continually. He that confesseth kneeleth in one seate, and the Confessor sitteth in another, so as they nether see nor touch one another, but the voyce is heard through litle holes boared in a boarde. And during these dayes to twelue of the Clocke on satterday night, the people continually adored the Crucifix on the Sepulcher, and prayed at many Alters /50/ priuiledged from the Pope with remission of sinnes. About one of the Clocke

²⁰ You call me misbeliever, cut-thoat, dog,
And spit upon my Jewish gaberdine,
And all for use of that which is mine own.
The Merchant of Venice, I. 3. 110 - 112. See also Matthew. 27. 25, where the Jewish crowd takes upon itself the guilt for the death of Jesus, "His blood be on vs, and on our children." The marginal gloss reads "And as they wished, so this curse taketh place to this day."

on Easter day morning, the Papist Priests beginne to Celebrate Christs Resurrection. But the Emperor being sleeppy, Christ was made to ryse in the Church of the Courte before tenn of the Clocke in the night, that the Emperor might goe to bed, at which tyme with many Ceremonyes //

{ c.w. the black hanginges }

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the black hangings of the Church were taken downe, and the Image of Christ was brought with great solemnity forom the Sepulcher to the high Alter, and there adorned with a mantle of Cornation satten, like ayong Phaeton, or litle Cuped.²¹ For the Papists vse to adornne theire Images with silke Robbs,²² and with Cleane linnen changed euiry Sunday. And as the Image of Christ was in this sorte adorned on Easter day, so they vse vpon the Ascention day to sett it forth shadowed with Clowdes, and vpon Christmas /10/ day swadled with Cloutes, and vpon Palme sonday riding vpon an asse, with many like representations. On Easter day morning, they mumbled masses at euery Alter, and many at one tyme together. At eight of the Clocke in the morning,

²¹ Carnation here probably means vermilion rather than flesh colour. In Greek mythology Phaeton was the son of Helios (the sun). Cupid, son of Venus, was the boy-god of love. Moryson uses these comparisons because they are idolatrous deities, similar to the idolatry he is witnessing. Harvey, *OED*

²² Robes.

the gaue to the people the fyfth Chapter of St Iohns Gospell and a Crucifix to be kissed. This done, they began a soleme procession, with white banners (as before that day they had vsed red) wherein they carryed the Image of Christ richly adorned from Chappell to Chappell, and continually sprinckled the /20/ people with holy water. The Court had but one Chaplyn, who after this went into the Pulpitt, and after one Reverence to the Emperor, made a sermon in the German tounge, the Emperor setting aboue in a Gallery belonging to his house. Then a solemne masse was sung aloude, with a full quire, at the high Alter, in which tyme also many masses were mumbled at other Alters, and in diuers Chappells of the Church. After the masse, they distributed the Supper of our lord, which they gaue only in one kynde of the bread to the /30/ layemen, lest they wiping theire mouthes, or the wemen trembling, should spill any dropp of Christs blood, whereof they are [not] so carefull, as the very Priests hauing druncke the Cupp off, doe reense it twise with water, which they also drinke off, and then wipe the insyde with cleane linnen. And because the say the blood is in the bread after the Consecration (as if our lord had instituted one of the signes in vayne) which opinion being true (as it cannot be) yet not the blood in the vaynes but only that shedd out of the body /40/ profiteth vs. They gaue also wyne to the lay men but not Consecrated, [And all of them did swallowe not eate the bread,] lest they should seeme to grynde the body of Christ

with their teeth. They thincke it necessary to Salvation, to heare (or rather to see) a mumbled masse euery morning, if they be in a place where they may haue that oportunity. But after they haue heard the masse, or only worshipped the Elevated Hostia, (walking vp and downe in the Church till that be Elevated to that ende, with sounde of a litle Bell) the litle regard to heare the Sermons or the rest /50/ of Diuine seruice on the very Sabboth day, thincking themselues safe that day from all euill by that one bending of the knee and beating of the breast. On Easter day in the Afternoone a Chylde was Baptised, whome the Priest mett at the Church dore, not admitting the //

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Childe into the Church, till first by exorcisme & sprinckling of holy water he had Conniured the Deuill out of him.

Touching the Hussites Ceremonyes at this tyme vpon good Fryday they covered a Sepulcher with blacke Cloth, but that day and the next I obserued none of them to worship at the Sepulcher, only the Clarke attended to keepe it, whome I did see walke by it with his hatt on, and treade vpon the Cloth with his fowle shewes, yea being vnpatient at the driving of a nayle into the /10/ Cloth, he was bold to sweare a great oath, as if he thought Christ was dead

indeede, and could not heare him.²³ On Easter day some hower before morning, the Hussites came to Church, where the [preheher] Preacher, as a Prologue to a play, tould them why they were assembled, then two litle boyes richly attyred in weomens apparrell, and [re]presenting Mary and Magdalen, went to the Sepulcher, and began to lament not fynding the body of Christ, till a thirde boye like an Angell with spread winges lett downe from aboue with pullyes, bad them not to seeke /20/ him among the dead, for he was risen. This play ended, they sung Psalmes, and receaved the supper of our lord in both kyndes, till the full Congregation came, when they had Deuine seruice in the forme aboue written.

The Emperor (as I formerly sayd) would haue Christ rise earely in his Church, that he might goe to bed, which gaue me oportunity to see the Iesuites Ceremonyes at the due hower of the Resurrection, who in all thinges affect some singularity, and so performed these Ceremonyes of the buyriall and Resurrection, with rich ornaments and /30/ an excelent Consort of still Musicke.²⁴ About the first hower of the morning on Easter day, while some tooke downe the blacke hangings of the Church, and hunge vp rich hanginges

²³ This seems to be an inversion of the triumphal Easter Day assertion, "Christ is risen. He is risen indeed."

²⁴ Subdued or quiet music. *OED*

in their place, the Iesuites carried the Image of Christ from the Sepulcher to the high Alter, and the[y][re] placed it in glorious Attire. It is vncreadible to relate what Concourse the Cittisens and strangers made to this Church all that night before Easter day, and with what superstitious Devotion they worshiped, aswell the Crucifix vpon /40/ the Sepulcher till it was remoued from thence, as the Statua of Christ risen from the dead, [which was] which was sett vpon the high Alter. After which tyme masses were Continually mumbled at diuers Alters till eight of the Clocke in the morning, when a soleme masse was sung aloud with exquisite Musicke, the Polonians (among the rest) in all these devotions casting themselues prostrate on their faces to pray, and when they did rise vp, crossing all their bodies, not only before, but the very hinder partes. /50/

This Colledge of the Iesuites in Prage was founded by the Emperor Ferdinand brother to the Emperor Charles the Fifth. These Iesuites nether baptised, nor marryed, nor buyried any, but affecting singular holines, in Imitation of our lord Iesus, gaue themselues onely to Preaching, yet among them were Priests with //

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shauen Crownes who sang Masses, heard Confessions, and distributed our lords last Supper. And they had [sh]

Schooles, wherein Professors taught all the Artes, from the very Gramer freely, I meane without exacting reward, but no doubt to thanckfull Auditors. This Order of Iesuites was then extreemely hated, not only by all sortes of the reformed Religion (more espetially in England, where vnder the shape of Angles they practised Deuilish treasons²⁵) but euen by Monkes, by Fryers of all Religious orders, and by secular Priests, because /10/ being Confessors of Princes, and pretending singular holines and learning, they ruled in Courtes, and swayed all thinges in the teritoryes of Papists, to theire great preiudice. yet they were expelled out of Fraunce by king Henry the fourth, with full Consent of this Counsell and of his lordes and officers, being all of the Roman Religion, and that for attempts of treason against that kings person, and for mantayning some positions of diuinity, making it a meritorious act to kill a king that is enemy to the Church of Rome.²⁶ And for Italy it selfe, the State /20/ of Venice hardly admitted one Colledge of them in that Citty, and that without liberty of

²⁵ Is this a pun ? The Jesuits hide themselves among the Angles or English, just as Satan was among the angels at the beginning. The pun was a millenium old even at this time. Pope Gregory the Great seeing Angle slaves for sale in Rome, remarked "Not Angles, but angels" and despatched Augustine for their conversion. The angel may also refer to the English coin. *CE*, Room, p. 23.

²⁶ There were Protestants in Henry IV's council, such as Sully. The Jesuits were expelled from France in 1594 after the assassination attempt on Henry IV by the Jesuit-trained Jacques Chastel. They were recalled in 1603. Parker, p. 118.

frequenting the houses of the nobility, or coming forth out of the Colledge. And likewise the Duke of Florence had then only admitted one Colledge of them, and that of the Theatine Iesuites, who liue more priuately in a Contemplatiue profession.²⁷ But at that tyme they dominered with free liberty in Rome, and in the Popes State, and in the Dominions of the king of Spayne with great authority, more spetially in governing the bloody Inquisition. For Germany, they had Colleges, /30/ and were much respected in the Emperors State, and had great power in the Dukedome of Bauaria, insomuch as at my being in those partes, it was vulgarly sayd, that vpon pennaunce imposed on the Duke by them, the Duke went on Foote to Church while they rode in his Coach, & when he came weary to the Church, and there resting vpon a Colde stone fell into a fayntnes or soundding,²⁸ they were hardly perswaded to permitt him [aswell] a small retyring to refresh himselfe. In like sorte great number of them were in Poland, and had great power in that /40/ kingdome among those of the Roman Religion. This order of Preaching Iesuites, erected in

²⁷ The Theatines were a spiritual group of aristocratic Catholics who formed an order of clerks regular, with a uniform habit, and duties of regular prayer, worship and pastoral work. They were unrelated to the Jesuits, despite the claims of Moryson. Indeed, Ignatius Loyola wrote a critical letter to their co-founder Gian Pietro Caraffa (later Paul IV) thereby making him an enemy. See Cochrane, p. 131; Elton, p. 184, 200; Koenigsberger, p. 209.

²⁸ This is an unusual spelling of "swounding", fainting.

these latter ages, was thought to be a Piller of no lesse importance to sustayne the declyning Papacy, then the College of Cardinalls had beene in former tymes to add dignity to that Church. For as it was a Piller of no small Importance to the Popes power, that in all kingdomes the yonger brothers of Princes lords and gentlemen were Cardinalls, Abbotts, and G[.]uardians of monasteries, so it was no small support to the de[b]clyning Papacy /50/ to haue in all kingdomes this order of Iesuites, selected of the Coysest²⁹ witts, to be learned Preachers, to be practicall Confessors to Princes and Noble men, hauing in Charge to search the secreetes of the Court and cheefe Familyes, and like spies weekely to //

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advertise theire Provinciall governor of all perticular accidents, the same hauing likewise in Charge to send the most <i>mportant newes weekely to the generall of theire order at Rome, leauing nothinge vnattempted that any Politicion of ill Commonwealths would doe, so it might profitt the generall cause of the Roman Religion. And likewise to be instructors of yong Princes and gentlemen in their schooles. And lastly as the Pope writting himselfe seruant of seruants, yet vsurpes Dominion ouer kings and Emperors, so they hauing a Statute bynding them to medle

²⁹ "Choysest" meaning choicest ?

with no temporall affayres /10/ of pollicy, yet were most conversant in the publike affayres, not to preserue but rather to disturbe the States where they liued. It is not fitt to creditt all Rumors [.] yet giue me leaue to mention a vulgar Rummor in Prage while I liued there, that these Iesuites had poysoned a great person being a lutherian, lest by his grace with the Emperor he should worke any thinge against the Roman Religion, and that they left him dead with a place of scripture layd open before him, that might perswade men he killed himselfe vpon dispayre. In the foresayd College of Iesuites they had /20/ yong men called Convictors.³⁰ They had others called Semynaryes, out of which the[y] professed Iesuites were chosen, and others called Coadiutors, and lay Iesuites to be Cookes & seruants in the house.³¹ The Seminaryes, and in some cases the very professed Iesuites, might be dismissed out of the society, allwayes paying for their former dyett, All early in the morning vsed to heare a masse, and then the young schollers went to their schooles, where certayne Professors taught them the liberall sciences, and diuers tounge, espetically the Hebrew, Greeke, and latin. In the meane tyme the /30/

³⁰ From the Latin *convivere*, some who live together, or sit at table together, without being tied to all the rules of the religious house. The first example in *OED* is from Crashaw in 1647, so this is a very early use.

³¹ Out of the seminarians (those who live in a seminary) some took vows (professed), and became temporal coadjutors or helpers looking after the secular affairs of the order. *OED*

seuerall Priests of that order in their Chappell, each sayd or mumbled their masse, to which the Cittisens and straungers frequently repayred, and at last the schollers comming from the schooles came to heare the solemne masse sung at the high Alter. At table the Iesuites satt only on one syde of the table next the wall, the foresyde being empty, and each one of them had two or three pittances³² of good choyse meate in seuerall litle dishes, besydes fruite and cheese, so as eury man did eate his owne meate but at a Common table. Each man receaved his bookes, apparrell, /40/ and all necessaryes, from the Steward of the Colledge, professing in perticular not to knowe mony, and to be proud of that ignorance, while the generall treasure swelled in aboundance. The Generall of their Order abiding at Rome, hath the names of all the societie in all the Colleges of the wyde world, and he was advertised when any had sufficiently studyed, that he might giue order so to send them abrode, to labor in the Vineyard (as they tearme it) indeede to suffer all thinges yea death it selfe for the Roman Church, some being sent to the Indyes, and many /50/ into their owne Countryes of the reformed Religion, espetially into England, where their entryes into the kingdome vpon many practises of treason were made capitall. For vnder the vowe of obedience, they professe to goe the gates and very nauell of hell at their Superiors

³² From Medieval Latin, *pietantia*, a pious donation.

Commaunde. //

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The Iesuites frequently complayned, that they had no greater enemyes in the world, then some who hauing beene Convictors and Seminaryes with them, had obtayned demission, which hatred methought should not growe from any good they had seene in those Colledges. And indeede my selfe being at Prage, fell acquainted with a young Englishman, who hauing beene many yeares brought vp in the Iesuites Colledge at Vienna, had of late with great difficulty after long suite obtayned his demission. He spake much ill of the Iesuites, and particularly of that Colledge. That the /10/ letters sent to him by his frendes, and from him to his Frendes were all intercepted by the Rector. That those young schollers who subiected their bodies to pollutions, only had fauor in recreations and supply of all necessaries.³³ That one Iesuite of that Colledg had gott a Childe of a base queane,³⁴ another vsed nightly to slyde out of the windowes by a rope to danse and reuell in the Citty, and a third being an Italian had

³³ Only those who took at the least a passive part in homosexual acts, were favoured in food and necessities. *OED* Jesuits and buggery are always linked in the English Protestant mind. See Peter Lake, '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, 1986), pp. 72 - 106, (p. 75).

³⁴ Another seventeenth century word for harlot.

lately defloured a gentlemans daughter. That it was vsuall with the Iesuites to reueale confessions. That they neuer answered /20/ to the mynde of [t]him that asked a question of them, but vsed grosse collusions, like those that say, I promised to doe it, but I did not say when, and the like.³⁵ He tolde me that the very professed Iesuites might be dismissed, and freed of all their voves made, excepting that of Chastitie, which they must still keepe, being bound to enter into some other religious order, but that no<n>e of them could out of his owne will leaue the societeye. That a Seminary, scholler, or Coadiutor being dismissed, might also marry, hauing taken no vowe of any /30/ religious order. That they vsed to impose pennance for euey small fault, as publikely to sett alone at a litle table, or to sett vpon the ground in the midst of the Hall with a dish of water before him and a brickbatt in it, and priuately to whip himselfe on the backe, with the like. That demission was hardly obtayned, lest the [practi]facility in graunting should invite petitioners for it. That they forced many tymes their schollers by whipping to tell the secretes of their Familys. Finally that vnder the shape of lambes they affected to /40/ rule like lyons at home and abroade.

This young man seemed very ill affected to the Iesuites,

³⁵ As this passage makes clear, the "grosse collusions" are tricks, ambiguities in words and reasoning, equivocations. *OED* This supposed Jesuit trait is alluded to by the Porter in *Macbeth*, II. 3. 7 - 11.

yet purposed to enter some other religious order, and seemed vnremoueable from the Roman Religion.³⁶ Moreouer he lent me a booke of the Iesuites Statutes, made vnder Pope Paule the third, and Confirmed by Pope Iulius in the yeare 1550, and printed at Rome in the yeare 1570, out of which I made some notes word by word, which I thincked not amisse to add herevnto.³⁷ /50/

The first order is of the Professed, the Coadiutors and Schollers Probate or approued: <T>he second of the Professed properly, and the Coadiutors formed. The third of the most Professed. They were bound to make foure vowes of obedience to superiors, of Chastity, of Pouerty, and of going whethersoever the //

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Pope shall send them to Christians or Infidels. But the

³⁶ As a good Protestant, Moryson would know that it was his duty to convert him. This duty was taken very seriously. Thomas Coryat, the traveller, tried to do the same with the Jews of the Venetian ghetto, and had to be rescued from the enraged mob by Sir Henry Wootton, who happened to be passing in his gondola. See Coryat, I, 376.

³⁷ Moryson seems to have lighted upon the second edition of Ignatius Loyola's work translated from the Spanish into Latin by J. Polancus entitled *Constitutiones et Declarationes Examinis Societatis Jesu*, printed, as Moryson says, in Rome in 1570. The forward reads "*Hæc minima Congregatio, quæ à sede Apostolica prima sui institutione Societas IESV nominata est, primum fuit approbata per felicis memoriæ Paulum Papam III. anno 1540. & per eundem postmodum 1543. con/firmata, ac rursus per Iulium III. illius successorem anno 1550.*" sig. A2r - A2v.

Coadiutors are absolued from the fourth vowe, and the scholasticks (or Schollers) only promise to enter into the order. Those who are not yet admitted to the habitt, but are suitors for it, are called indifferent,³⁸ in which State they must remayne two yeares, and therein meditate vpon the Statutes. An Heriticke, a murtherer, a person infamous (in those partes where he is to liue, for otherwise it importes not) one bound by vowe to another Religious order, a maryed man, /10/ a seruant, a Crooked body, a person deformed, or hauing naturall infirmity, cannot be admitted to this order without the Popes spetiall dispensation. A Bastard, a man forced by extreame necessity to enter the order, one hauing a disease though Curable, and one that is Bankrowte, cannot be admitted without the permission of the Rector of that particular College. Before admission, they are bound to spirituall excercyes, as prayers, they must bring a testimony of their humility, they must serue in Almshouses, /20/ they must goe on Pilgrimage for a month without mony, and (if neede be) begg from dore to dore, they must doe the base offices of the house for a month, as serue in the kitchen, and must teach Children for a tyme, yet all this while shall not be reputed to be of the society. These thinges donn, some are admitted, some putt off, or reiected, according to their

³⁸ This is Moryson's translation of the Latin *indeterminatè*, sig. A4v. They candidates are neither fully within the Order, nor outside of it at this stage.

ability or gifts fitt for that Employment. The spirituall Coadiutors are to helpe the society in heareing Confessions. The lay or temporall Iesuites must serue /30/ in the house for Cookes, Bakers, Caters, and like offices, being thereby made partners of the good workes donne by the professed Iesuites and spirituall Coadiutors, so they doe the offices willingly and Cheerefully. These lay or temporall Coadiutors, only make [the] three first vowes, which are called simple, not solemne vowes. The scolasticke (or schollers) for two yeares are called indifferent, which tyme ended, they make the three first simple vowes, and promise to professe after they haue finished their Studyes. Notwithstanding a learned man may extre/40/ordinaryly be admitted to the second or third order, without vndergoing the former duties. When any come to the Colledge, a note is to be taken of the goodes they bring, that they may be restored, if after they be reiected or themselues shall craue demission. Demission or expulsion must not easily be graunted or inflicted, wherein the Rector of each Colledge hath power for the [E] Schollers called Indifferent, but after the vowes made only the Provinciall Gouvernor hath power therein for the Schollers, and only the Generall /50/ of that order residing at Rome hath that power for Coadiutors formed, be they spirituall or temporall. The very professed Iesuites may be dismissed or expelled in some cases, as for incurable infirmityes, of the mynde as madnes, or of the body as any Continuall disease, and for

being vnprofitable in //

{ c.w. the Vinyarde }

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in the Vinyard, or a disturber of quiet in the house. And generally, all must be dismissed or putt forth without Ignominy, and with theire goods restored, that with Comfort[h] they may take some o[r]ther course of life. By Statute each young man must haue an ellder fellowe in his Chamber, for his good example. They who perswade the young schollers from entring the profession, are to be kept from theire Conversation. The Prowde are to be excersissed in base dutyes, and each nature in thinges contrary to it. No /10/ weomen may enter the house. It is forbidden for any man to haue weopens, Musically Instrumentes, prophane bookes, or singing [book] birdes, within the Colledge. Pennance must be inioyned by the superior, publike for publike, priuate for priuate faults. Those who are more Ancient, must once a yeare doe inferior offices, for examples sake. If any one of the schollers within the two yeares will make the vowes, he may doe it priuately, writting it for his memory. Young Youthes must be trayned /20/ vp for this profession, because those of yeares are seldome so inclyned. A wax taper must be yearely Offered to the next kinsman of the benefactors, and they must be made partakers of the good workes donn in the Colledge. They must take no care of Soules, nor any guift obliging them to

singe masses for the dead, or to make Sermo[s][ns,] that their studies be not hindered, and because they must teach freely. When any of them is admitted to study the languages, he must first take an oath to defend the translation /30/ approved by the Pope of Rome. Every Confessor must have a breefe of Cases reserved, that are not in his power to absolue, and must likewise have the forme of extraordinary absolutions. Whe[n] they have finished the study of the Artes, and have spent foure yeares in the study of Diuinity, the generall of their order residing at Rome must be advertised thereof, that they may be sent into the vinyard. The Professed society is to governe the Colledge. When the bell ringes to call them, to lectures, to meate, or to bedd, they /40/ must departe without stay, leaving the word inperfect which they are writting. They must not assume to themselves any iudgment in [the] Ciuill or ecclesiasticall causes. The [Common] [Cannon] lawe, or Phisicke, must not be taught in their Colledges, at least not by Iesuites, because these studies tend not to their end.³⁹ The Rector of the Colledg shall remove the schollars from one forme to another, and shall giue them an hower of recreation after dinner. And when any have studied three yeares and a halfe in Phelosophy, or /50/ sooner if they have studied in other places, they

³⁹ Physicians were generally thought to be wanting in matters of religion, hence the implied oxymoron in the title of Sir Thomas Browne's work, *Religio Medici*.

shall Commence Masters of Arts, but without any priority of place, or any expences, because they must be //

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humble and poore. when they haue hard Diuinity foure yeares, and haue made repetition two yeares, and after finished theire disputations, they shall commence Doctors of Diuinity. They are forbidden to perswade men to giue any perpetuall Almes to the Colledg, which must only be giuen of free will, or to haue Chests in theire Churches, into which guifts may be cast, since they must be ready if neede be to begg from dore to dore. Being sent any where, they may not demaund mony for expences. They may haue /10/ no horses in the Colledge. Theire garments must be comely, but not of silkes or precious stuffes. They may not be Confessors to weomen (while they liue in the Colledge) because it is not fitt hey should take the charge of Soules, who are to be sent away into the vinyarde at their Superiors Commaund. Theire young schollers may not be admitted to visite the sicke, but only some fewe of the elder, and those chosen men, lest the sicke being weake in mynde as in body, should speake any thinge that might offende theire Con/20/scienes. They may not be suitors to the Pope to be sent to one place rather then another, but must submitt themselues simply to that Duty. They must haue with them in writing the ende why they are sent forth, and if no tyme be limited, they must stay their aboue three

monthes, and if they be commaunded to stay longer, they may make light incursions, so they retorne to their place of resedency.⁴⁰ Those that are sent forth must write all newes weekly, or if they be in other kingdomes monthely, to the Generall /30/ of their Order at Rome. They may not haue any mony layd vp by themselues, nor in the handes of their frendes. They may take no Ecclesiastcall benefice. The Rector must appoynt to euery man his Confessor. Touching the generall of their Order at Rome, euery professed Iesuite hath a voyce in his election, which must be made in the Popes Court, and he must haue that place for life, but each Provinciaall Governour hath two voyces in his election. All are bounde vpon payne of Excommunication, to make knowne any that /40/ are suitors for the place, and such may not be chosen, nor haue any voyce to chuse another. They must all be shutt vp in a Conclauē or Chamber, with bread and water, till the Election be made. The sayd Generall hath power to dismissee, remoue, or expell any of that order, to limitt the power, of Rectors in Colleges, and provinciaall Governours, to bestowe those places for three yeares, and to buy, sell, or Alienate the vnmouable or mouable goods of the Colledges. He may be deposed from being Generall, for fornication, for appropriating /50/ to himselfe the goods of the society, or <f>or heresy. And if by reason of old age, he cannot discharge the duties of

⁴⁰ Small trips away from where they were sent are permitted, as long as they return.

this place, the greater part of the Professed Iesuites, may in the Popes Court chuse his vicar to supply that defect. The Generalls Duty shalbe, not to preach but to rule the Society. These thinges hastily gathered out of the printed Statutes aforesayd, //

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I thought fitt to insert in this discourse, most of them being not vnworthy of our knowledge, and some in [my] opinion very remarkable, as namely the vniust oath taken before they are admitted to studdy languages, and the restrayning of young men to visitt the sicke, lest any speech of theires might prick their consciences, as if they feared lest the very Iesuites in tyme of death, when there is no longer tyme to dissemble, should confesse some thinges in theire life professed & donne against theire Conscience. /10/

Capt.III.

Of the Sweitzers, the Netherlanders, the Danes and the Polonians, touching Religion.

The Sweitzers were first Converted to Christian Religion Anno 55. as some write, but more fully Anno 500, And the seeme to haue beene and to be rather morally honest then superstitiously deuoute, and they are more stiffe drinckers then any nation of high Germany, from which vice frequent swearing is never parted, besyds that /20/ they and the Germans, as they thincke they abase themselues if they doe not looke bigg, so they are no mising swearers by deminitiuē oathes. And as their buylding of houses is not stately, most commonly of timber and plaster, or lowely built of vnpolished stone, so theyre Churches generally are not fayrely built in Cittyes, only that of Bern is lightsome, but of no great Capacity nor heighth, and in the scattered Cantons they are commonly buylt like lowe Barnes of vnpolished stone. It appeares by their historyes, /30/ that in the most superstitious tymes the Popes authority was nothinge so great with them, as in other places, and that when the Popes most oppressed all nations with their Rapynes, they could never drawe any treasure from them, nether did they euer serue the Popes in their warrs without large stipends duely payd, and when their seruice was most profitable to the Pope in his warr against the

French king leuis the twelfth¹ (for which seruice the Pope gaue them a Banner, with the title of defenders of the Church) the /40/ history of Guicciardine wittnesseth, that they did this seruice rather in hatred to the French king, then in obseruance to the Pope.² [Semler writeth] Semler writeth, that the Sweitzers were long oppressed vnder the yoke of Abbotts, of Colladges, [of] [and] spirituall lords, till casting off theire yoke, they redeemed their liberty by force of Armes.³ he writes, that the Emperor Frederick the second, about the yeare 1218. transfered the priuiledges of Collages to the City of Zurech, and when

¹ Louis XII (1498 - 1515).

² Their prime motive as Guiccardini explains in Book Ten of his history, is money. It is a reason which has backfired, "By reason whereof, things publike being referred to priuate profit, and fauours & voyces being made vendible and corrupted, discords by litle & litle haue bin kindled amongst themselues..." Fenton, p. 427. Moryson is alluding to the passage a little further on when these discords manifest themselves. "The Councels of these, [the francophobes] and generally, the resolution of the whole nation, albeit they were afore signified to the French king, yet they could nothing to draw them to accord with him, notwithstanding the aduise and perswasions of his Lords and wise men concurred in it..." Fenton, p. 427. The motives for Julius II's gift of a banner, and those of the Swiss for accepting it, are described in Book Eleven, "The matter that moued the Pope, was a feare he had, least *Italy* should fall into a miserable seruitude of the *Almaines & Spaniards*: and that which induced the *Swissers*, was a desire for their owne profite...he gaue them yet for their greater honour the banners of the Church, with this glorious title, to be the champions and defenders of the Ecclesiastike libertie." Fenton, p. 503. The Swiss Guard still protects the Vatican today.

³ Described as "Semler a Sweitzer Historian", in *Itinerary A*, I, 393, he does not appear in *BMGC* under that name. Perhaps he had a *nom de plume*.

the Cittisens exacted Contribution from /50/ the Priests for the fortification of the Citty, and commanded them to putt theire Concubynes out of theire howses, that they offended therewith drewe themselues out of the Citty, till the Bishop of Costnetz reconciled

Booke III[I] of [Bohemia] [Sweitzers] touching Religion Capt III. fol.339.

them: He writes that in the tyme of the Emperor Lodwicke of Bauaria,⁴ about the yeare 1330, the Citty Zurech falling from the frendship & league with the house of Austria, was excommunicated by the Pope, and for eight yeares space wanted Ecclesiasticall communion, and the vseiall ceremonyes of the Roman Church, in which tyme many of the Priests left the Citty, and those that remayned refusing to administer diuine seruice to the Cittisens, were by them driven out, and only the Franciscan Fryers going /10/ out at one gate, returned at another into the Citty, and abode with them. He writes, that the Abbott of St Gallus about the yeare 1425, procured the Cittizens of Abbatiscella to be proscribed by the Emperor, and excommunicated by the Pope, and that the Cittizens feareing no danger from the Emperor, made a Common decree against the validity of the Popes Excommunication, which being obserued notwithstanding by the Papists, who refused to administer diuine seruice to

⁴ Louis of Bavaria was the disputed Holy Roman Emperor Louis IV (1313 - 1347) who was supported by the Swiss cantons against the Hapsburg contender, Frederick. Waley, pp. 80 - 81, 87.

them, they killed some of the Priests, and droue the rest out /20/ of theire teritorye. He writes, that six Cantons, Zurech, lucerna, Vria, Suitia, Vnderualdia and Tugium,⁵ made a decree in the yeare 1370, that Priests dwelling with them, should vse no forayne Iudgment Ciuill or Ecclesiasticall against any man, and that any so doing, should not be receaved into the publike Protection, or to dwell with them, till they should renounce all forayne iudgments, and should restore all damages⁶ to those they had trobled in that kynde. And that the xiiij Cantons by Common consent made a decree in the yeare /30/ 1520 against Roman Courtiers selling ecclesiasticall Benefices, who trobled Priests for offences, and invaded vacant benefices by vertue of the Popes Bulls, namely that if they should plead the right of those Bulls, they should be cast into prison, and if they would not renounce them, should be drowned in the water, that so bubles might be washed away with bubles.

About the tyme of my being in those partes, the Cantons of Sweitzerland, though differing in religion [of] /40/ [S] yet by great vnanimity by mutuall loue, and by inviolable observation of theire leagues, constantly governed theire

⁵ Zurich, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug.

⁶ An obsolete form of "damage". *OED*

Commonwealth in the old viger,¹ and it seemed to me a wonderfull effect, ether of their wise government or their naturall disposition, or both Concurring, that the men of diuers Religions vsed such patience and Charity one towards the other, as in many places one Church serued both the Caluinists (as they are tearmed) and the Papists for the exercise of their Religion, one staying till /50/ the other had finished their seruice, and so left the Church to their vse: and that they were neuer seene to haue any priuate quarrells, much lesse could be drawne to Ciuill warrs for the cause of Religion. Luther begann to preach the Reformation of Religion in Germany about the yeare 1517, and after a yeare or two zwinglius began to preach the same Reformation in zurech one of the cheefe Cantons, which together with other Cantons established // { c.w. that reformation }

fol.340. Booke of Sweitzers touching Religion Chapt III that Reformation, differing from the other of Luther in some poynts, as mantayning the spirituall not orall or corporall eating of Christ in the Eucharist the taking away Images out of the Churches (which Luther preserued, only taking them out of the heart by teaching they are not to be

¹ OED uses this passage to illustrate Sense 5 of "vigour", "Strong and energetic action, esp. in administration and government...Freq. implying some degree of severity or rigour." From the Latin noun *vigor*, meaning energy or strength, it can also imply the sense of flourishing, so I would interpret this phrase as "...the Swiss still governed their state in its customary rigour, strength and success..."

worshipped) the abolishing all Roman Ceremonyes, and the Crosse and exorcisme in Baptisme, with diuers other differences of doctrines, all which I haue particularly sett downe formerly treating of the Germans Religion. And hence came /10/ the name of the lutherans, and of the Zwinglians, which after were more Commonly called Caluinists, because zwinglius shortly after dyed; and Caluin a famous preacher of Geneua, did powerfully spreade the same doctryne. Zwinglius I say shortly after dyed, in a battayle fought betweene Berna and lucerna. For the Sweitzers haue a Custome to lead theire Pastors and ministers forth with theire Armyes, espetially in causes of Religion, which they perswading to be iust and honest, should /20/ discourage the Cittisens from fighting, if they should withdraw themselues from the Common daungers. The Cantons are thirteene in number, thus reckned in theire order of Antiquity or dignity. I. zurech, 2. Bern, 3. Lucerna, 4 Vria. 5 Schweiz 6. vndervald 7. Tugium vulgarly zuge (Called the ould seuen Cantons) 8 Glarona. 9 Solothurne. 10. Basill. 11. Friburg. 12. Schafhuse, 13. Abbatiscella⁸ whereof fyue, Lucerna, Vrania, Suitia, Vndervaldia, and Tugium, retayned the doctryne and ceremonies /30/ of the Roman Church, and are more strictly combined in priuate frendship (perhaps league allso) and since the Cantons according to theire seuerall and generall

⁸ Glarus, Soluthurn, Basle, Fribourg and Schaffhausen, Appenzell.

leagues, haue generall and priuate meetinges, these fyue meete more frequently then the rest, and haue a peculiar Senate by themselues.⁹ Also the two Cantons of Friburg and Solothurn, being Cittyes [with] their territories, are of the same Roman Religion and sometymes are called to the meetings of the sayd fyue Cantons, and these seuen are commonly /40/ called the Catholike Cantons since in our age the Papists will only be called Catholikes. And Roman Catholikes lett them be (tying vniversality to one priuate place, as they still worke wonders).¹⁰ Foure principall Cantons Zurech Bern, Basill, and Schafhouse, rich Cittyes with large territoryes, forsooke the Roman Church, and imbraced the reformed Religion at the first preaching of reformation, and these sometymes haue their peculiar meetings, besydes the publike, but not so frequently as the former. There /50/ remayne two Cantons Glarona and Abbatiscella, whereof many at the first and since all haue imbraced the reformed Religion, which also hath many wellwillers in the Catholike Cantons, since in all Sweitzerland, there is great liberty of Conscience, and incredible vnanimity euen among those of different Religion

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Booke III of Sweitzers touching Religion Capt.III. fol 341.

⁹ Their own Senate, peculiar or restricted to them.

¹⁰ Moryson is mocking the catholic, that is universal, aspirations of the Papists, who have achieved a miracle, being, at one and the same time, Roman, and universal. See *OED* for the etymology of "catholic".

Thus of the Cantons seuen remayned Papists and six were of the reformed Religion, yet the Papists were not fully a third parte being not so populous as the other, and they for the most part dwelling in scattering vallages towardes the heigest Alpes were reputed more warlike, but poweer then the other, who dwelling in fayre Cittyes fertill territoryes were reputed more populous and wealthy. For zurech Basill and Schafhouse, each Citty hath a peculiar Consistory in which matrimoniall Causes, and other formerly belonging to the Bishopps /10/ Iurisdiction, are handled, they not thincking fitt to subiect the people to the Courtes of Bishops [re]remayning Papists, and esteeming them heritikes. The Iudges of these Consistoryes were chosen out of both Senates of each Citty,, with some ministers or Pastors to assist them, only at Schafhouse they had a Doctor of the Ciuill lawe and some learned men, to assist in place of the ministers, And these not only determined matrimoniall and like causes, but exercised disciplyne for manners and life, as the punishing of fornication and all licentious Actions, /20/ At Zurech they had a Treasurer for the Reuenneues of the Church, more spetially of the Monnasteryes, who yearely payed the ministers stipendes, repayred the Churches, and distributed large [1] releefe to the poore, and layd vp the rest for publike necessityes, whereby in tymes of fanyne the poore haue often beene releued with Corne, bought before hand and layd vp by the Treasurer for that purpose. And indeede

the Sweitzers in generall, haue spetiall care for the well ordering, of Almes, of Schooles, of Monasteryes Rents, and of Hospitalls, /30/ chusing magistrates yearely to governe these Reueneues, and to haue spetiall care of the poore, so as they hauing great Reuennues by the Monasteryes, converted [for] [from] the releefe of Monkes to better vses, and many large hospitalls, giue to the poore such large Almes, aswell to the Cittyes as in the territoryes, as they should not be forced to begg from dore to dore, or from village to village. Yet I must professe, that I obserued this to haue bene more providently and carefully performed, in Zurech and the Reformed Cantons, likewise at Bern /40/ they had a Consistory, which iudged matrimoniall causes, censured manners and liues, and exercised Ecclesiasticall disciplyne, and this Court had eight Iudges, two chosen out of the lesser Senate (whereof one each month in cou[r]se was President of the Court) and two of the ministers or Pastors of the Church, and foure Cittisens chosen out of the greater Senate, all chosen for halfe a yeare, so as the Iudges were changed twice in the yeare, and they did sett in Iudgment thrise euery weeke. The Cantons of Lucerna Friburg and Solothurne /50/ being Papists, haue no Consistoryes, but subiect themselues to the Iurisdiction of their Bishops, and pleade their causes of that nature in their Consistoryes. These three Ioyne, with Bern of the reformed Religion, to Celebrate twice in the yeare soleme Procession //

fol.342. Booke III. of Sweitzers touching Religion Capt III through the streetes of the Citty, with thancksgiuing for the victoryes their Ancestors obtayned against Charles Duke of Burgundy.¹¹ The foure Cantons, Vria, Suitia, Vndervaldia, and Tugium (vulgarly Zug) being Papists, and two Cantons Glarona and Abbatiscella being of the reformed Religion all dwelling in villages, (([and] [for] howsoever zug be a towne, yet the government of the Canton is not in the handes of the townesmen, but of the Country people) these haue no Consistoryes, for the Papists pleade Causes of that /10/ nature in the Courtes of their Bishops, and the two reformed cantons vsed the Consistorye of Zurech. Generally in Sweitzerland, Adulteryes are punished by the Senate at home, and sometymes matrimoniall Causes are determined in the publike assembly of the whole Countrye, wherein of late, since the difference of Religion grewe among them, they haue made a publike decree, that spirituall kindred, which the Cannonists say is contracted in baptisme, shalbe no Impediment to marryage. For a Controversy in this point /20/ arising among them, the people vnderstanding that the Pope for mony vsed to giue such presons lycences to marry,¹² made a decree, that if it

¹¹ Known as Charles *le téméraire*, the Rash, or the Bold (depending upon the view that is taken of his actions), Duke of Burgundy (1466 - 1477), he was decisively beaten by the Swiss pikemen in the battles of Granson and Morat, 1476. Waley, p. 90.

¹² Hughes amends to "...persons lycences to marry", p. 280.

were lawfull to rich men for mony, it should also be lawfull to the poore without mony. whereby appears that the Cantons being Papists, yet obey the Pope no further then they thincke reasonable. In generall all the Cantons, aswell Papists as reformed Ioyne together in keepinge festiuall dayes, and walking with soleme Procession, ouer the places /30/ wherein their Ancestors haue fought battayles, wherein the Papists Priests goe first singing after their manner, followed by the reformed ministers, then by the people in ordor, the cheefe men each leading some honorable straunger with him, and lastly by the flocke of weomen and when they come to the place of battayle, the Ensignes stand still at each stone erected for memorye, where all pray vpon their knees, and at the sixt sone¹³ the history of the fight is recited, the /40/ Papists giuing thanckes aswell to the Virgin Mary and to their tutelur Saynts Fredoline and Hillary, as to God, but the Reformed only to God. In the same place a sermon is made one yeare by a [Priest] Papist Priest, the next yeare by the reformed minister of Glaronia, and so yearely in Course. The sermond ended, they goe forwarde to the eleuenth stone, where they of the reformed Religion goe home, but the Papists goe to the Church, [and] and hauing sung a masse for /50/ those that dyed in that fyght, they feast the clargy and strangers at the publike charge, and

¹³ Stone? Hughes omits the word altogether, p. 280.

after //

Booke III of Sweitzers touching Religion Capt.III fol.343
dinner retorne home following theire Priests singing, and
theire banner with the Images of the Crucifix. The Citty of
[Sant]Galla¹⁴ leagued with the Cantons and being of the
reformed Religion, hath a Consistory, Consisting of eight
Iudges, namely foure ministers or Pastors, or learned in
the Ciuill lawe, and two Cittisens of the lesse Senate, and
two of the greater Senate, and a nynth person chosen out of
the lesser Senate to be President of that Court, whose
voyce or Consent swayes /10/ any cause, if the voyces be
equall. This Court determynes all Matrimoniall and like
causes, nether is it lawfull to appeale from the Iudgment
thereof, and in difficulte Controversyes, and in
matrimoniall cases which haue relation to the policy of the
State, the cause is referred to the Senate, or these Iudges
aduise with the Senate and with learned men about the
determination thereof. The Rätians¹⁵ a populous nation
inhabiting large territoryes vpon the highest Alpes, /20/
bordering on lumbardy towards the north, are likewise
Confederate with all the Cantons, being almost all (or more
then two third parts) of the reformed Religion after the
Doctryne of Caluin, They are diuided into thee leagues. The
Citty Chur is the head of the Cathedrall league, and

¹⁴ St. Gall.

¹⁵ From *Rhætia*, the classical name for this area ?

therein the lesser Senate Iudgeth matrimoniall, and like causes, By Common consent of all the leagues it is decreed, that the Bishop of Chur or any Ecclesiasticall person shall not appoynt any Ciuill magistrate, /30/ but that the people shall chuse them by voyces, and if any obtayne an office from the Bishop, so long as they serue him they may not be of the Senate or come to any publike assembly. The Parishes chuse theire owne ministers or [persons] [pastors], may despose them, and pay them theire stipends, which in most places are very smalle, for ingenerall the Rætians (whome the Italians call Grisons) pay no small tythes, and pay the great tythes not in the fielde but after the Corne is gathered and the wyne brought /40/ home, paying then only the fiftenth parte.¹⁶ The towne Biennia or Bipennium hath league with three of the Cantons, and in temporall thinges is subiect to the Bishop of Basill, but the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction belonged to the Diocese of lausanna.¹⁷ Now it hath cast off the Papall yoke and spirituall commaund of the Bishop, and hath the Church Reformed by the example of Bern and zurech, after the doctryne of Caluin. The Citty Geneua hath for many ages kept frenship with the Cantons, and sometymes hath /50/ made leagues with some of them for certayne yeares, and now at last hath made a firme and perpetuall league with the Canton of Bern. This Citty,

¹⁶ This compares with the tithe, or tenth part, common nearly everywhere else, including England.

¹⁷ Lucerne.

through the ambition of the Duke of Savoy vnder pretext of Religion, hath [beene] [often] suffered great euills,¹⁸ and hath //

{ c.w. Long beene }

fol.344. Booke III. of Sweitzers touching Religion Capt III.

long beene famous, for zeale to the reformed Religion, and by their learned Pastors Iohn Calvin and his successor Theodore Beza (of happy memory)¹⁹ To conclude, the preaching of the Gospell hath now for many yeares entred into the very Italian præfectures²⁰ vnder the Sweitzers Commaund, wherein many at this day liue zealously affected to the reformed Religion, though oppressed by the neere tyrannye of the Pope. Among the rest, a great number of the Cittisens of Locarna²¹ Imbraced /10/ the reformed Religion from the yeare 1542 to the yeare 1554, but the yeare following the cheefe lords and Cittisens in great parte of

¹⁸ Moryson is probably referring to the *escalade* of 1602, when Charles Emanuel attempted to capture the city. Parker, p. 124.

¹⁹ Moryson had a personal memory of him from 1595 when he visited him in Geneva. Moryson was so rapt in conversation with him, that he automatically reached for what he assumed to be the holy water. It was the poor-box. Beza seeing this "...did soone perceive my errour, and taking me by the hand, advised me hereafter to eschew these ill customes, which were so hardly forgotten." *Itinerary A*, I, 390.

²⁰ Moryson may be having the classical districts in mind rather than the modern. The word is of Latin origin, from *præfectura*. *OED*

²¹ Locarno.

that Citty, drove at least thirty Familyes of the reformed Religion into banishment, whereof some were noble, some Ignoble, some learned, some vnlearned, some rich some poore, some of age some Children, some Infants, some husbands without their wiues, some wiues without their husbands, some Fathers without their Children, some Children Leauing /20/ their Parents behynde them, and many of these were gently receaued into the Citty of Zurech, and Charitably releued, so as some of them were made Cittisens, and other had Pentions of the publike treasure. And in like sorte the Cantons of Bern and of Bassill at that tyme releued many of them of the poorer sorte with great Charity.

{ m.n. 29. Oof Netherland. }

Touching Netherland, Marcantius writeth that Flaunders giuing the name of Flemings to all the /30/ Netherlanders, was first Converted to Christian Religion about the yeare 630 hauing had some light thereof about some 100 yeares before, but it was cleane extinguished.²² He shewes they had stately Churches, beautified with rich ornaments, great and rich Abbies, monasteryes, and Nonneryes, and that the Ecclesiasticall dignities were many and great, and that the persons capable of them were named by the Earles, and

²² The author to whom Moryson refers is Jacobus Marchantius of Furnes, and in particular his *J. Marchantii Flandria commentariorum Lib. IIII. descripta, in quibus de Flandriæ origine, commoditatibus, oppidis, castellaniis, ordinibus, magistratibus indigenisque...aliisque memorabilibus...tractur* (Antwerp, 1596). BMGC.

confirmed by the Popes. For their Religion was first established after /40/ the Roman rites, when the Popes had great opinion of holines, but had not yet built their hiera[r]chie of spirituall much lesse of temporall power, into which they first intruded some hundreth yeares after, daily increasing the same, Generally the Netherlanders began to imbrace the Reformation of Religion, presently after luther preached and it much increased all the tyme of the Emperor Charles the fyfth, but began to be persecuted first in the tyme of his sonne Phillip king of /50/ Spayne. In Flaunders and the Provinces helde²³ to this day by the king of Spayne, after Cruell persecutions it was wholly extinguished by the bloody Inquesition, first invented in Spayne against the Mores and Iewes, professing // Booke III. of [Sweitzers] [Netherland] touching Religion Capt III. fol.345

Christianity, and retayning their old Religion, and was about this tyme brought into Netherland to oppresse the Reformation of Christian Religion, which from that tyme was only established in the vnited Prouinces, combined to defend their liberty and the Reformed Religion against the power of Spayne [we] whereof alone my purpose is to speake, namely of Religion, as it was established in the vnited

²³ The complete Dutch sections of Moryson's work were published by J. N. Jacobsen Jensen, 'Moryson's Reis Door En Zijn Karakteristiek van de Nederlanden', in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, XXXIX, (1918), 214 - 305, referred to hereafter as Jensen. Missing the ligature, he transcribes "hede" here, p. 281.

Provinces at the tyme when I passed through those Countryes. The Church therein was reformed after the doctryne /10/ of Caluin, and only the publike exercise of that Religion was permitted, but they had liberty of Conscience, and were for priuate opinions deuided into many sects, no lesse then Morauia, Bohemia, and Emden in Germany whereof I haue spoken. Great part of the States and cheefe men were thought to be Papists or Sectaryes²⁴ in hart, but most of the people and the banished men of Flaunders and Brabant, were reported sincere in the Reformed Religion. Some villages then would not admitt the reformed ministers, and had theire /20/ masses, but without publike authority and in priuate houses. For if any were apprehended at masse theire vpper garments were taken from them, or some like but no heauy punishment inflicted on them. There was no speech of Iesuites or Roman Priests, that much afflicted other Reformed States at the tyme, perhaps because marchants governing the Commonwealth (as I haue noted writing of the City of Augsburg in Germany) haue Commonly more care to preserue traffique then Religion, and so being thought to make /30/ the warr against Spayne rather for liberty then Religion, these Priests iudged theire practises lesse necessarye in those Countryes, or ells because Commonwealthes haue[ing] more heades then one, are more safe then monarchies from like practises. They had

²⁴ Protestant dissenters usually of the more radical type.

fayre larg churches, built of bricke, without any beauty on the insyde, or so much as fayre seates, the weomen bringing stooles and formes being sett about the Pulpitt in the naked body of the Church. Midleburg²⁵ a great Citty had but two churches, and other great Cittyes had /40/ but one or two churches, which of old perhaps might suffice, but now since the decay of Antwerp [the people] are infinitely increased by straungers and the banished men of Flaunders and Brabant, dwelling there for traffique and liberty of Conscience. Yet were those Churches seldome full, for very many Sectaryes, and more marchants praeferring gayne to the dutyes of Religion, seldome came to Church, so as in Leyden a populous Citty, I often obserued at tymes of diuine seruice, much more people to be in the markett place then in the Church. In their shippes /50/ at home, (what soeuer they doe in long Iorneyes) I often obserued in those passages frequent euen vpon Sondayes, that they often sung Psalmes, but neuer sayd publike prayers. In their Churches they had every second day one, and vpon sundayes foure sermons. The Organs were playd on every day at foure of the Clocke in the afternoone, and certaine Antomes were sung,²⁶ at which tyme many resorted to the Church rather for // fol.346. Booke III. of [Sweitzers][Netherland] touching Religion. Capt III.

²⁵ Middelburg.

²⁶ Anthems.

recreation, then Deuotion, and then I obserued many with wax Candles mumbling their prayers silently after the Papists manner, talking and praying both together, likewise some marryages were Celebrated after the Papists rites, yet not in the Church, but in the Senate house. All Cittyes had publike Gasthouses or hospitalls,²⁷ where the sick needy and naked were releued with great clenlynes and bountifull charity, which then in tyme of warr turned to the great [greefe][Releefe] of their Army, aswell for the /10/ diseased as the wounded men thereof, not to speake of the Common pleasure these Gasthouses yeald to all the Cittisens, for their meetings, walkes, and recreations.²⁸ The rents of ruined monasteryes are applied to godly vses as the mantayning of ministers in the Country and Cittyes, and of Professors and Schollors in the vniversityes. At Regenspurg,²⁹ where the Earles of Holland were wont to be buyried,³⁰ not farr distant from leyden, there was of old a fayre and rich Nonnery, but the States of Holland giuing the last Abbesse fyue thousand /20/ Guldens, and each Nonne

²⁷ *Gasthuis* is Dutch for hospital.

²⁸ Moryson would probably know about this from his younger brother, Richard, some of whose military postings were in the Netherlands. On 26 September 1598, Richard's footband of one hundred and fifty men at Flushing were to be paid by the Estates of Holland. See *The De L'Isle and Dudley Manuscripts*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 77, 3 vols (London, 1936), III, lxxvi.

²⁹ Rijnsburg.

³⁰ Jensen has "bigried", p. 283, which makes no sense.

fyue hundreth Guldens in mony, and seuerall Pensions for life, did appropriate the rents therof to the Common Treasure.³¹ And in the way from leyden to harlam, I obserued Bills sett vpon posts, to publish the sale of Abbie landes, to establish a more certayne Reuennue against all doubtfull euent of the warr, for the maintenance of the Professors and poore schollers in the vniversity of leyden. Likewise I obserued at Bergenapzone,³² the rents of a Nonnery to be confiscated, the present /30/ Nonnes hauing only Pensions for life. The ministers of the reformed Religion liued not vpon [th] tythes but vpon stipends in mony, and two of the cheefe ministers, one of the Flemish the other of the French Church at the Hage, had about foure skore poundes sterling each of them yearely for their stipends. Each reformed Church vsed to send, a Superendant chosen of purpose, to the Synods of Provinces or Cittyes. In marryages, the Flemings, after the reformation of Caluin, did pledge their mutuall Fayth by shaking /40/ of handes,³³ as the English doe by giuing of a Ringe, At Baptisme, the minister did reade in the Pulpitt, and the Deacon standing belowe, did sprinckle the Infant with water, and gaue the benidiction to it. Assoone

³¹ Moryson writes that a Gulden of the Low Countries was worth "two shillings English", *Itinerary A, I, xxiv*. Thus the abess received £500, and the nuns about £50.

³² Bergen - op - Zoom.

³³ This is proof, if any were needed, that marriage was, above all, a contract in this period.

as the Preaching minister entred into the Church, I obserued him that did reade prayers to finish them abruptly, as if he brought better thinges, or it were vnseemely that he should attend and ioyne with the rest in the Common Prayers. And after that tyme I obserued in England the same superstitious neglect of Common prayer, and /50/ excessiue valuation of Preaching, to haue infected some places among vs. The ministers preach bare headed, and the Officers gather publike Almes with the sound of a litle bell as in Germany, among //

{ c.w. the Flemings }

Booke III. [of Sweitzers [Netherland]] [of the D<a>nes] touching Religion Capt III fol 347.

The Flemings in the Church during the tyme of the Sermon, and among the French after at the Church dore. In the French Church of those partes, I obserued in the manner of communicating the Sacrament of our lords last Supper: that each one who purposed to receave the same, did the day before the Communion, take a token from the minister and Elders, that he or shee was admitted to that table, which token the next day they restored when they approached to the Table, then that they all satt downe at the table to receave the Sacrament, as wee sett at our /10/ tables to eate Common meate, the minister setting in the midst of the table, first receaving himselfe, and then giuing both kyndes to the person setting ouer against him, and to two sitting next on each syde of him, which donne, the minister

putt downe the bread and the Cupp and each person tooke them in order for themselues, without the ministers deliuey thereof, the vpper still putting them downe to those that did sett vnder them (which I thought straung as differing from our lordes first institution. /20/

{ m.n. 21 - 23. Of the Danes. }

Touching the Danes they were Converted to the Christian Religion in the tyme of the Apostles as some write but after more fully Anno. 560. and agayne more fully Anno. 940. and lastly most fully Anno 1012. And the whole kingdome, consisting of diuers Ilandes together with the German Provinces of Holsatia and Ditmartia³⁴ therevnto annexed, did imbrace the reformed Religion within fewe yeares after luther began to preach, namely a litle after the yeare 1534., vnder the Raignes of king Fredericke the first and Christierne the third. As they are not hott/30/spirited in causes of Religion, so they hold to one publike professor³⁵ therof, without any diuision into sects and opinions, and though they drinke in as great excesse as the Saxons of Germany, yet I did not obserue swearing so frequent among them. The Churches which I did see were fayrely built of free stone, and lightsome, but were not so beautifull on the insyde with paynted roofes and Images,

³⁴ Holstein and Ditmarsh.

³⁵ Profession?

and carved workes, as those of the bordering Cittyes in Germany. All the kingdome was reformed after the doctryne of luther, and vsed /40/ the sane³⁶ Ceremonyes, as frequent[ing singing] [signing] themselues with the Crosse, and burning tapers of wax in the tyme of receauing the Sacrament of our lords Supper, the wearing of Coapes and Surplices at that tyme, and the like. In diuine seruice the Gospell and all the prayers and most of the songs were in the vulgar tounge, the Organs played at the tyme of singing, the publike Almes was gathered in the tyme of the Sermon which being ended, the minister putt on his Coape and surplice, and going to the Alter where the tapers were then /50/ lighted, first he did reade the scripture of the Institution of our lords Supper, and then receaved that Sacrament himselfe, and after the people by dossens or like numbers came vp, and kneeling at the Alter receaved the same, and then giuing place to others, retorning to their seates, //

{ c.w. the Organs }

fol.348. Booke III. of [Sweitzers] [the Danes] touching Religion. Capt. III.

the [S]organs playing all the tyme of the receaving. One of the ministers gaue the bread, being of litle wafers or suger plates layde in a gilded sawcer, and another minister gaue the Cupp with [white] Rhenish wyne, (perhaps

³⁶ Same ?

because they had no red wyne) After the Communion a short benidiction was sung in vulgar prose, and so the seruice being ended, the wax tapers were extinguished. The ministers in villages liued of tythes and offeringes, but in the Cittyes of yearely stipends in mony, and offeringes made thrise in the yeare, and of certayne landes belonging to them for /10/ life, and so to their successors for euer. For King Christiern the third, out of the confiscated Rents of the Church, gaue each Superintendent (or cheefe minister seruing in the place of a Bishopp) Certayne landes for life, to mantayne his dignity and make him able to releee the poore. Before the Reformation of Religion, each Iland [had] had his Bishopp, but now Superintendants were in their places, with a small portion of land, the rest being in the kings hands, who gaue the Custody of the Bishoppes seates and landes to some of the cheife /20/ nobility, At Roschild,³⁷ of old the seate of a Bishopp, but not walled and rather deseruing the name of a pleasant village then a Cittye, the Chanons were gentlemen, but all of the reformed Religion (the Papist being banished) and these at sett howers of the day did meete at prayers and singing of Psalmes, being learned men, & receaving these places of the kings giift, but otherwise they liued after the manner and in the habitt of gentlemen.

³⁷ Roskilde.

{ m.n. 29. Of Poland }

Touching the kingdome of Poland, it was first converted to Christianity in the yeare 965. (others write 975.³⁸ and /30/ when luther first preached the reformation of Religion some of the great men in Poland (for the Palatines and gentlemen though subiect to a king yet are absolute lordes hauing power of life and death within their territories) did ioyn with the Princes of Germany in their protestations for reformation of Religion, but it was more fully reformed in Poland the yeare of our lord 1567.³⁹ The nation is reputed very superstitious in their deuotions, and I haue seene the Papist among them adore the Crucifix with their bodies prostrate /40/ on the earth, and when they rose vp not only to signe their faces and brests but their very hinder partes with the signe of the Crosse. At Cracovia (vulgarly Crakaw) the cheefe City of Poland, they permitted the Stewes as it is permitted in the Cittyes of Italy, and each hore payde weekely eight Grosh to the high marshall of the kingdome.⁴⁰ They are great drinckers, and

³⁸ Mieszko converted to Christianity in 966, and became recognised by the Emperor Otto I as Duke of Poland. Zamoyski, p. 10.

³⁹ I can see no reason why Moryson chooses this particular date.

⁴⁰ In Protestant minds, prostitution and Catholicism go together. Seventy grosch make a gold Polish ducat, which was worth about five to six shillings, depending on the exchanges and the English recoinage (weights were changed in 1604 and 1619) so it is about sixpence a week, which was quite a sum for those days. See *Itinerary A*, II, 153.

verye quarrellsome in drincke, often breaking into shedding of blood, yea into murthers. No people in the world are so much infected with variety of opinions in /50/ Religion. Insomuch as it is proverbially sayd that if any man haue lost his Religion, he may fynde it in Poland, if it be not vanished out of the world.⁴¹ Generally the Iewes swarme in all [places] partes of the kingdome, every great man vsing one or more of them to rayse his rents and profitts, in which kynde they are notable extortioners, and // Booke III. of [Sweitzers] [Poland] touching Religion Capt III. fol 349.

many of the people were thought not to be free from the opinions of theire Religion. The king, the Queene, the great Chancelor Zamosky vpon the confynes of Hungary and the greatest parte generally of the nobility, and of the people retayned the Roman Religion. Among them the Iesuites swarmed, and had many Colledges wherein they brought vp the Children of the nobilitie, no kingdome hauing more of that order, then Poland had. In the harte of the kingdome many of the nobility were reformed after the doctryne of Caluin, whereof the Palatine of Rava⁴² /10/ one of the 12 Palatines of the kingdome, was cheefe in name and power. yea though all Religions had liberty of Conscience, yet that profession only had a Church allowed in the Cheefe Citty of

⁴¹ This proverb is not in Tilley.

⁴² Rawa. See the list of the Polish Senate in session in Zamoycki, p. 97.

Crakow, which Church notwithstanding some six monthes before my passing that way, was burned and pulled downe by the Papists in the drunknen tyme of Shroftide, and then did lye wast, but they were confident to haue the Church and all Damages restored at the next generall assembly of the States.⁴³ In Prussen, the free Citties Dantzke and Melvin with theire /20/ territories were parte lutherans, part Caluinists and the Dukdome of konigsperg (being as the sayd Citties tributarye to the kingdome of Poland) was wholly reformed after the doctryne of luther but in the part of the Province then subiect to Poland, the Roman Religion and the Reformation of luther and of Calvin, were professed with free libertie, but most of them were lutherans, as like wise in the Province of Massouia next adioyning and in those partes the Cloysters of monkes and Nonnes still remayned At my being in those partes, the king and Queene of Poland /30/ lying at Dantzke to expect a passage by sea into theire kingdome of Suetia, and there seeing some fayre Images broken downe and cast asyde, requested the guift of them from the Cittisens, and hauing obtayned them, did presently sett them vp and worshipped them in theire sight

⁴³ Moryson passed through Poland on his way to winter at Padua in September and October 1593. See *Itinerary A*, I, 133 - 138, so the outrages had occurred earlier that year. The Polish constitution and the *Acta Henricana* guaranteed religious freedom. However, Sigismund III did all he could to promote Catholicism, including only promoting Catholics. In 1592 he had to apologize to his subjects at the *Seym* or Parliament for infringing their religious and constitutional rights. See Zamoyski, p. 126 - 143.

vpon theire knees.⁴⁴ Vpon the confines of Moscovy towards
the North, besydes all the fore named Religions, [as vpon]
many imbraced theire doctryne of the Greeke Church, as vpon
the Confines of Tartarye towards the East, many were
infected with diuers superstitions of theire /40/
neighbors.

⁴⁴ This wonderful image of quixotism fits the character
and reign of Sigismund III. Nevertheless, the Catholic
Reformation met great success in Poland, partly due to
Sigismund himself.

Chapter.IIIII.

Of the Turkes Religion.

In the Commonwealth of Turkey I haue written of their Ciuill lawes, the Iudges thereof and the Courtes of Iustice (vulgarly called Diuan) the cheefe Court being at Constantinople, (where the seuen Viseres liue as the Counsell of State, the cheefe Priest called Mofty being as the President, whose oracle swayes all causes) the other Courtes of Iustice being in the seuerall houses of the Bashaes and Gouvernors /50/ of Prouinces and Citties. And I haue shewed that the Ciuill lawes were giuen by Mahomett, for the most parte drawne out of the maximes of his Religion, whereof one is, not to doe any thinge to another which a man woulde not haue done to himselfe. In like sorte they haue their Religion from Mahomett, whose base beginning, and growing to such reputation as he had power to plant his lawes of policye and Religion among them. I thincke necessary breiefely //

fol.350. of Turkey touching Religion Chapt.IIIII

to sett downe Mahomett an Arabian was borne some say in the yeare 597, some say 551, (but nether well agrees to the tyme of the Alcorans diuulging. No doubt he liued in the tyme of Heraclius Emperor of the Christians in the East,

abut the yeare of our lord. 600.¹ and had a Pagon to his Father, [am] an Ismalite (some say a Iewe) to his mother, and perswaded by his parents to theire seuerall Religions, he imbraced nether, Being taken prisoner by [by] Saracen theiues, he was solde for a slaue to an Ishmalite marchant, who imployed him in his traffique, and so goning² from /10/ Citty to Citty with his laden Cammells, and conuersing with Iewes and Christians, he learned of them diuers interpretations of the scriptures. At last suspected of his master for fraude, he ranne away, and liuing vpon spoyle, by his strong body and firce countenance, drewe many barbarous Arabians of like condition to followe him. Then his master dying, he marryed his widowe of fyfty yeares age, and by her wealth, by fayning visions from heauen, and espetially that by those visions he was commaunded to giue liberty to slaues, he greatly increased his followers of that kynde, and by the /20/ aduise of Sergius a Nestorian Monke,³ at last gayned the reputation of a Prophett among

¹ Heraclius was Byzantine Emperor from 610 - 641. "Mehemet viuoit en lan six cens vingt, au temps de Lempereur Heraclius..." Geuffroy, sig. Elv.

² "Gaining" ?

³ Once Christianity had become a State Religion, there were a series of Councils to determine what orthodoxy was, and by that definition, what was heresy. Nestorianism was one of these early heresies that held that Christ had two distinct natures. The Virgin Mary was the mother of the human Christ, God the Father of the divine nature in Christ. See Davis, p. 64n.

them. By drunkenesse he got the falling sicknes,⁴ which infirmities he fayned to be transces, vpon the appearing of the Angell Gabrill, whose brightnes he could not beare. He trayned vp a dove to pecke Corne out of his eares, and sayd it was the holy ghost, likewise he trayned vp a Bull to feede at his hand. His wife dying, and he being heyre of her goods, by the aduise of the foresayd Sergius and some Iewes, he compiled about the yeare 622. the Alcaron (so the booke of his Religion is called). While /30/ he was preaching to his people, the foresayd Doue came flying to his eare with a writing about her necke in golden letters, that he should be made king of that people who should putt the yoke about a Bulls neck, and presently the foresayd Bull kept hungrie, came running to him for meate, with the foresayd Alcoran tyed about his necke, of which booke, as sent from heauen, he did reade and expounde some chapters to the Arabians his followers, and then putting a yoke about the Bulls necke, was vpon these Miracles saluted king by the people, and after reputed Gods Prophett. This /40/ Alcaron is written in Arabian verse, & being translated into the latin in the Christian Councell of Constantia was first printed and knowne in Europe.⁵ The Sarcines seruing

⁴ "The English expression for epilepsy after the Latin *morbus caducus*." OED

⁵ The Clunaic monk Robert of Ketton first translated parts of the Koran into Latin in 1143, long before the Council of Constance 1414 - 1418. RM Thereafter, the Spaniard, John of Segovia (d. 1458) in true humanist style, tried to achieve a more accurate translation than that of

as soldyers vnder the pay of Heraclius Emperor of the Christians in the East, and being discontented for want of pay, and some reproches vsed towards them, ioyned themselues to Mahomett, and withall imbraced his Religion, which they did after spreade through the East, great parte whereof and all Egipt they after conquered, but Mahomett himselfe hauing raigned king foure yeares, dyed, after he /50/ had conqured Arabia and Syria, with variable fortune of victoryes and ouerthrowes, being poisoned by his dead wiues kinsmen. Before his death he made a Chest of Iron wherein he would be buyred, and to illude^f his promise to ascend to heauen they say this chest hanges in the ayre at Mecha, drawne vp by a lodestone, to which his Sepulcher the Turkes, with great opinion of meritt, make yearely Pillgrimages. But he promised also to retorne into the world after a thousand yeares, which tyme being nowe past //

Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt IIII. fol 351
or at hand, they say his wordes were mistaken, and that he sayd two thousand yeares, as foolishly as the Iewes say,

Ketton. With the help of a Moslem jurist translating from the original Arabic, Segovia hoped to attack Islam's core text by showing that it contained "...contradictions, confusions, errors, [and] traces of composite authorship..." R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962), p. 89. As R. W. Southern mentions nothing about the Council of Constance, I suspect that Moryson is incorrect.

^f "To trick, impose upon, deceive with false hopes." 2. OED.

the comming of their Messiahs is still deferred for their sinnes, notwithstanding the Prophecies of his comming long agoe. The king of Persia in his warr with the Saracens first drewe the Turkes into Assia for his ayde, out of their Country Turquemanian lying beyond Parthia, but the Saracens shortly after subdued Persia about the yeare. 640 and made the Turkes receive Mahometts Religion and become tributarye to them. Then the Caliph of Persia and the Sultayne of /10/ Egypt, both Saracens swayed all the East, but vnder them Mahometts Religion grew into many sects, which haue continued and increased to this day, so as some now recorde more then threescore of them in Turkey, and this diuision among the Saracens weakned their Empire, by the fall whereof the Turkes daily grew greater, so as the Turkes in Persia chose themselves a king about the yeare 1040 [A] And the Saracens of Persia wholly became subiect to them about the yeare 1080, both being of Mahometts Religion¹ about the yeare 1258 the Tartars being Christians droue the /20/ Turkes and Saracens out of Persia, and the[re][n] planted Christian Religion, and the Turkes seated themselves in Asia the lesse, governed by foure Families, till Ottoman about the yeare 1300 subdued² the rest, and left his name hereditary to the Turkish kings.

¹ The history is broadly correct. The Seljuks came to power in 1055, and 1080 is perhaps a bit late, but Moryson covers himself with his "about the year".

² Subdued, subjected ?

About the yeare 1350 the Parthians, hauing before created Mahometts Religion, droue the Christian Tartars out of Persia. Amurath the king of the Turkes, called by the Christian Emperor of the East, to ayde him against the Bulgarians, first passed the hellespont into Europe [and seated] himselfe in Thrace about the yeare 1363,⁹ Tamberlan /30/ with his Scythians, droue the Parthians out of Persia about the yeare 1400.¹⁰ Mahomett the second king of the Turkes, extinguished the Christian Empire in the East, taking the cheefe Citty Constantinople, and withall the title of Emperor, in the yeare 1453. Assimbeius des[c]ending of the Turkes, possessed the kingdome of Persia, driuing out the Scythians about the yeare 1470. Baiazet the second became Emperor of the Turkes at Constantinople in the yeare 1481. And in the tyme of his Empire, Ismaell Sophus king of Persia, of the foresayd Turkish race (who left the title Sophy hereditary /40/ to the kings of Persia) being reputed a Prophett, and pretending that the Religion of mahomett had long beene Corrupted by the Saracens, became the author of the Persian reformed sect weareing redd Tulbents, and thereby sowed hereditary and deadly hatred betweene his sect, and the Turkes mantayning the old Arabian sect, and wearing white Tulbents. Selimus Emperor of the Tirkes at Constantinople

⁹ The first bridgehead, Gallopoli was taken in 1354, Adrianople in Thrace fell in 1361.

¹⁰ 1402.

subdued the Empire of the Saracene Sultan of Egipt, with his order of knights called Mamalukes, vtterly extinguishing them both in the yeare 1517, Thus I haue breefely shewed /50/ howe the Turkes became of Mahometts Religion, and howe the lately became lordes of Asia the lesse, with great parte of Europe and Affrick. And the reader may obserue, that the growing of that Empire, and the difference of Mahometts Religion betweene the Persians and Turkes, and the subduing of Egipt by the Turkes, fell vpon the tymes when like great changes happened in Europe by the preaching of Reformed [Christian] Religion in Bohemia and Germany. //

fol.352. Booke III. of Turkey touching Religion Chapt IIII Mahometts Religion is a confusion, mingled of Christianitye and Iudaisme, and many rediculous fictions of mahometts drunken brayne. It consists most in obseruation of outward thinges, no lesse yea more then ever the Iewes obserued them. They weare white Tulbents (or white heades as they call them) and thereby not only distinguish all degrees in commonwealth and church, but place great Religion in the wearing thereof and keeping them cleane and white, which I take to be the reason that they commonly sweare by their heades laying hand on their Tulbent, and that they call the Parsians redd heads /10/ in reproch, because their Tulbents are of that couller and not white, as the Iewes, so the Turkes, forbidd the eating of swines flesh, ether for the vncleanesse of that beast (they regarding outward

cleannes as much yea more [then] the Iewes), or because Mahomett had the falling sicknesse which is increased by meates breeding grosse hummors, so as he forbadd that flesh to his people, lest he alone abstaining from it should seeme to confesse that disease, which he pretended to proceede from his visions or because that flesh is generally vnholosome in such hott Countryes as Arabia. likewise the Turkes obserue the Iewes /20/ Circumcision, but not the eight day as they doe, but the seuenth or eighth yeare. The Emperors eldest sonne vseth not to be circumcised till he be of ripe age about sixt^ene yeares old, because after his circumcison the Iamizaryes beginn to respect him, so as the Emperor for ielosye sends him presently to gouerne a Province, where he liues obscurely, nothing being so dangeros to him as the loue of the Army, and from thence he neuer retornes to visit his parents, or to the Citty of Constantinople, till his Father be dead, and to his circumcison all Princes, aswell subiectes as frends, /30/ and their Ambassadors, are invited as to a most solemne feast, where they vse to be present and to offer large gifts. The Children of Turkes often dye vncircumscised, they not thincking the want thereof to barr them out of Paradise, and they all norishe the hayre vpon their heades till their circumcison, after which tyme it is shauen all but a locke on the Crowne, and the abhorreuer after from vnshauen heades, which perhaps at first being vsed in Arabia for heate of the clime, is [more]

[now] growne into custome, if not into a lawe, for all Mahomeatans what Clyme soeuer they inhabit. /40/ Many say that the Turkes litle esteeme Circumcision but only for clenlynesse of that parte, as indeede they place great part of theire Religion [in] bathinges and keeping cleane theire bodyes and apparell. This Circumcision the vulgarly call Tsumeth the Ceremonyes of which ryte I will nowe particularly sett downe, as they haue beene credibly related to me. It is not done in the Moschees or Churches, as the Iewes vse it to this day, but in the priuate houses of theire parents, yet with as soleme a feast, as the parents are able to make, in so much as the richer sorte haue then for /50/ Iolitye Roasted an oxe, with a sheepe in the belly, a henn in the belly of the sheepe, and eggs in the belly of the henn.¹¹ Nether is it donne (as with the Iewes) vpon the eighth day after the birth, but when the Male chylde is seuen or eight yeares old, so as he may distinctly pronounce these wordes, with his Thumbe held vp to heauen (as theire Custome is); There is one God, and Mahomett his Messenger, the only God and the true Prophett: which wordes if any Christian should //

{ c.w. ignorantly }

¹¹ When the youth is "...circumcised at home in his parents house There be assembled at this notable feast al their frendes, and commonly amongst the richer sort, they kil an Oxe and therin they include and put in a Sheepe exenterate and readye dressed, in the whiche Sheepe there is a Hen, in the which hen there is an Egge, which are all rosted to gether for the solempnitie of the daye..." Munster, sig. Glv.

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Ignorantly pronounce, they will haile him to be Circumcised, from which there is no redemption but death. And I remember the Turkes my guides, did often intise me by the waye, to holde vp my Thumbe and speake these wordes, the daunger whereof I then knewe not, but silence, alwayes safe to straungers, then preserued me from their trechrye. The names are giuen to Children on the birth day, and such as are significant in the vulgar tounge, as Selim that is peaceable, Ma[u]ratbeg that is the king comming wished for, and the like, And the females (as among the Iewes) are not Circumcised, /10/ but at the like feast pronouncing the same wordes, are receaued for Mahometans. But the male children, at the foresayd feast in their parents houses, are in the midst of super tyme brought forth, richly attyred, and placed among his frendes, where the surgionn fayning to deferr the Ceremoneye to the next day, suddenly cuttes off the Prepuce¹², and presently sprinckling salt and laying bumbase¹³ on the wounde, makes it vp, and so the male is pronounced Musulman, which worde is as much as

¹² OED quotes from later on in *Itinerary B* from the final Chapter in the section on the Jews, fol. 670, "Then the prepuce or foreskinne was taken out, and putt into a box of salt to be buried after in the Churchyearde."

¹³ "Cotton fibre dressed for stuffing or padding garments; cotton-wool, cotton wadding." OED, Bombace, 2.

Catholike with vs.¹⁴ The feast is continued for three dayes, which ended the Circumcised male is carryed to the publike Bathe, /20/ with great pompe, and with musicke, as hoboyes (which vse to playe or sounde before all great gouernors, when they enter [towardses] townes in passage to their gouernments), and litle kitts¹⁵ giuing harsh and rude sounde (for other musicke I never harde among them) and at the bathe the hayre of his head is shauen, all but one locke on the Crowne, and when [the] he retornes home, the invited frendes present him guifts, the men gold and siluer or like thinges of value, the wemen shirtes and linnen and like thinges, according to the qualitey of the persons. /30/

Also Mahomett, to please the Iewes, decrees that the bodye of Christ as diuine could not suffer (for the Iewes gladly heare the Diuine nature of Christ impugned) and to make this good, affirmes that Christ called to iudgment, vanished and ascended into heauen, and that Iudas taken for

¹⁴ "After that at the time of their banketing and feast, the childe is brought fourth to bee circumcised, then the Phisition...sayeth that ye circuncision shalbe deferred vntill the nexte daye, and so departeth, not longe betwine, fayninge as though some thyng were omitted or forgotten, whiche necessarye appertaineth to the accomplishinge of that acte, vpon a sodaine he cutteth of peace of that skinne, whiche couereth the heade of that childes yarde, puttinge vpon the wound a litle salte and soft silke thense fourth he shalbe called *Musulman*, which is circumcised..." Georgievits, sig. Dlr. A similar description appears in Munster, sig. G2v.

¹⁵ "A small fiddle", n. 2. *OED*.

him, was crucified by the Iewes. And partly to allure the Iewes, partly to drawe Christians to his religion, he allowes for holy scripture not only the Prophetts of the old Testament, but also the Gospell, excepting those places that testifye Christs Passion, which he sayth the Iewes inserted to his reproch. In theire Pil/40/grimages to Mecha the Turkes alwayes passe by Hierusalem, where they visit with great reuerence the old Monuments of the Prophets, and likewise the place where Christ was borne creeping to kisse it on theire knees with naked feete and legs, and all other Monuments of Christ, only scoffing at that of his Passion which they beleue not. Insomuch as about the tyme of my being at Hierusalem a great Turkish Gouvernor retourning that way to Constantinople, hauing seene the other Monuments, and coming to Mount Caluary, did putt downe his hose and before the Christian Priests shamefully /50/ defiled the Marble of that Monument, which notwithstanding they suffer to be preserued by the Christians, for the great gayne it yealdes them, from the yearely Rent of the place, and from Christian Pilgrims visiting the same. Mahomet in his Alcoran, to please the Christians, confesseth Christ to be a Prophet, yea greater then Moses, and though he denye him to be God (as he also confesseth the holy Ghost, tho not a distinct Person, but as a Power in God), yet he is called by //

folo.354. Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt IIII.
them the messenger the breath and spi[r]itt of God, voyde

of sinne[.] [&] sent from heauen and borne of a virgin without man, concea<v>ed by the word of god, with the smell of arose, and they confesse that the virgin was the mother not of god but of Christ, to whome the Angell Gabrell declared his birth, that she was free from originall sinne, and was deliuered at Bethelem, without any payne, and remayned a virgin [h] after her deliuerie. So as it is a vulgar speech with the Turkes Issa Berember that is in their vulgar tounge Iesus the Prophett, as likewise /10/ they often say to the Christians in the Italyan tounge, Issa, Fiato di dio, that is Iesus the breath of god. They confesse that Christ shall come to Iudgment some yeares before the ende of the world, and he that blasphemes Christ is punished with blowes of a Cudgell and payment of monyes, yet howsoeuer they confesse mahomett to haue bene borne and to haue dyed as other men, he that blasphemes god or Mahomett is putt to death, from which there is no redemption for a Turke, and a Christian can only saue his life by turning Mahometan, and they say that mahoett /20/ is agreater Prophett then Christ, as Christ was greater then Moses, and in all thinges preferre him to Christ, whereof I could vnderstand no other reason, but that, as [the] he that finisheth a worke hath more honor the he that beginnes it, so they prefer mahomett because they dreame that [t]he compleately finished the the worke, that Christ left vnperfect, At Hiresalem the Turkes haue taken into their owne hands, for greater Reuerence to the places, the

Sepulcher of the Prophett Daudid, the monnument of the Prophett /30/ Isaiah, and the old Christian monasterye vpon mont Syon towarde the South, contayning the places where Christ did eate his last Supper with the Apostles, where he appeared to Thomas after his resurrection, where Christ washed his disciples feete, where the holy ghost fell vpon the Disiples, and where Mathias was by lott chosen Apostle in the place of Iudas, from all which places the Turkes driue the Christians, as poluted and vnwashed by bathing. So as the Christians nowe haue theire monasterie in the north west corner /40/ of the Citty, vpon the topp of mount moriah[hi..h], w[he]re they are forced to [be] content with the [pictures of the] said Monuments, sanctified by the Popes Indulgenices. I remember that the Turkish wemen did cast stones at vs to keepe vs from approaching neere the monuments of the prophets Daudid and Isaiah. likewise a Turkish zantone¹⁶ or Priest kept the Chappell built on the topp of mount Oliuit, ouer the place where Christ ascended into heauen, who for gayne admitted Christians to visitt it and vsed to remember them, and if neede were to force them, to /50/ putt off theire shooes and to creepe on theire bare knees (as also the Turkes doe) to kisse the printe of Christs feete in the marble pauement. And howsoever for gayne they //

{ c.w. permitted }

¹⁶ A corruption of *sainte homme*, a holy man. RM.

Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt.IIIII fol 355.
permitted the Christians to keepe the monuments of the
natiuitye of Christ at Bethlem, yet themselues in their
pilgrimages vsed to creepe to that monument with no lesse
or greater reverence vpon their bare hands and knees. I
neuer obserued among them any monument of Christian
Sayntes, but only that of St George in the gate of haleppo,
where a lampe continually burneth.¹⁷ As mahomett, to please
the Iewes, was circumcised, so to please the Christians, he
was baptised by the monke Sergius, and that not once, but
many tymes, thereby to wash /10/ away spirituall
uncleannesse. Yet of the two they preferr the Christian
before the Iewe, for a Iewe that will turne Turke, must
first become a Christian for some fewe dayes, and therein
be baptised and eate hoggs flesh, before he can be admitted
a Mahometan,¹⁸ and the Turkes ordinarily invite Christians

¹⁷ Geuffroy states that the Turks accepted St. George as the knight on the grey horse, "*le cheualier au griz cheual*", because he was a warrior's emblem. Sig. E4r.

¹⁸ This was not true, but widely thought to be true. Geuffroy may be its grand disseminator, "*...si vng Iuif vouloit renier sa loy, & se faire Turc, il ny seroit iamais receu, si premierement nestoit baptise, et faict Chrestien.*" sig. E3r. Compare James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 392 (17 August 1635), "*...and no Jew is capable to be a Turk, but he must be first an ABDULA, a Christian: He must eat Hog's Flesh, and do other things for three days, then he is made a Mahometan...*" Dr. Rhoads Murphey suggests how this misconception came about. Following the conquest of Granada by the Spanish in 1492, the population including Jews had to become Christian. As they were only crypto - Christians, they attracted the attention of the Inquisition. Many emigrated, first to Portugal, then to Italy, then to the Ottoman Empire. Until the 1550s, emigration was on a large

to eate with them, and they come to the tables of Christians, but neuer eate with the Iewes, and they take no Iewes to be theire Concubynes, but most of them are Christians. Villimont in the eight Chapter of his second booke, sayth that among the Christians /20/ the Turkes preferre the Papists before those of the reformed Religion.¹⁹ I will not denye that they might perhaps offer ayde to some Papists against English Pyrates in the Mediterannian Sea, but that was rather to cleere the Sea of Pyratts then for loue of Religion, and I am sure, that no Christian had so great power at Constantinople as the English Ambassador of that tyme where of I write, whome they called lutheran Elishy that is lutheran Ambasador, and the Turkes must needs preferr the reformed Religion, because the knowe /30/ it abhorrs from worshipping of Angells Images, or pictures. For the Turkes hold Idolatry the greatest sinne, and not only forbidd the making of carved or paynted Images, but in theire Carpetts will not worke the perfect forme of any beast or Birde, but if it hath the roote of an hearbe, they giue it the head of a man

scale, moderating thereafter.

¹⁹ The Turks opinion of Protestants may not have been enhanced by English privateering that Villamont notes in this chapter. Villamont is able to use the wanton destruction of churches by some Protestant reformers to effect, "*En cest endroict, ie ne me puis empescher de dire que les Turcs ne sont pas si meschans qu'estoient iadis les heretiques, parce que les Turcs ne prennent plaisir à ruiner les Eglises, ains au contraire les retiennent pour leur seruir de Mosquee, ou pour les vendre aux Chrestiens...*" sig. 2E5r.

or beast, if it haue the roote of a bodye they make the head an herbe, so as they nether haue Image in theire churches or houses, nor so much as the picture of a frend in theire priuate Chambers.²⁰ For which cause, when my brother /40/ dying neere Aleppo I sent for his memorye three of his pictures to the three houses of English marchants in that Citty, they were somewhat loth to receave them, fearing the Turkes would repute them Idolaters for hauing those pictures. They compell no man to theire Religion, but allure all by powerfull meanes, as by the remission of tribuites, which are great, and espetially the tribuite of Children to the Christian Subiectes, and by remission of all debts, due not only to Christians but very Turkes. He that is converted Turke, is /50/ carryed about the Citty with pompe and musicke, and besydes this great honor they giue him larg gifts, provided that his convers[at]tion be voluntary, and not //

fol.356. Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt.IIIII.

to escape death, for such haue only theire life, but no honor [and and gu] or gifts. For many offences punishable by death as the wounding of a Turke, the lying with a Tirkish woman, and blaspheming Mahomett, and some like offences, are only pardonable to men of Contrary Religions

²⁰ This is not entirely true as the painted Turkish miniatures of historical and religious subjects in museums throughout the world demonstrate. Nevertheless, some pictures have been deliberately defaced, and religious objections inevitably hampered development. See G. M. Meredith - Owens, *Turkish Miniatures* (London, 1963), passim.

vpon theire turning Turkes, at Constantinople I often wondred at the generall patience of the Turkes, towardes Christians being in the place where they pray, my selfe & our Ambassadors seruants hauing often in the halls of the great visers satt /10/ together laughing and talking, without so much as the reverence of silence, whyle the Turkes were praying on all sydes in the roomme. But it is a Capitall cryme a mong them to dispute of their Alcoran betweene themselues, much more for a Christian against them. When they conquer any Province, they cruelly kill the Christian Clargye, or keepe them [slaues][selues] to beare great indignities. They take from the Christians their churches, and convert them to Moschees, & likewise take from them the Bells and muscally instruments /20/ of their Churches, only leaving them poore Ca[sh]apells where they may pray with silence, but may not beautifie them, nor rebuild them, when they beginne to fall at least, not without great bribes to the Turkish magistrates. No Christian beares any office in the Comonwealth, nether may they weare or haue in their houses any Armes for their owne defence. In familiar salutations and when they speake fayrest to a Christian, they call him Caoar,²¹ that is Infidell, The Christian Subiectes may not haue any meetings of daunsing /30/ and mirth. And if a Turke speake anythinge blasphemously, in denying the Trenitye, or the Diuinity or

²¹ Gavur, a term of absolute contempt.

passion of Christ, to any Christian in generall, he must heare it with silence, or without reple. If a Turke speake against Mahometts lawe, he is putt to death without any redemption, and a Christian instructing another in his Religion, must die or turne Turke, So as they doe not absolutely force any Christian; no not theire tributary Children, to turne Turkes, but in the foresayd cases, yet if a Turke forsake Maho/40/metts lawe he dyes without redemption, and if a Christian teach [the] ignorant, he dyes or turnes Turke, To conclude, The Christians subiect to the Turkes, haue theire Religion free, but are vsed in all thinges as slaues, hauing for distinction party Collered Chasses on theire heads, like our Barbaras Apperns, and any white head (so the Turkes are called) will take any thinge[s] at his pleasure from a Christian, yea very boyes from old men, and if they resist or dare looke them in the face as they passe in the streetes, they will beate them with Cudgells. /50/ Then they are deceaved who by the example of the Turkes, perswade Christian Princes to permitt liberty of Religion, since the Turkes permitt not the Persian Religion, being the next degree to which a Turke may esily fall, nether will any sect in Europe desyre liberty vpon the slauish conditions the Christians haue it in Turkey, vpon which conditions any Christian //

Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt IIII fol.357.

Prince may safely and without any danger graunt this liberty to his subiectes. And in like sorte I haue formerly

shewed, that they erre no lesse who perswade this liberty by the example of Germany, where the house of Austria permites liberty to the reformed Religion because most parte of theire subiectes are of that Religion, and because some of the Emperors of late haue beene inclyned there vnto, and the rest haue beene thought not so much ill affected to the reformation, as they were restrayned for feare of the Turkes power, and to leese the Popes /10/ fauor and support against them, But the rest of the absolute Princes in Germany permitt no Religion in theire territories, saue only that forme of Reformation which themselues doe professe.

If [a] Turkes fynde any peece of paper on the ground, they kissing it with reverence vse to take it vp and lay it vpon some table, shelf, or like cleane place, supposing that the name of God, or some sentence of the Alcoran, may be written therein, so as it is not safe for Christians to vse paper in Turkey to such base vses as commonly /20/ the doe among themselues, which any Turke seeing, would revenge as done in reproche of this theire blynde deuotion. Blynde[d] I call it, because they are all ignorant and vnlearned, he being a great Clarke who can reade the Alcoran distinctly, being written in verse, and in the Arabian tounge, which the Turkes vnderstand not as the Arabian did to whome it was first giuen. And indeede they make ignorance the cause of theire peace and prosperity, saying that our learning

breedes the discordes and factions whereby they prevayle against /30/ vs. For they haue no bookes but only some very fewe in writen hand, nether haue they Schooles of learning, nor vniversities, nor Printing. Some write that many Turkes are skillfull in Philosophy, Astronomy, & Poetry, and I will not denye but they may haue some measure of such knowledge as may be gotten by naturall guiftes without Art, but I could neuer heare that they had any schooles of learning,²² except wee will call them Schooles where the tributarye Children of Christians are trayned vp, in the practise rather then knowledge of the Turkish Religion, and /40/ in exercises fitting their bodies to militarye duties. Nether did I euer meete in that vast Empire any learned man, though the best sorte of the Turkes frequented our Ambassadors Table, but only some two or three Greekes bredd vp vnder the State of Venice or in Italy. The Iewes Churches are called Synagoges, which whyle the Temple of hierusalem stode being so called, were vsed as Schooles to instruct young men in the law of moses. The churches of the Turkes are called Moschees, or Moschites, wherein thinne

²² In his Chapter entitled 'The Triumph of Fanaticism', pp. 179 - 185, Inalcik shows how there was a rift within Turkish society between the strict tradionalists who were usually anti-intellectual and often poorly educated, and marginalised, and the open, more intellectual, officials working from the centre.

In astronomy, which Moryson specifically mentions, Takiyyüddîn Mehmed (1520 - 1578) the sultan's astronomer, founded an observatory, "...no less advanced than Tycho Brahe's", p. 179, but an outbreak of plague in 1580 provided a pretext to the *seyhülislâm*, the chief doctor of Moslem law, to get it razed.

mattes are spredd on the grownd, vpon which the men /50/
promiscusly kneele and sett crosse legged, the
Priest[s] standing in a Pulpitt as high and more large then
ours, who is knowne from the rest by the foulding of his
Tulbent, and [he] reade[s] the Alcoran with great reverence,
and other legends, to which the people giue eare with great
gravity and silence //

fol.358. Booke III of Turkey touching Religion. Chapt.IIIII
The moschees are built of a rownd forme, with some rownd
Globes on the topp, and one high steeple of litle compasse,
and the Globes are commonly covered with brasse, and
because they haue no bells, diuers Priests at the tymes of
prayer ascend the sayd steeples, and in a gallerye about
the topp therof putting their fingers vnder their eares,
hallowe like falconers crying with a loude voice Allach
huchber, that is one onely true God, and with that crye
calling men to prayer, aswell those that are in the
Moschees as those in priuate houses and in the streets, For
the /10/ congregation is not ordinarilye greate in the
Moschees, whether only rich and idle men ordinarily
resorte. And howsoeuer (as I haue sayd) they permitt
Christians to be present at their priuate prayers, yet
they will not indure them in the Moschees, nor in the
places of Sepulchers in the feild, espetically in Asia and
Affrica, where they are more superstitious thinckinge the
places to be defyled by vnwashed Christians, yea my selfe
at constantinople entred the cheefe Moschee (called St.

Sophya when it was a Christian Temple) no Turke /20/
resisting me because I had a Ianizary for my guide, whome
they dare not offend, yet he made mee leaue my shooes at
the dore. And with him I entred the cheefe Sepulcher of a
Turkish Emperor, but when I passed by the Comon Sepulchers
in the feilde without a Ianizary to protect me, the Turkes
did cast stones at me. They call Christians, vnwashed,
because themselues [vse] frequent bathing with hott water,
and neuer goe to prayer without washing, for which purpose
each Moschee hath waters where the wash the whole body or
at least the priuie partes, as after all egestions²³ they
either wash them /30/ with water, or wanting water in high
wayes clense them with dust and stones. Theire frequent
sweating in Bathes makes them free from rhume,²⁴ so as they
seldome spitt, and take it for a reproche if any man spitt
before them, much more if he spitt in a Moschee. And they
are much offended if they see dugges²⁵ or any filthines in
a Christian Church. They weare theire shirtes out of theire
breeches, and place Religion in keeping them white, and all
that they wore cleane, for which cause both men and weomen

²³ "Evacuation of the bowels. Obs." 2. b. *OED*.

²⁴ "Watery matter...such as collects in...the nose, eyes, and mouth...", 1. *OED*. In this context Moryson probably means phlegm or spittle.

²⁵ It could be a badly formed o, making the word "dogges". If it is "dugges", presumably the Turks objected to seeing representations of the Virgin Mary suckling the infant Jesus.

vse the foresayd washings [and][in] [abstertions.²⁶ much more place they Religion in] keeping their Tulbents white, and woe to the Christian, who /40/ by chance should spott them, which they would take very ill from a Turke. Being in a Shipp within havens, I haue often seene Troopes of Turkes come to the Sea shoare to pray vpon the sandes, where the first entred the Sea a litle, and purged their bodyes, (contrary to the modesty some writers attribuite to them), and then washed their partes, so as wee could not but laugh, in regard the waters beate backward and forward, to see them wash their lipps and teeth together with other lesse clenly partes. Then the sprinckled water thrise vpon their heades, [they] then they layd a whit napkin or peece of lynn or /50/ a garment vpon the sande, and kneeling, fyue tymes inclyned their faces vpon that Cloth, houlding their handes vpon their breasts, never putting off their Tulbents (or Capps vulgarly called Tsalma) but some tymes touching them at each eare with a thumbe and a finger, as if they would lift them vp. //

Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Chapt.IIIII. fol 359. The often rose from their knees standing on their feete, as often falling downe agayne, and sometymes lying prostrate on their faces. For prostrating seemes of old to haue beene the cheefe Reverence of the East, wherewith they also adored Princes, as wee reade of the Carthag*o*neons,

²⁶ "The act..of..cleansing..." OED

and espetially the Persians, where the Ambassador of Greece, not to offend the Persians, and yet to keepe the liberty of his Country, did lett his Ringe fall, and taking it vp, seemed [so] to adore the king, lying prostrate they often kissed the earth.²¹ The Turkes pray in the Arabian tounge not vulga<r>ly vnderstoode, in which tounge the /10/ Alcoran is written, the vulgar translation whereof they holde vnlawfull. Some of them number theire prayers with beades. They pray with theire faces towards [the] South, that is towards the Sepulcher of Mahomett at Mecha, as many Iewes of old did pray and some Christians still pray towards the East, and the Temple of hierusalem. The Turkes by the Priests Cry in the Steeples are called to prayer seuen tymes in the day, in what place soeuer they be, namely two howers before day, at the breake of day, at nyne of the Clocke, at noonne, at three of the Clocke, at Sunne setting, and some two howers within night /20/ being the tyme when they vse to goe to bedd. At any [tyme] of which tymes if the goe to the Moschee, they wash themselues, & leauing theire shoes at the dore enter bare footed, and if they be in other places they pray as I haue formerly shewed. Somtymes, as in theire Ramadam or lent, and vpon festifall dayes, the Priest goes into the Pulpitt and makes a shorte speech, which ended two boyes ascend and sing responsorye prayers, which done the Priest with the people

²¹ I have not found this incident.

pray singing with a [lowd] lowe voyce, and in praying they vse many sighs and wreathinges of the head and shakinges of the body. The weomen come seldome to the /30/ Moschees, [as][and] sometymes on frydaye (wh^{ic}h is the Turkes Sabbath in memory as they say of Mahomett that day chosen king) (as the Iewes sabbath is on Satterday,) and likewise at the feast of Biram, where they sett apart from the men (as the Iewes weomen doe) in a Chappelle that hath grates to looke into the moschee. The Turkes abhorre to name the Diuill vulgarly called Sathan. They haue very many lampps hanging in theire Moschees, but they are only lighted on thursday in the evening, a<n>d all frydaye being theire Saboth, and all the feast of Biram. On the walls of theire moschees these wordes are often written in the Arabian /40/ Tounge, There is no God but one and Mahomett his Prophett, one Creator and the Prophetts æquall: There is none strong as God. The acknowledge foure Prophetts, Moses, Daud, Christ, Mahomett, and expect the fyfth before the daye of Iudgment.

They haue two Fasts (or lents) in the yeare, vulgarly called Rammadam (as other write Romaden) each lasting a monthe, that is the Course of the moone in the Zodiake, and after each Fast followes a feast like our Easter, vulgarly called Beyram (as others write Behiram) lasting three dayes, there being about three months /50/ distance betweene them, and they falling continually tenne dayes

sooner the present yeare then they did in the former yeare. And I remember [when] I landed in Ciprus vpon the 22. of maye,²⁸ one of [the][these] Fasts was ended, and the said feast was Celebrated, with good cheare, inviting of Neighbours, kissing one anothers handes and mouthes [among] the men, and wishing each other a good Beyram, yea with a Christian custome of the children singing about the streetes and gathering of egges from house to house. // fol. 360 Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt.IIII. And at this Feast enemyes vse to be reconciled, without which they thinckes the Feast profittes them nothinge. Yea they giue smale guiftes to Christians, to drawe greater from them. The same yeare they after kept the like Fast and Feast about September, in which month or Moone they say the Alcoran was sent, and like diuine misteryes revealed to mankynde. But these Fasts and Feasts are movable, falling diuers yeares in diuers monthes or dayes, according to the Course of the moone, by which they make all computations, saluting the new moone with great reverence, and happye he who first sees it, and /10/ thereof they carry the figure about them, and range their Armmyes in the forme of a newe moone, wherevpon some hath written that the Emperor beares a newe moone for his Armes. They fast all the day, from all manner of meate and drincke, so as he is punished that drincketh somuch as water. Mahomett for his owne

²⁸ 1596, see *Itinerary A*, I, p.459.

infirmities did generally forbidd wyne, yet the Ianizaries commonly drinke it, if they can haue it of free cost from Christians, and so doe others, but they all confesse it a sinne, and in tyme of those fastes I thincke it is Capitall, and am sure for that cause some wemen sowed in sakes were cast into the Sea at Constan/20/tinople. They eate litle fish all the yeare, perhapps for the vnholsonenes, but I am sure that for Religion they make no difference betweene fish and flesh. They fast I say the whole day, which being long in Summer, and the Clyme hott, they suffer great thirst, since they may not quench it somuch as with water. And this day they spend not in prayers or like exercises, but commonly in sleeping. But when the night is come, or they see the first starr shyne, whereof a Signall is giuen, (as also in the morning to beginn the fast), in Fortes by shooting off a Gunne, in other places by the Globes of the Moschees /30/ sett round about with lampes, which burne all night and make a glittering shewe. Then they beginne to eate and spende all the night in feasting, the weomen also singing (which they may not doe in tyme of the fast) and both men and wemen eateing all manner of meates without difference, and at Constantinople both men and wemen were putt to death for whoredome in tyme of these Fastes. For howsoeuer they permitt all men to haue many wives and Concubynes, yet fornication with comon horlotts is death by the lawe. Formerly I haue shewed that wemen are neuer publikely put

to death, but are sowed in sackes filled /40/ vp with stones, and so cast into the Sea or Riuers are drowned, except so[me] happen to committ any heynous cryme, which is rarely incident to that Sex in Turkey, but in that case they are also sowed into a sacke all but the head and necke by which they are hanged on the gallowes, and haue their faces all ouer collowed with blacke to disfigure them. They are drowned in the foresayd manner if they be accused to be harlotts, yet haue they very many harlotts, but they are seldome accused, and rarely executed in that manner, except sometymes in their lents or Fasts which they keepe most superstitiously, and sometymes when a newe /50/ Basha comes to his government, who will execute in that manner some fewe hedg hores,²⁹ to make the fayre and rich harlotts bring bribes, which commonly amount to a great summe of mony. The Turkes haue not only diuers wiues (whereof I reade that some marchants keepe one [a.t.] at one Citty and another at an other where they most trade, thereby to avoyde dissention), but also as many Concubynes as they will or at //

Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Chapt IIII fol 361
least are able to keepe, but aswell Concubyns as wiues must be allowed and written in the booke of [the] Cadie, who

²⁹ *OED* quotes no instance of this conjunction of words. However, Moryson's meaning is fairly clear. Poor prostitutes who have to live outside are summarily executed to frighten the rich ones into bringing bribes. Presumably the "hedge whores" are the ones who "ditch deliver". See *Macbeth*, IV. 1. 31.

also graunts the Che Bine [breefe] or letter of Dowry, which the men giue to their wyues, and whereby they are called wyues and distinguished from concubynes. And the Cadie likewise is the Iudge of [C.] Divorces which are permitted for Barrenesse, for growing defectes of the body, and for scolding Conditions. As I haue sayd that the Emperor himselfe Religiously respectes his dead Fathers testament and suruiuing mothers aduise, so all the Turkes in generall reverence their parents, and thincke it a great sinne /10/ to disobaye them living, or breake in any pointe their last testament when they are dead. They beleue that they who dye fighting for their Country, and the lawe of Mahomett, goe right to heauen (as I may say) without a lather³⁰ or any steps, and they beleue that a Stoicall destanye governs all humane affayres, so as a man is not more safe in a strong Citty then in a wilddernes, nor [in] more daunger when he fights in a battall then when he Feasts in a bankquict, disasters or death it selfe hauing no power, till the tyme when they are foreordayned, and then being vnavoydable.³¹ And these two pointes of fayth, /20/ make them [rush][w.sh] naked or slenderly armed

³⁰ An obselete form of ladder.

³¹ This was frequently noted. Geuffroy notes "*Et tiennent pour chose certaine la predestination...*", sig. E4r. Compare James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 62 (30 April 1621). The Turkes "...will visit and commerce with the Sick without any Scruple, and will fix their longest Finger in the Midst of their Forehead, and say, *Their Destiny and Manner of Death is pointed there.*"

with incredible boldnes into the thickest troopes of their
stroungest enemyes, and make them to feare the plague no
more then a feuer. Almost in all pointes of Religion they
haue diuers opinions, but they being vnlearned and forbidden
to dispute, this difference breedes no factions among them.
The greatest parte beleeeues to be saued by good workes and
the keepinge of their lawe, some thincke only the grace of
God sufficient, and there wants not of them who beleeeue
that men of all Religions if they liue well shalbe saued,
comming to iudgement at the last day vnder the three
banners of Moses Christ /30/ and Mahomett.³² They who
thincke to deserue Paradise by good workes, are carefull to
doe them in life, and in their testament at death thinking
thed doe not avayle them if they be not done in charity but
vpon vayneglory, and if they be not giuen of goods well
gotten. Thus according to their quality and riches they
giue mony in life and legacyes at death, to conduct waters
to the Moschees, to builde Almeshouses and Caues, to giue
liberty to slaues and to releue those that are in debt (of
their owne Religion) and some superstitious wemen giue
mony for the slaughter of [the] Christians. They /40/ haue
fewe Almeshouses, and commonly built by the Emperors, where
the poore, espetically Pilgrimes to Mecha, may haue for

³² Moryson finds it remarkable that the essential point of dispute between Catholics and Protestants, whether man can be saved by good works or Divine Grace alone, is not an issue for the Turks. Since men were prepared to die for this in Europe, he puts it down to Turkish ignorance.

certayne dayes a simple dyett, as a litle peece of mutton boyled with rise, an hearth Cake, and water to drincke. The Caues are publike, houses built with Cloysters, where all travelars may lodge and rest vnder the Cloysters (for they haue no Innes in Turkey, Christians being commonly receaved in the houses of Christians), but in these Cloysters they lye on the grounde, except they can gett a bundell of strawe or bring with them quiltes to lye vpon.³³ /50/ Their Charity extendes to beasts and birdes, as in providing kennells³⁴ for dogs, which they keepe not in their howses. They report Credibly, that the granaries built by Ioseph in Egipt, remayne still as they were first built, open without Roofe, that the birdes might not be shutt out from taking Corne. And my selfe haue seene a Turke at Venice by a singing bird out of the Cage, and lett her fly, thincking that liberty giuen to the birde a meritorious worke before god. Some //

fol 362. Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Chapter. IIII.

of them will cast bread into waters to feede the fish, and as they visite the Sepulchers of their frendes, weekly vpon Thursday the euen of their Sabboth, and many also

³³ Fynes and Henry Moryson and the rest of the pilgrims stayed in one of these houses for travellers at Rama on 3 June 1596 on their way to Jerusalem. *Itinerary A*, I, 464, 465. It was known as a *vakıf*, a charitable institution. Inalcik, p. 226.

³⁴ This word has an extra minim.

plant about them sweete flowers, so diuers tymes in the yeare they leaue bread and meate vpon the[se] Sepulchers, to be deuoured by doges or wylde beasts, as a worke of pittye and mercy. They pray for the dead, each for his frendes, at the buyriall and the weekely visitations, of the Sepulchers (most frequented by wemen) and more spetially in their Armyes they pray for them that dye in the defence of their /10/ lawe, and they giue legacyes to moschees to distribute monye to the poore, and more spetially the Emperors to mantayne certayne men to keepe and continually by course to attend their Sepulchers, and to pray for their soules. They prayse and magnify their Saynts, but doe not invoke them by prayer: They make vowes, but thincke themselues free if they obtayne not the graces for which as vpon condition they made them.³⁵ They thincke it a worke of merritt by Pillgrimages to visite such monuments as they repute holy, and espetially for these Pillgrim<s>[ages] sake the foresayd /20/ Almshouses and Caues are built, and founded with Revenues. But aboue all monments of the old and new testament, they haue the Sepulcher of Mahomett at Me[c]ha in cheife venration, dreaming that the adioyning mountaynes brought stones to the building of Mecha, and that one of them hauing bene slowe in the service, continually mourned, till it was

³⁵ "Neyther are they bound to performe the vow, if they haue not bene deliuered from the possessed disease or peril." Georgievits, sig. E2r.

comforted by Mahomett, who drewe a fountayne of bitter water out of the rocke thereof, by washing in which fountayne they thincke [theire] sinnes purged, and theirein also they wash linnen Cloathes and keepe them to wrapp theire bodyes when they shall dye.³⁶ This donne, /30/ they kisse the Image of Mahomett paynted on the wall of the Moschee, and so retorne home with confidence that theire sinnes are remitted. They are great bearers of false wittnes, espetially against Christians, as if it were a good worke, yet I haue also knowne them [bribed] [forbadd] to forswear themselves to saue a Christians life, whereof I could giue a cleare example fall[en][ing] in the tyme of my being theire, but for some good respectes I passe it ouer. A Turkes oathe wilbe taken with or against a Christian or Iewe, though theire oathe is not admitted against a Turke, and among the Turkes, the Oathe of a /40/ Turke is not of force if he be guilty of some crymes in brea[c][t]h of theire lawe, but in all cases, any one of the kindred or cursed race of Mahomett, hath his testimony equall to any two of other Turkes. If a Turke haue done any man wrong, he thinckes there is no remission without restitution, so as when they are sicke on theire death

³⁶ When the hill "...saw Mecha throughlye builded, and perceiued that they needed not hys stones, began bytterlye too wepe...// Then Machomet stroke the stone with his foote, & brought water ther from, not good to be dronken of...which is water of purification...and when one chaunceth to die, the clothes wherin the dead carcass shalbe wrapped are sprinckled with that water, in remission of all his sinnes and offences." Georgievits, sigs. D8r, D8v.

bedd, if it be impossible to make restitution, as to the
partie dead, then they make it to the poore, or by like
good workes, with the Priests aduise, whome they vse to
call to comfort them, and write theire last testaments
[and] if they be not able to make restitution to the /50/
liuing, they send frendes to confesse the wronges, and to
crave theire acquittances, which in Charity they deny not,
and these acquittances are buyred vnder theire heades. For
they beleeeue that the soule retornes to the bodye in the
graue, and that two black Angles come to examyne the dead,
to whome if they cannot giue good accompt of theire life,
by good workes or producing the sayd acquittances, then
the one at the head strikes //

Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capter IIII. fol 363
theire bodyes into the grounde, the other at the feete
beates them vp, and so afflictes them to the day of
Iudgment, but if they make agood accounte, then the two
white Angells sett one at the head the other at the feete
to comfor them. They repute murther an haynous cryme, and
indeede, by theire Religion, and by the severity of the
lawe inflicting great punishments vpon a Turke wounding or
striking another Turke, manslaughters and murthers are
wonderfully rare among them, and never done but [most]
secretelye my selfe haue heard them scolde like butter

hores³⁷ both common Turkes and Ianizaryes, but I neuer sawe /10/ a Common Turke stricke another, and howsoever the Ianizaryes haue authority to beate Common Turkes, Iewes, Christians, and straungers, yet among themselues they seldome or neuer come to blowes.

In the outward worshipp of God no nation is more superstitious then the Turkes, espetically the Arabians, the Mores, and all Affricans. They giue great trust to dreames, and diuinations, and to Religious persons who like Prophetts fortell fortunes, and in prayers and all actions haue gestures and behaiours like mad men, yea many carry Charmes about them as /20/ paynted swordes and Arrowes with wordes of Charme, [.] [and] some Turkes vse the begining of St Iohns Gospell in the Arabian tounge, and hereby the superstitious thincke to be preserued. They vse wichcraftes and inchantments, one more perticularly to bring backe in the Diuills name (as the old saying is) such fugitiue slaues as are fledd so farr from them as they haue no meanes by the lawe or by pursuing to inthrall[.]. And in

³⁷ OED produces only one instance of "butter whore" from Nashe's *Strange Newes* of 1593. Gabriel Harvey is accused of excessive and vindictive chiding of the dead playwright Robert Greene. See *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, edited by R. B. McKerrow, second edition, revised by F. P. Wilson, 5 vols (Oxford, 1958), I, 299. Gary Taylor's article 'Touchstone's Butterwomen', in *Review of English Studies*, 32, no. 126, (May, 1981), 187 - 193, helps to elucidate this further. "As for scolding, it is the consequence of overwork, poverty, and open competition..." p.189. The raucous soliciting for custom is not dissimilar to prostitution, hence "butter whores".

Syria I haue seene some monumments of inchantments, as at Tripoly certayne Posts or wodden Pillers, where they say that Froges swarming in multitudes, and sandes begining to stopp /30/ the hauen were in chaunted no more to trouble them, & likewise a Caue neere Alleppo, where our English marchants tolde me, much treasure was buyried, and kept by inchantment. To which I will add one instance of theire singular superstition obserued in the same Citty of Alleppo, where in a garden our Englishmen shewed me a Serpent which was generally helde to be incredibly aged, whose male and young ones being of old killed by the boyes of that Citty, this shee Serpent for revenge poysoned the waters, so as many dyed by drincking them, where vpon the people [com] comming out to kill her, did superstitiously interprett the /40/ manner of her lying, for her pl[...][ea] of her innocency and iust revenge, so as they forbore to hurt her, and as shee neuer since did them any hurte, so the people to this day touched with a kinde of Religion obstayned from offending her.³⁸

Touching the Turk[es]ish Priests, they differ not from the laymen in apparell, saue that the cheefe of them weare damaske and silke gownes of a skye collor, which (I thincke

³⁸ Moryson accepts that a snake could poison the waters. The reason for the waters being poisoned probably had much more to do with the dysentery germ than with a snake. Henry Moryson probably caught his fatal illness here.

therevpon wee call Turkey Co[u]llor) and that their
Tulbent are more broade and [large][longe] then others, and
haue the tip of a veluett capp comming out of the Crowne of
the Tulbent, of the sayd /50/ skye coullor, other cheefe
Turkes hauing it of redd veluett. The cheefe Priest, or as
I may say Patriarke or Pope of the Turkes called Mophty, is
not of Mahometts race, yet he weares an huge Tulbent, and
a greene gowne which couller that kindred challengeth
proper to it selfe, but he is chosen by the Emperor out of
the most graue holy and //

{ c.w. best skilled in the }

fol.364. Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt IIII.
best skiled in the Alcoran. he and the seuen Viziers at
Constantinople, [himsel]f may be called the [President
thereof.] Emperors priuie Counsell, himsel]f being more
then President thereof. For he may reverse the Emperors or
their sentence if it swarue from Mahometts lawe, but his
standes without Controle, aswell in Ciuill as martiall
affayres. In all great doubttes of State the Emperors fly to
him as an Oracle, and being otherwise as proude as lucifer,
bowe to him when he enters, and he may only be sayd free
from the tyranny of their sworde, /10/ and though he
affectes great shewe of holines, yet he takes the Common
liberty of many Wiues & Concubynes. In the next spirituall
degree to him, are the two military Iudges, called
Cadelischieri, in like sorte chosen by the Emperor, whereof
one is resident with the Armye in Europe, the other with

the forces of Asia. And these two chuse the Cadies, hauing a kynde of Episcopall Iurisdiction, but they are approved by the Emperor. They haue many inferiour orders of Priests, some to innterprett the lawe, some for diuine seruice, some for other dutyes, /20/ as lighting of lampes, and calling the people to church. They are nothinge lesse then learned, for he is of good sorte who can reade the Alcoran in the Arabian tounge, and he is agreat Clarke who can interprett it, that is in a kynde of preaching turne it into the vulgar tounge, and many of them are Mechanicall Artisens & tradsmen, and all inoye the pluralitie of wemen. They are called by diuers names in diuerse places, and according to their diuers quallities, as Talismani, and commonly in Asia Zaintones. Generally they are much esteemed, and their l[o]okes and /30/ behaiour promise inward sanctitie, and they professe more strict abstinence from wyne then other Turkes. likewise many³⁹ told me, that agreat punishment vseth to be inflicted on those who strike them, or offer any vi[o]lence to their persons, but in my Iorney from Tripoly to Haleppo, vpon occasion of the grasse sett on fyer by the cheife of our Caravan, I did see a Ianizarye beate the zaintones as much as the Common Turkes with a cudgell, till ioyntly they had extinguished the fyer. Also among the Turkes are many Religious orders. In Haleppo and other places, /40/ passengers shall meete with

³⁹ There is a minim missing in this word.

Monkes going naked, & hauing theire nayles growing to adeformed length, and going about to begg like our Mendicant Fryers, so much esteemed, as if any of them take meate out of a Cookes shopp, the ownor nether forbides nor reprocues them, but seemes willingly to permitt it, and as theire Prophett Mahomett being outragious in all carnall concupisence, perswaded the wemen that his imbraces infused holynes into them, so they sayd that many wemen gladly prostituted theire bodyes to these holy men. There is a second kynde of monkes /50/ called Deruises who liue in the Moschees continually praying and often fasting, somuch esteemed as the Emperor vndertaking any warr often askes Counsell of them. These monkes often daunce in the Moschees, after such rude musicke as the Turkes haue, and with straung gestures, //

Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt IIII. fol 365. espetially turninge about till for gidines they fall to the ground, at which tyme the superstitious people thincke them to be in trances, and rauished in spiritt as theire Prophett Mahomett made them beleue his fitts of the falling sicknes to be[ene] diuine visions. And for this cause the Turkes reverence Iediots, as men rapt into heauenly contemplations, which also makes the Turkes frequently eate opiuim, that stupifyes the senses, but after (as they thincke) refresheth the tyred spiritts, aswell of themselues as theire Dromedaryes to any newe labour. By discourse I vnder stode that they /10/ haue a

third kynde of monkes more frequent in Africk, who going naked and hauing vowed chastity, haue a ring of Iron passed through theire genitall partes, which makes them chaste by force, and they said that wemen disdayned not to kisse the Iron in reverence to Chastitye.⁴⁰ And that they haue diuerse other orders of monkes, who like Hermitts fly the Company of men, and liue in desert woodes. But I thincke these orders or most of them are not imposed by the Alcoran, nor haue any prescribed rules of life, as ours haue, but rather are taken vp voluntarily by the most superstitious. Lastly the Turkes haue a race of men, /20/ whome they repute kinsmen of mahomett, and call Hemer (and I haue [heard] others call them Serifz.⁴¹ These only haue the priuiledge to weare the greene Couler, which they say mahomett commonly vsed, of which Couler some haue all theire garments, some only theire Tulbents, and some only a peece of greene sett vpon some open parte, whereby they may be know[...][ne], which peece also the wemen of that race weare for distinction, and it is a foule fault for any Christian, Iewe or Turke, of any degree (except the foresaid Mophty) to weare any thinge of that Coulor. My selfe hauing passed through Asia, and comming to

⁴⁰ "I sawe an other secte whiche forebidden carnal copulation with women, goe, the fore parte of their yarde, or the secrete parte it selfe perced throughe, and therin enclosed an iron ringe of the weight of three poundes to obserue chastitye." Georgievits, p. D4r.

⁴¹ *Şerif*.

Constantinople, /30/ our Ambassador perceaued that my dublett was lyned with greene Taffetye, and made me tremble at the daunger I had passed, when he related to me, that in the same Citty some foure weekes past, a Christian ignorant of this lawe, was sorely beaten with Cudgills by the Turkes, and heardly escaped death, because he wore greene shoos stringes.⁴² But in my former Iorney I commonly passed in the Shipps of Christians, and vpon land I slept betweene quiltes with lynnens brichees, never putting off my Dublett, and so had the good happ not to haue the lyning seene by any Turke. To conclude, these worthy kinsmen of Mahomett, make great /40/ shewe of holines, and are highly esteemed, so as the testimony of any one of them is prefferred to any two of the best sorte of the Turkes, in cases of Iudgment.

To these obseruations I will add some fewe things gathered out of the Alcoran in abstractes made by some Christian writers. They hold one only God to be worshipped, without any distinctions of persons, confessing Christ a great Prophett, but denying him to be God, and holding the holy ghost to be only a property in God. They beleeeue the Creation of the world, made of dust of all coulours causing the dissimilitude of thinges, /50/ the Creation of Adam of like coulered earth, and the making of Eua of a Ribb taken

⁴² Villamont advises against wearing anything costly or green in colour in the Turkish Empire, sig. 2A3v, Book II, Chapter 1.

from [the] [his] left syde, not from his right syde lest shee should be æquall to him in strength. Touching the fall of man, they holde that there is ablacke Core in the hearte of euery man and woman, fitt to receave temptations which Core the Angell Gabriell tooke out of Mahometts //

{ c.w. hearte. That }

fol.366. Booke of Turkey touching Religion Chapt IIII

harte. That euill spiritts were some thousand of yeares before Adam was Created, and that the forbidden fruite was a stalke or eare of Corne, hauing seuen graynes, where of Adam did eate three, and Eua three, and of the seuenth sowed all frutes grewe. By the waye, giue me leaue to Remember that when I lay sicke at Scanderona (called Aless<a>ndretta by the Christians) a part of Syria, Constantine Coluri a Grecian master of agreat Venecian Shipp named the great lyon,⁴³ Curteously presented me with three Apples, vulgarly called the Apples of Adam, being in forme like a /10/ litle Cucumber, crooked at the lesser end, and of a russett couler like a Peach, the iuce whereof was sweete and most pleasant, and easy to be sucked out vpon the least brea[ch][th] of the skinne being very softe. The Turkes among many dreames of Noah or Iaphett, hold that Christ raysed him from the dead, to teach his disciplles the manner of the flood in his dayes, and that the Arke being burthened with excrements, the swyne (produced from

⁴³ Presumably named after the symbol of Venice, the winged lion.

the mixed excrements of men and Elephants) devoured vp that burthen. For they abhorr from eating swynes flesh, and in great reproch call slouenly men /20/ Domuz that vulgarly signifiyes a Sowe. The Alcoran forbidds wyne, giuing this reason thereof, that Angells sent to the earth and made druncken with wyne, taught a woman the waye to heauen, whome God seeing there, turned her to the morning Starr. It relates that Mahomett had a vision in the Temple of Salomon, wherein by night Christ presented to him a vessell of water, Abram a vessell of wyne, and Moses one of milke, and he chusing that of water, Christ promised him the sight of God, and that by singular preuiledge God freed him from the lawes of Adutrye and Periurye. To omitt Infinite /30/ like fables, of the Patriarkes, of Moses, of Salomon, and of the Prophetts, the Turkes are taught that in the day of Iudgment an Angell shall sounde a trumpett, at the sounde whereof all men and Angells and that Angell himselfe shall dye, and the earth by motion and fyer shalbe consumed to ashes, but God shall send downe rayne forty dayes, after which the Angell shall rise and sounde the Trumpitt agayne, vpon which the Angells and all dead bodyes of men shall be restored to life, the good men shining, some like the sunne, some like the moone and starrs, and the wicked hauing horrible /40/ deformed lookes, the good men appearing vnder the banners of Moses Christ and Mahomett, who shalbe mediators for them, and while the Angells singing and playing vpon instruments of musicke leade them

to Paradise, the wicked shalbe tortured in all their members till each member haue confessed all the sinnes it hath committed. In other places of the Alcoran they are more perticularly taught, that in the day of Iudgment by Gods commaund the Deuills shall kill all creatures and themselues also, which done all thinges shalbe burnt with fyer, and the world shall remayne voyde /50/ forty yeares, which expired the first trumpitt shall sounde at Hierusalem, and after forty yeares more the second Trumpitt, and lastly after forty yeares more the third Trumpitt, by which all the soules being assembled shall expect the day of Iudgment; intreating first on then another //

Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Chapt IIII fol 367
Prophett then Christ to hasten it, who all refusing with excuses, at last after fortye yeares mahomett shall obtayne it. Then that a Bridge shalbe buylt ouer hell, vpon which the Scales shall hange to weigh all mens sinnes, (the worke of I knowe not how many thousand [yeares]). That death shalbe placed betweene Paradise and hell, and that the blessed soules shall attempt to kill death for feare of dying agayne, and the damned soules shall defend death in hope to dye agayne; but at last the blessed shall prevayle.⁴⁴ They are taught that the glory of all the Saynts is equall, and likewise /10/ their happines is

⁴⁴ These descriptions of heaven and hell may have come from Geuffroy, sig. mlr.

equall without any least difference. That each Saynt shall haue his owne station made of light, that theire be seauen Paradises, each hauing his garden with riuers of honye, and vnspeackble pleasures, with trees rare for beauty, and one more huge and beautifull then the rest, and with fruites most pleasant to the taste. That the Saynts shall the[i]re liue merily without the least sadnes, with rich furniture, braue horses, continuall feasts & mutuall visitations. That each one shall haue the wiues he best loued, and as many virgins and Concubynes newly /20/ created as they desyre, the other wemen that formerly liued being not admitted into Paradise [but] abyding in places of pleasure, and these wiues and Concubynes shall euer be as 15. yeares old, and euer remayne virgins, and the men be all of the Stature of Adam in a middle perfict age, and the excrements of the body shall resolue into sweete odors, for which they giue the example of Children in the mothers wombe, [and] not subiect to those polutions. That the gates of Paradise are of gold, the pauement of pretious stonnes, abounding with all thinges the most carnall harte can desyre, /30/ and withall meates excepting those that are strangled & Swyne. Agayne they beleue that the damned shall knowe one another by theire names, and laden with a fardell of theire sinnes, shall [be] by euill spiritts <be> hayled to the bridge betweene two mountaynes, and cast downe, the greatest sinners into hell on the Right hand, where the most heauye laden shall sincke deepest, but the lesse

sinner on the left hand into Purgatorye, whence they shall in shorte tyme be deliuered, and shall there haue liberty sometymes to refresh themselues in stincking waters. That the Pauement of hell is of /40/ brimstone, hauing rivers of boyling Pich, and flames blacke with brimstonne and Pich, and trees with bitter fruites, the cheife and greatest tree bearing a fruite that shalbe in their mouths like melted leade, with all other things that Paradise hath, but most contrary to them. That the damned after some thousandes of yeares shalbe freed, if they suffer patiently, but otherwise they shalbe tormented eternally, and that the Deuills which cannot be saued shall at last cease to be.

Lastly the Alcoran relates, that the Angell Gabrell conducted /50/ Mahomett to heauen, in which Iorneye he obserued the earth to be borne vp by an oxe, leaning vpon a stone, vnder which was hell. He obserued seauen other earthes deuided by //

fol.368. Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Chapt IIII Seas, and last borne vp by a [fl] fish. I dare not relate, it shall suffice to mention, his ridiculous discription of Gods throne, and his blasphemous conference with God, wherein Mahomett is preferred aboue all the Patriarkes and Prophetts. To Conclude among many Chimeraes⁴⁵ of Mahometts brayne, he writes a large discourse of his with the Angell

⁴⁵ Chimera.

of Death, whome he founde writing the perticular sinnes of
all perticular men in tables of pretious stonnes, larger
then I can tell, yet not so large as neede were for that
buissines, and that /10/ with such a penn for hugenes, as
neuer pennman handled, hauing 80. pointes or nebs, with
many wonderfull dimensions, farr beyonde our Capacitie.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Beyond our understanding and ability to be able to
reproduce something like it. *OED* II, 4 and 8.

Cap.V.

Of the Italians or rather the Romans
touching Religion.

{ m.n. 17. [Idolatry] }

Hauing in this booke formerly writen of the Bohemians Religion, I there handled, some poynts of the Roman Religion, and of the Iesuites, and the printed Statutes by which that Societie is governed. And in the former bookes writing of /20/ the Commonwealth of Germany and Italy, by the historicall Introductions thereof, I haue shewed howe the Popes tyranny grewe to that transcendent power it hath long exercised ouer the westerne Church of Christians. Now it remaynes more perticularly to showe howe the Roman Religion is taught and practised in Italy, and more perticularlly to treat of the plenitude of power, which the Pope Challengeth ouer all Christians.

At the first entring of Italy, three hatefull and palpable scandalls offend all Christians any thing Conversant in reading /30/ the holy scriptures, namely, grosse Idolatry, and vowes rashly made & frequently broken, and the great abuse of Confession and Pennance.

{ m.n. 34. Iolatry }

Touching Idolatry. First in generall I may boldly say, that

the Roman Idolatry at this day is the same or rather worse then that of the Roman Pagons was. The had thundering Iupiter for supremme god, and a rable of inferior Gods, and those appropriated to all sortes and Conditions of men, as Mars for Soldyers, Mercurye for Trauellers, and Venus for louers, and besydes the Gods Common to /40/ both Sexes, the wemen had allso Godesses to whome they might more confidently flye for releefe in the proper wants of that sex. As Iuno Lucina to those that were great with Chylde. And as the Pagons worshipped Gods to doe them good, as Bacchus for the Vintage, Ceres for the haruest of Corne, and Flora for Flowers, so did they worshipp Gods to doe them [no] hurt, as Rediculo at the gate of Rome (where Haniball incamped and was driuen away with scorne),¹ and the Godesse Fortune, Palenes, Feare, Pouerty, old age, and the terrible Gods of hell, Minos /50/ with his fellowe Iudges, and Reuenge with other furies. To conclude the Pagon Romans had some thirty thousand Gods, still worshiping the Gods of all nations they conquered, // Booke III of Italy[...] touching Religion Chapt V fol 369 excepting the God of the Iewes, whome Tiberious the Emperor would haue admitted, but that he was informed he would be worshipped alone, and not with any other God.

¹ "When Hannibal, attempting to raise the siege of Capua in 211 B.C., made a demonstration against Rome, a shrine was erected to the unknown power which made him go back again under the name of Rediculus." *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, edited by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, second edition (Oxford, 1970).

In like sorte the Roman Papists at this day accknowledge[d] the Creator of heauen and earth for cheefe God, but 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. They giue not only to euery condition of men, but to euery trade, proper Saynts /10/ to trust in and to worship, as St Cathrine to Sea men, St. Georg to Soldyers, and to Barbaras, Smyths, and to all trades of Artizans peculiar Saynts, whome they invoke in the peculyer dangers & necessityes [of their trades, but neglect as vnprofitable in other] [in their] occasions of life, and these Saynts the continually invoke, seldome calling vpon God as taken vp with higher affayres. yea to wemen they haue [giuen] wemen Saynts, whome as acquainted and more neerely touched with their infirmityes, that sex most willingly and most frequently invoketh & worshipeth.² And they are taught from some Saynts to expect peculyer /20/ graces, and from others to hope for deliuey from peculiar dangers. To conclude, the

² Moryson always notes the superstitious reverence of women, which seems greater than that of men. Thus in Turkey he notes that mostly women visit the graves, fol. 362, and give legacies for killing Christians, fol. 568. Women are also more susceptible to the Jesuits. See fol. 391. Similarly, in 'The Relic' Donne imagines that if the lovers's bones are found "in a time, or land, // Where mis-devotion doth command," they will become sacred relics, and "All women shall adore us, and some men." See John Donne, *The Complete English Poems* edited by A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 76.

Roman Papists not only ouertopp the Pagon Romans in the number of theire Godes, but they haue taught the God of the Iewes to be worshipped with them, yea after some of them, as will appeare by that which followeth.

The Papists giue diuine worship to Angells and to Saynts departed, if this be diuine worship, to build Temples to theire honor, to offer vnto them incense and prayers, and to trust in theire helpe, yea to make vowes of Pilgrimages and /30/ guifts vnto them, in all theire necessityes: then which nothings can be more grosse Idolatry, giuing to the Saynts the honor due only to God, and attributing to them theire health, wealth all preservations and benefitts, which truely come only from God. And howsoever some tymes they wantonly breake in prosperity, vowes rashly made vpon feare of imminent dangers, (as is sayd of him, who in danger of shipwracke vowed to St Caterine a wax Candle as bigg as Saynt Christophers Image, vpon condition shee would deliuer him, but after he came to land, being reprov'd by his frende /40/ for that vowe which he was not able to performe, answered that he would neuer more goe to Sea to be in St Catterines danger for breaking that vowe). Yet most Commonly these vowes are so beneficiall to the Fryers and Priests, as they inquire after them in Confession, and suffer them not to passe vnperformed, besydes the generall superstition of the Italyans, which in the least dangers causeth them to make frequent vowes, and no lesse

cureiously to performe them. For if a man haue a sore legg
or Arme, if he vndertake a voyage to Sea, and in all like
occasions, /50/ he commonly voweth, a legg, Arme, Shipp, or
like thinge, to some Saynt for good successe, which the
poore make of wood or stonne lesse costly metall, but the
rich of pure silver, or gold, and some churches haue so
many of these //

fol.370. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Capt V.

guifts by vowe, as they hardly fynde place to hang them vp
one by another.

Yea they worship dead Saynts, more then God. For howsoeuer
the scholemen teach the contrary, yet by practise in Italy,
it is manifest they trust more in the Saynts and giue them
doble worship. In all accidents they invoke the Saynts more
then God, and espetially the virgin mary, they frequently
Cry Iesu maria, and therein deale æqually betweene our lord
and the blessed virgin, yet Ioyne them so close, as they
will not parte them so much as with a shorte Copulatiue
/10/ Coniunction.³ But more Commonly they call vpon our
lady alone, as sole author of their well being, and in all
dangers of sicknes or otherwise, the[.] vulgar sorte call
a thousand tymes vpon the Virgin Mary and other Saynts, not

³ "A. adj. 1. a. Serving to couple or connect; spec. in
Gram. applied to conjunctions which connect
(constructionally) words or clauses which are also
connected in sense..." *OED* In this case, it is the simple
word "and". Moryson has obviously been drilled in his
grammar as a boy, and he has not forgotten it.

once imploring the helpe of God. The Preachers in Sermons more invoke our lady then the Crucifix. Men & espetially wemen fast more devoutely on Satterday to our lady then on fryday to our lord. In theire beades to number theire prayers, they haue nyne Aue Maries or Salutations to the virgin, for one Pater Noster the prayer of our /20/ lord. Twise each day, at noone and euening vpon the ringing of a bell, all euen those in the streetes pray on theire knees, and then only say the Aue Maria or Salutation to the virgin. Yea they vowe more Pilgrimages and other votary guiftes to our lady and the Saynts, then to God. At Florence the Church Anonciata dedicated to the [...] Angells Annontiation to the blessed virgin, is more frequented then all other Churches, and is hung with Infinite number of votary guifts, To conclude it is wonderfull to see howe much they attribute to the blessed /30/ virgin, teaching and preaching that Christ hath reserued Iustice to himselfe, and committed the dispensation of his grace to the blessed virgin his mother.

Agayne they Consecrate holy feasts to the worshipping of these dead Saynts, in the Churches consecrated to them, to which vpon those holy dayes there is farr greater concourse of people espetially wemen, then to any church vpon the Sabbath day, the keeping whereof holy they most neglect, and make it the Cheefe markett of the weeke. For Instance, vpon the festiuall day of St Lucia, all the Citty flockes

/40/ to that Church, and euery one dipps rods bombasted at the endes for the purpose, into a water which that Saynt is sayd to haue blessed, and therewith washeth his eyes his mouth, and his beades on which he nombers his prayers.⁴ And in like sorte they doe on the festiuall day of St Catherine, each one taking from the Priest a peece of her hallowed bread for agreat and holy guift. Then the Image of the Saynt is carryed, with flaggs and Banners, vnder a rich Canopie, about that parishe in procession, the Church being hung with guilded /50/ leaues and other ornaments and [the Image being adorned with silke garments & <Iew>ells] [Iewells], and hauing very many lighted torches Carryed before it. In like sorte vpon the feasts dedicated to our lord, they carry about in procession his Image, as vpon Palmes Sunday it is sett forth with meane garments riding //

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vpon an asse, and vpon Easter day gorgiously clothed in Robes of Carnation Satten, with gold lace and rich Iewells, like a young Cupid. And so in all the feasts of our lord or of any Saynt, the Memorye of the day is represented by Images sett forth in the Churches to that purpose. As vpon all soules day a thousand figures of Death in flaggs and Banners haging vpon the walls of the Churches, which they

⁴ The sticks are "bombasted", with cotton wool or some porous material on the end to take up the holy water. *OED* The City "flocks" to this festival, like so many lost sheep.

also adorne with blacke or rich hangings according to the sadnes or ioye of the Feast. No lesse straunge and impious is theire Idolatry in worshipping the Reliques (as the /10/ members or raggs) of the dead Saynts. These for greater reverence they seldome shewe to the people, and that in the afternoone when the Preacher hath first in the morning stirred vp the devotion of the people, by the great meritts and large Pardons of sinnes thereby obtayned. And [they] are shewed by the Bishoppes [or][of] Priests with great Ceremony & reverence, but in a place aboue the people, so as they cannot playnely see any thinge that he sheweth them, but happy he who beleeuues all, and can but kisse the brasse or mettall where in the Rellique is sayd to be inclosed, and can make his offering /20/ to it. For it is alwayes to be vnderstood, that in these Feasts and Ceremonyes, no man comes empty handed. To me this violence offered to the bodyes of the dead Saynts, seemes most strang and Impious. The greatest Tyrants, scoffing at the Reformation and affecting to take away the beleefe thereof, or (if it were in theire power) to hinder or prevent it, could giue no more bitter sentence, against the holy martyres placing all theire comfort in hope thereof, then to commaund theire ashes to be scattred in the ayre or vpon runnning waters. What ells did the Pope, when /30/ he scattered in the Rheine the Ashes of the Martyres Hus and Ierosme of Prage. What els doe the Papists in generall, when vnder pretext of honoring and worshiping the dead

Saynts, they teare in peeces their members yea every ioynt of each finger the least member, and disioyne each member one from the other as farr as the great distance of Prouinces and kingdomes can permitt. And howsoeuer they seeme to recompence this inhumanity with the adoration of these Reliques, yet it cannot be denyed, that they rend in peeces the members of the /40/ dead Saynts (admitting them all to be saynts, as many are nothing lesse) with no lesse cruelty then the most sauage tyrants ever did, and in true Diuinity their Remedy is worse then their offence. The Prophett Isaiah tearmeth the bedd agraue, and comforts the Saynts dying that they shall rest in those beds.⁵ And likewise the holy king Iosiah (contrary to this practise of the Papists) when he came to Bethel and defiled the Idolatrous alter with burning the bones of dead bodies vpon it, yet fynding the bones of the man of God, who had long before Prophecyed that he should in this sort destroy that Alter, he could shewe no greater reverence to that Prophetts bones then to lett them still lye at rest where he founde them.⁶ //

{ c.w. The Papists }

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The Papist will say that they giue these religious worships only to our lord and the dead Saynts themselues, not to

⁵ "Peace shall come: they shall rest in their beds..."
Isaiah 57. 2.

⁶ II Kings 23. 14 - 18.

theire Images, but it is most manifest they yeald them to the Images in as high degree as to them. The diuine worship allowed to Images, and to some more spetially, by the Schoolemen and Bellarmine,¹ I will leaue to the discussion of Learned Diuines, and insist vpon observations *De facto* or of practise.

For what needes wordes, when deedes giues evidence. No Priest can deny, that for those graces they expect /10/ from our lady, they pray not to her before any of her Images without difference, but before some perticular Image of hers, indowed with perticular power for perticular workes. And howsoeuer each Citty towne and village of Italy hath many Images of our lady, yet some two or three of them in all Italy carry away the devotion and oblations from all the rest. They kneele and pray before all Images, they adorne them with garments, they offer vnto them mony, prayers, and sweete odors, and howsoeuer all Saynts are all wayes the same in heauen, /20/ yet they attribute to theire perticular Images the power to cure this or that disease, and to releue them in this or that want, which they doe not attribute to other Images of the same Saynt erected in other places, And daily in some place or other. A newe

¹ Robert Bellarmine (1542 - 1621), "so famous for his learning, and so great a Champion of the Popes" *Itinerary* A, I, 304, was visited by Moryson on his visit to Rome in 1594. An immensely well read theologian, he took the side of Paul V in the Interdict controversy and questioned Galileo.

Madonna (so they call the blessed virgin) that is a newe Image of our lady, is made famous by Miracles, to which the people flocke, and being [tryed] tyred with old deuotion are by this a<r>t inflamed to newe deuotions and oblations. For indeede oblations are the true ende /30/ of these inuentions, and no doubt the Pope most stiffly commaundes and mantaynes those pointes of Religion, which bring in most gayne, and for this cause the Cannoni[i]zation 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.⁸ As at the tyme of my being in Italy, the Ambassador of Poland founde by /40/ experience, p[r]aying (as they sayd) an huge sonnme of monye, to haue a holy dead man of that kingdome Saynted at Rome. By the way note that this Can[o]nization of Saynts is an high point of Idolatry, in imitation of the old heathen Potentates and Emperors, who made theire deceased Auncestors, to be styled Gods and for such to be worshipped, which was the first foundation and very roote of Idolatry. The[n] to the former purpose consider that the riches of Churches and Monasteryes being at the Popes

⁸ I wonder what influence, if any, Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* had on the implied sense here, of cheat or swindler ?

The idea of a statue coming to life and the need to awaken faith in a further reality figures in *The Winter's Tale*.

disposall, he doth enrich the Church and indeede /50/
himselpe by these graunts, and by the large indulgences he
giues to the worshipers of this or that Image of a Saynt in
this or that Church or monastery, //

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(as euery Church or monasterye hath one or other), to which
the people flooke as to a great Fayre or markt, to buye
Pardons and spirituall graces. For the Priests and Fryers
nourishe this Concourse and these frequent oblations of the
people, and theire large guifts by last will and testament,
with singular art, [for the first, being as it were
confederate] these to send [them] [their] Confessed, for
pennance, to offer mony to this or that Image, of an other
Church or monasterye, and to be sent backe theire confessed
to them for the same purpose. For the second preaching
Purgatory and fayning aparitions of dead soules, not
otherwise to be redeemed thence. /10/ So that as vnder the
lawe sinners vere purged with blood, so vnder the Roman
Gospell they seeme to be purged with mony, acording to the
Poett

Munera crede mihi, placant hominesque Deosque

Beleeue mee, giftes appease both men and Gods.⁹

⁹ This is a memorial reconstruction of Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, III. 653. FB The full quotation is,

Munera, crede mihi, capiunt hominesque deosque:

Placatur donis Iuppiter ipse datis.

"Bribes, believe me, buy both gods and men; Jupiter himself is appeased by the offering of gifts." Ovid, *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, translated by J. H. Mozley, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1939), pp. 164, 165. This

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.¹⁰ To this [purpose] it were infinite to relate miracles /20/ of old and now dayly attributed, not so much to the dead Saynts, as to this or that particular Image of them, and these partly neuer donne but credulously beleeued, (wherof some are so ridiculous as the more modest Papists are ashamed to iustifye them) partly donne yet not by God but by Sathan, (to be discerned by their end, a tryall prescribed by the scriptures,¹¹ which end being to iustify thinges forbidden by God, as the adoration of Saynts and their Images, the miracle cannot proceed from

quotation is particularly appropriate, because the doorkeeper is being bribed so the lover may be with the beloved. For Catholics, the doorkeeper of heaven is St. Peter.

¹⁰ This is from Marcus Tullus (hence the Tully above) Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, I. 71, "*Mirabile videtur quod non rideat haruspex cum haruspicem viderit; hoc mirabilius, quod vos inter vos risum tenere postestis.*" "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." Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, Academia, translated by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1933), pp. 68, 69. "This is part of an attack on Epicureans for maintaining that the gods are "semi-corporeal"." FB This is very neat quotation on Moryson's part, for the friars and priests maintain the real presence of the body and blood in the bread and wine of the mass. The Latin continues, "*Non est corpus sed quasi corpus*", "'It is not a body, but the semblance of a body.'"

¹¹ "Jesus said vnto him, It is written againe, Thou shalt not tempt thy Lorde thy God." Matthew 4. 7, and also Luke 4. 12.

God) partly donne by naturall causes, and attributed to supernaturall (as health recovered by /30/ baths or Phisicke, attributed to vowes made to Saynts, as hauing blessed those waters, or hauing miraculously heated them) My selfe haue heard learned Papists affirme, that the fayning of miracles or visions, to the good end of stirring vp devotion and zeale in the people, is lawfull or at least no sinne, yet Iob cryes, hath God neede of your lyes to mantayne his truth,¹² and the Apostle sayth wee must not doe euill that good may come of it.¹³ And if any one say this doctryne is not mantayned by the Roman Church, I will boldly avow it is practised by it, and the truth is, that in Idolatry and the /40/ most grosse poynts differing from the reformed Religion, it boldly practiseth that which in our knowing age it nether dares nor can mantayne [.] in writing. The miracle of the Hostia that bledd when it was prickt, and that of another Hostia at Rauenna, which being cast on the ground by French soldiers, did of it selfe nymbly leape vp to a piller, whence the Priests brought it backe with great reverence to the high Alter, yea the head of Mary Magdalen shewed at Marseilles hauing to this day skynn and flesh vpon the forehead, where our lord touched her to repell her touching of him, and /50/ millions of

¹² A paraphrase of Job 13. 7 - 10.

¹³ "And (as we are blamed, and as some affirme that wee say) why doe we not euill, that good may come thereof? whose damnation is iust." Romans 3. 8.

like miracles, must needs be beleued by all good Roman
Catholikes. The nayle wherewith Christ was fastned to the
Crosse, and the peeces of wood adored as part of his
Crosse, will make an huge masse of Iron and //
fol.374. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Capt.V.
wood. Two bodyes of St lazarus, and two heades of St Peter,
and infinite multiplicity of more members and Ioyntes then
euer mortall men had, are shewed in diuers partes for holy
reliques, yet happy is that Cathike who beleeueth all that
he sees and heares. what should I speake any more of Romish
miracles, which are innumerable and vnutterable. I will
boldly say the miracles, of one Image of our lady of Loreto
are such and so many, as will tyer a thousand credulous men
to beleue eury man a litle, and yet they shall not be
halfe beleued by any who are not Romish /10/ Catholiques,
who will beleeue any thing but Gods words. They must
beleue, that the Chambr and the Image at loreto, were
brought in the ayre by Angells, from palestine into
Sclauonia,¹⁴ thence into Italy, and there from [one] place
to another, fynding no rest till they pitched vpon the
Popes ground, and all this to haue beene donne within lesse
then two hundreth yeares, after they had beene quietly
possessed by Saracens and Turkes more then a thousand
yeares. They must beleue that the Apostles made this

¹⁴ Sclau is the old fashioned form of Slav, (OED), so
it would appear that the Chamber landed somewhere in the
Slavic States on its journey to Italy.

Image, yea paynted, carued, /20/ and worshipped many Images in theire tyme. For the Pharisyes sayd Christ was a Carpenters sonne, and the Romans say this Carpenter made Images, lastly they must beleue that the Deuill coniured out of one of he possessed, did shewe the Priest the stonne, vpon which the[y] Angel Gabrill satt when he saluted the blessed virgin. To omitt the rest, if any good persons wilbe leeue them. I am content it shalbe my part <to>[to] beleue this last [parte] poynte, yea that the same Deuill tought them all the miracles theire lenges recorde. To conclude /30/ by those miracles simple Christians are seduced to beleue, that each Saynt infuseth some Diuine power into these theire Images, yea the Priests will haue them beleue, that diuers Images haue groaned, wept, and spoken (as our ladyes [Image] Image to St Barnard, whose answer wittily taxed the Priests knavery therein, saying O Madame weomen are not allowed to speake in the Church as the Apostle Paul witnesseth¹⁵) how can they then deny that they worshipp not only the Saynt, but euen the very Image. The preacher in the Pulpitt /40/ frequently calls the Crucifix his lord, & his Redeemer, and the schoolemen allowe diuine worship to the Crucifix and all Images of the persons in the holy Trinity, but the Italyans practise giues no lesse diuine worship as to the

¹⁵ "Let your women keepe silence in the Churches: for it is not permitted vnto them to speake: but *they ought* to be subiect, as also the Law sayth." I Corinthians 14. 34.

Saynts ten to God (formerly proved) so to the Images of Saynts, then to the Images of God, even the same kneeling, prying, vowing. gifts, adorin[n]g with garments and Jewells, (yea I dare say no Crucifix hath so [m]rich Jewells as our lady of loreto) the same Clothing, incensing and /50/ the same lamps bur<n>t to the one as to the other, without //

Booke iII of Italy touching Religion Capt V. fol 375.

any visible difference, and if they say that they giue greater mentall reverence to the Images of God, I feare they æquivocate in these mentall reseruations with God, as they hold lawfull in all occasions to doe with men. And finally the case thus standing with the Roman Papists, I nothing wonder that in the printed Catechismes the leaue out the second commaundment expressly forbidding Idolatry, and to make the number of tenn compleate, make two Commaundments of the truth, but rather [am] confident, [they] they would as gladly raze it out of their hearts, whereof /10/ they cannot thincke without trembling and horror of Conscience.

But the most abominable Idole of this who[re]le of Babilon, is the adoration of the bread in the Sacrament, grounded vpon the moster of Transubstination,¹⁶ first made an Article of beleefe some 200th yeares past or litle more, in

¹⁶ "Monster of Transubstantiation", i.e. the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation.

the Councell of Costnetz (called in latin Constantia) The Papists themselues giue the Sir name of Carnall, to nicodemus, who being a master in Israel, yet could not discerne howe a man should be regenerate or borne /20/ agayne by the spiritt, except he should turne back againe into his mother wombe. And surely they deserue no lesse the stile of Carnall men, who seeing the bodye of the Sunne being in the heauens, yet to be inioyed of men and beasts and plants, by the shedding of his heate and beames vpon the earth, and knowing that Christs body was made like ours in all thinges sinne only excepted, and holding it an Article of Christian beleefe that Christ in his body sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, from whence he shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead,¹⁷ /30/ notwithstanding cannot by Collation of our scripture with another vnderstand, [w]how the faythfull shoulde Communicate the body and blood of Christ for the spirituall foode of theire soules, except they eate his fleshly body in theire mouthes. But it is not [my] purpose to dispute or defyne any Controverted poynt of Diuinity, much lesse this so fully handled by the Diuines of the reformed church, and espetially by the godly and learned Preacher of our nation master Smyth, in two [.] of his printed Sermons, the truth

¹⁷ This is a direct quotation from the Apostle's Creed.

whereof in my opinion cannot be refelled.¹⁸ There/40/fore
as formerly so henceforward, I will content my selfe with
the observations of practise. And for this poynt, I say it
is the Custome, that when the Pope is present at any masse,
the Priest hauing Consecrated the Hostia, bringes it to the
Pope, that he may lift it vp to be worshipped by the
people. Now my selfe being at Roome vpon our ladyes day in
lent,¹⁹ and going to our laye[d]s //

fol.376. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Capt V
Church to see the Ceremonyes of that Feast, and there
fynding the Alter vpon which the masse was to be sayd lowe
and neere the grownde, but the Popes throne not farr
distant to be ascended by many steppes, I iustly expected
that when the Priests had consecrated the Hostia, the Pope

¹⁸ Henry Smith (c1550 - 1591), called by Nashe "Siluertongu'd *Smith*", and known as "prime preacher of the nation", echoes Moryson's description of him. He came under the scrutiny of Aylmer Bishop of London for his misgivings about church discipline, but was supported by Burghley. He revised his work and sermons for the press in his final illness. *A treatise of the Lords supper, in two sermons*, was printed in various states and collections. See *DNB*, *STC* 22685, 22686, 22687, 22718, and *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, edited by R. B. McKerrow, second edition, revised by F. P. Wilson, 5 vols (Oxford, 1958), IV, 192. These sermons were also reprinted in *The Works of Henry Smith*, edited by Thomas Smith, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1866 - 1867), I, 88 - 108. Smith combines erudition with intelligibility, a rare combination. A modern appreciation has been produced by R. B. Jenkins, *Henry Smith: England's Silver-Tongued Preacher* (Macon, Georgia, 1983).

¹⁹ 25 March 1594. Lady Day commemorates the annunciation nine months before Christmas Day. Easter Day was on 10 April in that year, new style. See John J. Bond, *Handy-Book of Rules and Tables for Verifying Dates with the Christian Era*, fourth edition (London, 1889), pp. 138, 158.

would haue discended to the Alter, and first himselfe adored on his knees the Hostia, (which he would haue men beleue to be very Christ in body and blood), and then would [haue] carryed it [to the people] vp to his throne, and there haue lifted it vp to the people /10/ But I woudered to see, [that] at [at] Rome the fountayne of all Ceremonyes, the pretended vicar of Christ, without stirring afoote somuch as to make his Christ (for such they will haue vs beleue the Hostia to be []) and meeting in the way is the least reverence the inferior can giue to his superior) should expect till the Priest[s] brought it vp to his throne, and then without reverence of knee or miter should lift it vp to be adored by the people, for which himselfe had giuen no good example, as [...] in my opinion his bounden duty had beene. To which I will /20/ only add, that the Iewes hold this opinion of Transubst^{<an>}tiation rather to be laughed and hissed at, then to be seriously disputed by vnderstanding men. And howsoever the Italian Clergy pretend great desyre to convert the Iewes, liuing there in great Numbers, yet no doubt the Iewes when they see them to adore Angells, & dead Saynts, by prayers, voves, and like Diuine worship, yea them more then God, and the very Images of them and the Images of God (which the hold vnlawfull to make or worship) yea the Images of the [heades] Saynts /30/ with the same worship without difference which they giue to Images of God, when they heare the Preachers in the Pulpitts call the Crucifix

theire lord & Redeemer, when they heare them teach that Images weepe, bleede, and speake, and alledge forged miracles of which assistance truth hath no neede, I say when they see this grosse Idolatrye, and espetially the leving of the second Commandment out of the C[h]atechismes, by which all Idolatry is expressly forbidden they are so farr from being Converted, as they dayly more and more hate and /40/ detest the Christian Religion.²⁰

{ m.n. 42. Of Vowes }

The second great scandall offering itselfe to the vewe of Christians at theire first entring of Italy, is the rash making & frequent[ing] breaking of vowes. Touching generall vowes being Idolatrous, I haue all ready handled them breefly, but here my purpose is to write of Monasticall vowes. But before I treate thereof, I must say somthing of the institution of Monkes and Fryers, and Religious orders,

²⁰ Far from converting the Jews, some Catholics apostasized as Brian Pullan has shown from the Inquisition records. Add to this the reconversion of forcibly converted 'Christians' from Spanish and Portuguese lands, and the number in Venice swapping faiths was probably equal. See his 'The Conversion of the Jews: The Style of Italy', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester*, 70 (1988), pp. 53 - 70. There are marked similarities between Moryson's words and those of Sir Edwin Sandys, "...as long as they shall see the Preacher direct his speech and/ prayer to that little wooden crucifixe that stands on the pulpit by him, to call it his Lord and Saviour, to kneele to it, to imbrace it, to kisse it, to weepe upon it (as is the fashion of Italy) this is preaching sufficient for them & perswades them more with the very sight of it, to hate Christian religion, then any reason that the world can alleadge to love it." See *A Relation of the State of Religion* (London, 1605), sigs. Y1v - Y2r, [STC 21716].

aswell militarye as sacred, growne in these last ages of the world to an vnspeakable /50/ number, aswell for the orders, as for the persons of each order. Our worthy Antiquary master Camden, and other, old Historians, doe witnes, that from the //

Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapter V f 377.

ages [were] neere the Apostells tyme, there haue beene Monkes in the Christian Church, who with drewe themselues into solitary places, & sequestred themselues into small Companies, to attende holy seruice, yet liuing in a condition farr different from those of succeeding ages downe to our tyme. For they liued of the wylde fruites of the earth, and vpon those planted and sowed by the sweate of their owne browes, and were maryed, and had Childrenn, which they brought vp in the Monasteryes, to succeed them in that Course of life.²¹ Wheras the Monkes of whom I am to speake, /10/ for number [by] [of] swarmes cover all landes, and instead of desertes inhabbitt the most pleasant and fertile places of the earth & instead of laboringe liue

²¹ "...the original of a Monastick life in the world proceeded from the rigorous and fiery persecutions of the Christian religion; to avoid which, good men withdrew themselves, and retir'd into the Deserts of Egypt, to the end they might safely and freely exercise their profession...Then their whole business was to pray, and to supply their own wants with their own labour, giving the over - plus to the poor...//...But as the times corrupted, so this holy zeal of theirs began to cool..." *Camden's Britannia 1695* with an Introduction by Stuart Piggott, and Bibliographical Note by Gwyn Walters, David and Charles Reprints (Newton Abbot, 1971), pp. 556, 557, referred to hereafter as Camden. (1695 was the first edition translated from the Latin of 1586.)

plentifully vppon landes of inheritance and bountefull
Almes daylie giuen them by the devotion of the Lay[e]tye
and make single life by vowed Chastety [an] [vnspeakable
bo] vnseperable bond of all Religious orders. *Benedict* was
the father of theise Monckes, who abowte the yeare of our
Lord 528 beinge Abbott in *Campania*, built a Monastery at
Casinum,²² and gatheringe to him the scattered Monckes of
the west, did institute his order of the Benedictynes, and
gaue them the lawes /20/ or Rules of life which they hould
to this day. From which sprange many other orders as *the*
Anthoniane, livinge after the Rules of *Anthony*²³ and soo
the Ambrosians the Hieroniminians and the Augustinians for
the tymes followinge weare noe lesse fruitefull of new
religious orders th<o>[.] barreyn of all workes of
pietye;²⁴ Soe as the sloathfull life of Monckes Caused
vniuersityes to be instituted to breed Preachers. But I
purpose not to speake of Scholasticall orders or degrees,

²² Monte Cassino.

²³ St Anthony (c250 - c356) was a hermit, and the founder of monasticism, because of the faithful who gathered around him. His rule can be intuited from the life in the Greek of St Athanasius. CE

²⁴ The teaching of St Ambrose (c340 - 397) Bishop of Milan was the inspiration for the religious in fourteenth and fifteenth century Milan, using the Ambrosian liturgy and chants. The Order was dissolved in 1650. The Hieronymites were a similar medieval group taking their inspiration from St Jerome (c340 - 420), and in Italy were dissolved in 1668. The Augustinians follow the rule of St Augustine (354 - 430), one of the great doctors of the Christian Church. His rule taken from sermons and a letter enjoins poverty, sharing money communally, and labour. CE

(namely Studentes, Bacchilors, Masters, and Doctors, generally receiued abowte the yeare ii5i, but will only handle the /30/ sacred and military Orders of Religionn. Fower sacred Orderes are accounted Cheeffe; *the Benedictynes*, *the Basilianes*, *the Augustinianes* & *the Franciscanes*²⁵ from whom sprange the rest distinguished by seuerall habbittes and Rules of life, namely the Canons Regular instituted abowte the yeare i076,²⁶ the austere and strict Order of the Carthusianes instituted at Colleynn in the yeare 1088: (whic Friers haue the inward longe garment of Ash Cullor, the outwards of blacke or white, and perpetually absteyne from all kinde of flesh, each eatinge alone in his priuatt Cell, saue that /40/ they eat together in the publique Refectory vppon Festiuall daies and they alwaies obserue more then *Pythagoricall* silence, with lookes full of sadnes and grauity.²⁷) *The Cestertianes* weare instituted in *Burgondy* abowte the yeare 1098,²⁸ into

²⁵ St Basil the Great (c329 - 379) founded a monastery at Pontus, and instituted a rule. The Rule of St Francis of Assisi (1181 - 1226) enjoined poverty and penance. *CE*

²⁶ "The clerical state is essential to the Order of Canons Regular, whereas it is only accidental to the Monastic Order." The *CE* is by no means as precise as Moryson about the date of their institution, but places antecedents much earlier.

²⁷ Pythagoras "migrated to Croton in Magna Graecia and there founded a school or brotherhood...The members of the school were bound by strict vows to their leader, and practised asceticism..." Harvey, p. 356. *CE* confirms Moryson's description of Carthusian life.

²⁸ "Cistercian" after the mother house founded at Cîteaux. Moryson's date is correct.

which order reuerend *St Bernard* entred in the yeare *iii3*,²⁹
from whom sprange *the Bernardynes* havinge the same Rule,
only differinge in habbitt: *The Premonstratians* instituted
in the yeare *iii6*:³⁰ *The Friers humiliati* Confermed in the
yeare *i200*:³¹ *The Carmelites* soe Called of *Carmelus* a
mountaine of *Syria*, beinge mendicant Monckes, /50/ //
{ c.w. weare instituted }

fol.378. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt V
were instituted in the yeare 1204.³² *The Dominicans*, called
Predicant of theire bond to preach,³³ were instituted by *St*
Dominick, and confirmed by the Pope in the yeare *i216.*,
wearing a blake gowne and ouer it a white wollen Coate,
with a Coole³⁴ hanging from he head to the shoulders, and
they were deuided into *Conuentualls*, liuing of *Common* and

²⁹ 1112.

³⁰ *The Premonstratesian Canons* were founded in 1120 by *St Norbert*. The five ends of the order were singing *Divine Office*, *Salvation of Souls*, *Habitual Penance*, *Devotion to the Eucharist*, and *Virgin*. Even the *CE* admits that corruption due to affluence was widespread in the sixteenth century.

³¹ *The humiliati* were penitent nobles captured by *Emperor Henry V*, who gave themselves to charity and mortification on their return to *Milan*. By *Moryson's* time, *Pius V* comissioned *St Carlo Borromeo* to reform them, and he was almost assassinated by one of them. *Pius* then dissolved the order in 1571.

³² It may have been about fifty years earlier. *CE*

³³ From the Latin *prædicatio*, proclaiming the Word.

³⁴ *OED* lists this as a variant sixteenth century spelling of "cowl". "Their habit is a white tunic, with black cloak and hood, and a leathern girdle." *CE*

ordinary meates,³⁵ and obseruants, only eating Radishes, Onyons, Turnops, Coleworte, milke and eggs:³⁶ and this order so increased as at one tyme it had 4143 Monasteryes, and about fourescore thousand /10/ Fryers.³⁷ Another order of the Franciscans called Minorite Fryers was instituted in the yeare 1209 and confirmed 1223 and in ages following had more then 1743 Monasteryes. The order of the virgines or nunns of St Clara begann about the yeare 1223,³⁸ and about that tyme the order of St Trenity begann by two Anachorites begging Almes for Christian Captiues.³⁹ The mendicant Monkes of St mary begann in the yeare 1292.⁴⁰ The order of the whippers begann about 1260, which vsed to beate them selues with rodds publikely, some euery day some vpon sett dayes, and the /20/ number of them grewe so great, as the Emperor Charles the fourth and Pope Clement the sixt

³⁵ Conventuals lived in the conventual schools which taught theology, and were attached to many European universities. There were two such schools at Paris. *CE*

³⁶ Presumably these observed special rules on diet. Coleworts are cabbages, or greens. *OED*

³⁷ This is the exaggeration of a defensive Protestant mind. *CE* admits to about 30,000 to 40,000 in the seventeenth century, half of Moryson's number of 80,000.

³⁸ Isabella in *Measure for Measure* wishes to be a member of the "sisterhood, / The votarists of St. Clare." I. 4. 5, though the Duke has other plans for her. The Poor Clares embraced poverty, penance and seclusion. *CE*

³⁹ Also known as the Trinitarians. The Order was founded in 1198. *CE*

⁴⁰ Also known as Servites, as they are servants of the Virgin Mary. The order was founded in 1233, under the Augustine Rule. *CE*

thought good to suppress the order.⁴¹ Pope Celestine did institute the order of the Celestines 1294.⁴² The Capellanes Instituted 1283 and the Stellati. 1351.⁴³ The order of St Brigitt Common to both the Sexes (the wemen lying in the vpper Roomes, the men in the lower, where they haue a Chappell, to which a gallerye answereth from the wemens Chambers aboue) was instituted 1363 and is governed by an Abbatesse, and a Confessor called the Prior of the /30/ Fryers.⁴⁴ The sect of the Iesuites, so called of the name of Iesus, which they had frequent[.]ly in their mouths, had their begining from Iohn Columban and Frances Vincent in the yeare 1368, Clothed in a single habitt, and they liued by their labours, not taking holy orders, but only attending prayers, and these suspected of a detestable superstition were called to Rome by Pope Vrban the fyfth,

⁴¹ The Flagellants took chastisement of the flesh to its ultimate. The hysteria induced by the Black Death of 1347 - 1349 so worried the authorities that the movement was banned in 1349, although it reappeared in 1399. BP, CE "There never was an 'order of the whippers' as Moryson puts it, although there were in almost all Italian towns lay confraternities which practised self-flagellation either in public or private, and were known as the *battuti* or *disciplinati*. But they were penitential brotherhoods, not a religious order." BP

⁴² They were a branch of the Benedictines, self mortifying anchorites recognized by Urban IV in 1264. The Franciscan Celestines were recognized when Celestine was elected Pope, but after his abdication were dissolved by his successor the cynical Boniface VIII. CE

⁴³ I cannot find these listed under these names in CE.

⁴⁴ St Bridget of Sweden (c1303 - 1373), mother of eight children, devoted herself to asceticism after her husband died. Urban V confirmed her Rule in 1370. CE

who confirmed the order, after they had giuen him account of theire life, and gaue them a white habitt with a foure Cornard Capp from the necke to the shoulders.⁴⁵ /40/ The order of the Nunns of St Catherine begann 1372⁴⁶ The sect of the Abbati begann 1399. but a Priest of them comming to Romme with a great multitude following him, by reason of a Crucifyx he carryed and made them beleeeue it did weepe, the Pope feareing his ambition, Condemned him to be burnt, and so the order vanished. The Society of the Iesuites was confirmed in the yeare 1540 by the practise of Ignatius loiola, a gentle man of Spayne, who maymed in both his leggs, left the warr when he was 26. yeares old, and being altogether vnlearned, went on /50/ pilgrimage to Ierusalen, whence retorning, & preaching to the people without lycense, he was cast into prison as an //

⁴⁵ Giovanni Colombini (1304 - 1367) was exiled from Siena in 1363 for his outspoken criticisms. Twentyfive companions, who by that time were called *Gesuati* because of their constant use of the name Jesus, followed him. Among them was Francesco Vincenti. Their life of poverty, prayer and penitence, and their assistance to the poor and sick, impressed the Sienese enough to rescind their condemnation after an outbreak of plague. Widespread suspicion aroused still had to be quelled. Vincenti obtained a preliminary informal recognition from Urban V, who, nevertheless, ordered an "inquisition" by the Dominican Guglielmo Sudre. They were absolved and recognized as a congregation, and only dissolved in 1668. No impressive Venetian funeral was complete without them. See the diary of Marin Sanudo for 2 August 1527 at Zorzi Corner's funeral, which is reprinted in *Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1992), p. 253, BP.

⁴⁶ St Catherine of Sweden was the daughter of St Bridget. She obtained further Papal endorsements of her mother's order in 1377 and 1379. *CE*

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Capt V fol.379.

heritike, but escaping went to Parice, and there studyed tenne yeares, [and commenced Master of Arts,] whence he returned in to Spayne, gathering other to that society, and after comming to Rome obtayned of Pope Paul the third, power to heare Confessions, and thr[o]ugh out Italy preached for a tyme in great voverty; He comming the second tyme to Rome, obtayned of the same Pope Confirm[ed]ation of his order, vpon condition that more the 60 persons should not be admitted to that society, but the same Pope after three yeares taking away that Condition, the society increased, and being approued by the succeeding /10/ Popes, had some 60. Colleges about the yeare 1590. The Pope is the head of the society, and the second head vnder him is the generall allwayes residing at Rome, the third place belongs to the Iesuites, who haue professed the same vowes, (namely poverty, Chastitie, and obedience, Common to all Religious orders, and the fourth new vowe of Mission, peculyar to the Iesuites) the fourth place belongs to those who haue professed the first three Common vowes, the fyfth to the Coadiutors spirituall, the sixt to the Coadiutors temporall, the seuenth to the Schollers, the eight and last to the Novices. In our age /20/ this Society formerly vnknowne is growne most famous ouer all Christendome, as shall be shewed, here I will only say that Cardinall Morono

built a Colledg at Rome for the Germans,⁴⁷ where [he taught] the young youthes of Germany should freely be taught by the Iesuites, since which tyme. other like Seminaryes haue beene built at Rome, in Flaunders, and other where, by the Popes and other benefactors, for other nations, more spetially for the English, the pretence being for instruction of young men freely by the Iesuites, but wee needed no Colleges for that purpose at home, & tyme abun/30/dantly taught, that they ver[y]e⁴⁸ schooles of treason to disturbe the Reformed Religion. The taske were infinite to sett downe the habitts and Rules of all these Orders, I will content my selfe to add one late order of Nunns risen vp in Italy called Delle Convertite, that is of [the] Converted, they hauing beene Curtisanes or Common wemen, and now repenting or forsaking sinne, perhaps worⁿe out or forsaken by sinne, cast themselues into Cloysters there to doe pennaunce for their sinnes.⁴⁹ And now I will

⁴⁷ Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509 - 1580) the tactful diplomat and papal nuncio at the Court of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, was so unusually moderate in his views for this period, that he was imprisoned by the former Grand Inquisitor, Paul IV. *CE* mentions his involvement with Loyola in founding the *Collegium Germanicum* in passing.

⁴⁸ This appears an imperfect attempt to make the words "were very..."

⁴⁹ Compare John Webster, *The White Devil* edited by John Russell Brown (London, 1965), III. 3. 266 - 267.

Vittoria: A house of convertites, what's that ?

Monticelso:

A house

Of penitent whores.

Webster is more accurate than Moryson. "The *Convertite* were not a religious order: the various houses of *Convertite* were local foundations (though they probably imitated each

breefely add the military Orders. That [of] the knights Templaryes was confirmed by the /40/ Pope in the yeare 1124 so called of the Temple of Ierusalem, parte whereof they inhabitted, and they grewe to great riches and power, insomuch as Vrspergensis and Cranzius report, that in the expedition of Frederick Emperor of Germany into Asia against the Saracens, they incited by the Pope Gregory the nynth, did much hinder the Emperors proceedinges, and falsely betrayed him.⁵⁰ But in the yeare 1312 this order was in one day abolished by the Pope, assisted therein by the French king, either for suspition of Pagon Religion, or of Sodomiticall lust, or [for] [of] conspiring with the Turkes, or rather /50/ for Covetousnes of theire riches, and feare of theire power.⁵¹

other), and they did not all follow the same rule. Some adopted the rule of St. Augustine, others that of the Poor Clares." BP

⁵⁰ Gregory IX (1227 - 1241) was the great enemy of Emperor Frederick II (1197 - 1250).

Burchardus Urspergensis (of Ursprung), produced a chronicle in the thirteenth century which was published under the title, *Chronicon abbatis Vrsprungens. a Nino rege Assyriorum magno: vsque ad Fridericum. II. Romanorum Imperatorem*, edited by Joannes Foeniseca (Augsburg, 1515), and a subsequent edition of Strasburg 1537 had an introduction by Philip Melanchton. The subsequent edition of 1609 wrongly ascribed the work to Conradus, so Moryson must have read one of these earlier editions. Albert Krantz (c1450 - 1517) was a popular theologian and historian, whose works circulated in Latin and German. An edition of *Vandalia et Saxonie A. Cranzii Continuatio, ab anno 1500*, was published in Wittenburg in 1585 - 1586. Moryson may have bought it during his stay there in 1591. Hyamson, *BMGC*.

⁵¹ Moryson sees behind the official to the real reasons.

fol 380. Booke III. of Italy touching Religion Chapt.V.
The king of Ierusalem Balduine the second, did institute
the military order of the knights of St Iohn in the yeare
1119. to be a Bullwarke of Christendome against the
Sarecens, and the Iland Rhodes being taken in the yeare
1308, it was giuen to this Order, and they were stiled the
knights of Rhodes. But that Iland being taken by the Turkes
in the yeare 1522, that Order was removed to the Iland
Malta, from which tyme they are called the knights of
Malta, and make profession to be a Bullwarke of the Roman
Church, of Italy, and Spayne, against the Turkes, /10/
being obliged by their oath, to roote out the lutherans,
and daly to say the Pater Noster and Auie Maria vpon their
beades so many tymes ouer, as may seeme a taske more fitt
for monkes then military men. Also by oath they are bound
once yearely to visite the Pope, vpon whome and the king of
Spayne, they espetially depent, yet haue good Revenues in
Fraunce, to which French gentlemen succede their Fathers
and kinsmen, and become knights of that order, not allwayes
liuing in Malta, but bound to come thether when they are
called, and of old gentlemen only were /20/ admitted to
this Or<d>er, but in latter tymes for small summs of mony
Plebeans are admitted to be Protectors of the Roman Church
in this order of knighthood. The order of the Teutonick or
German knights was instituted in the yeare 1190 at

Potolomais in Palestyne,⁵² whence being after driuen out, they planted theire cheefe seate or college at Venice, and after removed it into Prussia, where at last the master of the Order deuiding that Province betweene himselfe and the king of Poland, was by the king Created Duke of Prussen, hauing his seate at konigsberg, /30/ and so the order was abolished. The order of the Gladiators of Poland, rann the same fortune with the Teutonik. The order of the knights of St Iacques in Spayne was confirmed by the Pope in the yeare 1158. The king of England Edward the third instituted the order of the knights of the Garter vnder the Patronage of St Georg in the yeare 1350, but this order never swore nor performed any fealty to the Church of Rome, being rather a seculer Piller of the kings power. The order of the Compostellan knights in Spayne Conteyneth most part of the /40/ Nobility, being sworne to mantayne the Christian Religion against the Moores, and the master of the order is sayd to haue the next place of Dignity to the king. The order of the knights of the golden Fleece was instituted for a Piller to the Church by Phillip Duke of Burgundy in the yeare 1429. hauing some refference of Imitation, to the expedition of Iason with the youthes of Greece to Colchos for the golden fleece, and this order is nowe fallen to be vnder the king of spayne as heyre to the Duke of Burgundy, and he bestowes it as a marke of great honor. The French

⁵² Acre. CE

/50/ king Henry the third abolished the old order of the knightes of St Michaell, or rather bringing it into Contempt by making it vulgar, did by the aduise of Catherine of Medici //

Booke.III of Italy touching Religion Chapt V fol 381.

the Queene mother, Instituted anewe Order of knights of the holy Ghost in the yeare 1579, for the defence of the Catholike Church (so they call the Roman) against the Reformed Religion.

But I returne to the Monasticall orders, wherof my purpose is to speake. Among them diuers orders obserue most austere and strict rules of life, as the Carthusians, and the obseruant Franciscans. Others liue a lesse austere Course of life, as the Augustinians. Others haue as much liberty as heart can desyre, and as great affluence of riches, as the preaching Dominicans. /10/ Others by degrees haue assumed liberty, in generall practise, Contrary to the first rules of their Order, as the Conventuall Franciscans going through Cittyes and Prouinces beging Contrary to the rule of their order. For they are tyed to liue within their Covent, where they heare Confessions in their Chappells, in which they haue Cheests continually replenished with Pyes, Roasted meate, and like provisions, brought them by their deuote Disciples, without begging a broade, though another sorte of Franciscans is allowed to

[g] begg, and called Mendicant, who stragle⁵³ with [theire] theire walletts abut the /20/ Country liuing vpon Almes, of which sorte myselfe gladly mett one, vpon the mountaynes of Liguria, when passing from Genoa to Milan disguised and on foote. I was so weary and hungry, as being farr from any towne I was glad to refresh my selfe with his vittles, which he willingly gaue me but by no importunity would take any mony for it. So as these orders haue bates and snares to catch all humors, be they austere, Idle, licentious, solitary or wandring. Yet if I may say truth playnely, the Austerity of them is not altogether Reall, since the very Carthusians abstayning /30/ from flesh in the publike Refectorye, will not spare to eat it in theire priuate Cells, and the Hermits professing to liue in desertes, Commonly so dwell vpon solitarie rockes, as they are not vnfruitefull, besydes that they are seated in firtill Countryes, and neere to rich townes and Cittyes. And generally besydes the Corruption in the first foundation of monasteryes for [in] fyue or 600. yeares after Christ (for I speake not of the Monkes before that tyme farr differet from these), it cannot be denyed, but much rust⁵⁴ hath defyled these Cloysters during the securitye and aboundance /40/ wherein the Church of Rome hath wallowed for many

⁵³ "1. a. intr. To wander or stray from the proper road...Often with adv., as *about...*" *OED*

⁵⁴ "n. 1. 5. a. Any deteriorating or impairing effect or influence upon character, abilities etc., especially as a result of inactivity." *OED*

ages. Nether in this age sharpely obseruing theire faultes,
dare the Popes reforme the Monasteryes, as perhaps they
would, fearing lest any small rigor of Disciptyne might
cause [cause] the Fryers to runne away, to Geneua or other
reformed Churches neere them. Only howsoever the Nonneryes
of Fraunce are at this day and long haue beene defyled, not
to say infamous for wantonnes,⁵⁵ the truth, [of] is, the
Nunneryes of Italy are much Reformed, yet withall I will
boldly say, that, the Ielous Italyans are not /50/ more
Commonly [...] [or] easily by any meanes abused in the
Chastitye of theire wives and Concubynes, then vpon
præntence of theire devotion by plotts made in these
Cloysters. But lett these contentments which all sortes of
humumors pro//

{ c.w. mise[d] themselues }

fol.382. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt V.

promise themselues in these Cloysters be altogether Reall,
or in part seeming, no doubt they are sufficient to attract
multitudes to them. Sas as⁵⁶ for this cause and many
pryuate respectes concurring, the<se> daly come by troopes
to vndertake these professions. It is an old saying,
desperation makes a Monke,⁵⁷ and indeede as old historyes

⁵⁵ Hence the force of Hamlet's "Get thee to a nunnery.
Why wouldst thou be a breeder of sinners?" III. 1. 23, 24.

⁵⁶ "So as".

⁵⁷ Tilley does not record anything exactly similar, but
D270 is similar in sentiment, "The Devil was sick, the
devil a monk would be; the devil was well, the devil a monk

in generall witnesse and our English historyes in particular relate, that many monasteryes were built and founded for expiation[s] of Crymes, and by our Saxon kings for no lesse, then frequent Murthers, of brothers, /10/ Nephewes, and kinsmen, by which they attayned their kingdomes, so of old the Ecclesiasticall power, taking from the secular all punishment of Clergy men being reserued to it selfe, did commonly impose no further punnishment on Clarkes though murtherers, then to shutt them vp in a close monastery. Nether can it be denied that monasteryes of old lay open as Sanctuaries to all Malefactors, euen lay men as Clarkes, and so are vsed to this day, hereof to omitt many instances aboundantly offering themselues to those are conversant in historyes or the practise of the /20/ Roman Church. I will only name one, of the Fryer my Consort in my voyage to Ierusalem, who hauing committed many murthers and outrages (as his Comtrymen our Consortes tolde me) had no safety vpon the newe made peace but in taking the habitt of a Fryer, as many other French men then did vpon the same occasion. For howsoeuer the king proclamed abolition of all hostile Acts, yet priuate men would neuer haue beene restrayned from the touch of blood and honor to revenge the murther of their neere kinsmen, had he not putt on this habitt, /30/ to which all violence offered is both dishonorable and Impious, besydes the respect of that

was he."

holynes [which][w..] this Pilgrimage might bring vnto him. Agayne besydes the foresayd allurements of all humors to this course of life, and this Criminall desperation forcing many there vnto, if any man haue litle left him by his Friends, and be loath to make his fortune by paynefull industrie, chusing rather with ease to liue vpon the sweate of other mens browes, if any haue beene vnfortunate, and Crossed in Trades or other courses of life, if any be in /40/ danger of the Iustice. If any man for ill successe in any affayres or hopes be weary of the world, the entrye of these Monasteryes will ease them of care and greefe, rather then barr them of <w>orldly comforts. And all these innumerable Fryers are bound to mantayne the Roman Religion, by which they subsist, and after all these dispayres, vnfortunate or distastfull Courses, haue new hopes of preferment, by degrees to the greatest dignities of the Church, euen to become Popes, which many Fryers haue obtayned. For a Fryer may hope to be Pryor of /50/ his Conuent, then to be Pryor of all the Covents of his Order in any Province or kingdome, then to be generall // { c.w. of his order }

Booke III Of Italy touching Religion Chapt V. fol 383.

of his Order in [any Prouince of kingdome] all Christendome, then to be a Cardinall, and why not a Pope. But howsoeuer men of yeares and discretion enter these orders, and make the voves to which they are oblided, it is lamentable to see infinite Numbers of young youthes and

tender virgins, drawne by perswasions and allurements of Parents and Religious persons, yea many tymes by threatninges, to enter these orders, and make the perpetuall vowes there of, when as yet they can haue no experience

Quid portare queant humeri, quid ferre recusent. /10/

What theire shouldes can vpreare,

What weight theire strength cannot beare.

I meane what strength they haue to keepe those vowes, or what tydes of naturall corruptions may violently carrye them to the breach therof. As the Fryers are by proper intrest bound to mantayne the Roman Church, so multitudes of the layetie, by the good they feele from these monasteryes, are bound in the same obligation, besydes the respect they beare to theire frendes and kinsmen entered into them. For the Common sorte doe not consider howe much land these /20/ Religious howses keepe from the layetie, nor how many subiects they take from kings by making them vassalls to the Pope, but they playnely see with their eyes that the common wealth is by them disburthened of all discontented and superfluous humors, and that themselues are generally eased of the greatest care Parents can haue, namely to provide for their Children. Yet the Nunnes of Italy, more spetially in these late tymes when such multitudes r[a][u]nne to these Cloysters, may complayne with [h] Homer (according to the old saying) that he must

goe forth if he come with empty hands.⁵⁸ For they cannot be admitted /30/ without paying mony. It is a Common saying among them,

Vn tal non ha il modo di far la figliola Monaca.

Such one for want of meanes vndonne,
his daughter cannot make a Nunne.

For if any wilbe a Nunne, shee must bring somewhat by way of Dowry, as two or 300. Crownes, and somewhat by yearely Pension to mantayne her selfe, as some Crowe a monthe.⁵⁹ And howsoever this may be some ease to the Parents, because they cannot so marrye them, yet for ought I see, the poore are altogether excluded from this benifitt. By that hath /40/ beene sayd may appeare, what strength the Roman Church hath by monasteryes, and Fryers, aswell in themselues, as in the multitudes of the layetie whose affections they sway. In generall all the Clergy is by the Roman Bishop exempt from all subiection to secular power, and indowed with reputation of [g]sing[.] [u]lar holines, and with great priuiledges (as in cases of Felony to be saved by their booke, and for spirituall preheminece aboue the layetie to receave the holy supper in both kyndes), and they giue an oath of absolute obedience to the Roman /50/ Church, all which bynde them to mantayne that Church by which they haue their dignity and riches, and so depending vpon it, to

⁵⁸ "H537 Let *Homer* yeild to such as presents bring" Tilley.

⁵⁹ "Crownes a month." ?

contemne and tread vnder them all Ciuill magistrates, yea
theire very kinges to //

fol 384. Booke [III] of Italy touching Religion Capt.V.
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. The monasteryes (as
Segonius writeth) long refused to giue this oath to the
Roman Church, alledging that they were not to be bound with
any other oath then that of theire order, but in long
processe of tyme the Popes power increasing forced them to
yealde also to this subiectiō, by which that church hath
likewise obliged the very military Orders. The Cardinall
are commonly Princes younger brothers, and [so][as] they
chuse the Pope, so are /10/ they Created, by him, and from
him holde theire glorie and Reuennues. [whereby the are
made potent to sway the kingdoms where of they are, and to
support the Popes greatnes euen against theire kinges.] The
Archbishops and Bishops and cheefe secular Priests are in
all kingdomes eminent persons, and commonly of great
Families, at least gentlemen, and such are likewise the
Abbotts. And the Roman Bishops could never confirme that
Hierarchie, till vnder pretext of Symony, they had by many
broyles and much fraude extorted the guift of these
Promotions, from Emperors, kings, Princes, and all laye
persons, to theire owne[s] handes, whereby they made the
possessors therof to depend vpon them, and to mantayne /20/
that church by which they inioyed these dignities and

Reuennues. Nether did they only oblige the Clergy and Religious orders by these preferments, but many eminent persons of the layety, making them Capable therof by dispensations, or at least by earely Pennsians. But in my opinion the Religious Orders, aboue all othe vassalls of the Pope, most support his monstrous greatnes. They vent [his][of] Indulgences & spirituall graces, and whatsoeuer they gett by theire holy Acts, all is at the Popes disposall, who vseth them as sponges to sucke the peoples vaynes, and then letts them blood when they /30/ 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. Theire Monasteries and Colleges are the Popes Fortresses, theire persons his Armyes, and that innvmerable,⁶⁰ for I haue formerly shewed that of old, the Dominicans numbred fourescore thousand, hauing 4143 Monasteryes, and the Minorite Franciscans had of olde 1743 Monasteryes, and the whole order hath lately beene /40/ generally thought to exceede the number of 30. thousand Fryers, and of all sorts of orders experienced Italians say

⁶⁰ The Papacy is a monarchy, "...vsing Colledges to a great purpose, as others can fortresses, & working greater matters, partly by Schollers, partly by swarmes of Friars, than else they could ever doe by great garrisons & armies." Sir Edwin Sandys, *A Relation of the State of Religion* (London, 1605), sig. C3r, [STC 21716], hereafter referred to as Sandys.

that Italy mantaynes no lesse then a Million of Fryers.⁶¹
 Yea these huge Armyes are not only spirituall but temporall
 if neede be. For theire spirituall Armes they are zealous
 promoters of the Roman Religion, some by preaching, as the
 Dominicans, Franciscans, and espetially the Iesuites,
 others by priuate perswasion, all by hostentation of
 holynes, but spetially creeping into weomens houses and
 leading the[m] Captiue (as the Apostle sayth⁶²) who seldome
 /50/ fayle to drawe the men after them. Not one Fryer but
 actes some parte in this worke, some by austerity, some by
 good fellowship, some Cunningly and wittily, some by //
 Booke III. of Italy Touching Religion Chapter.V. fo 385.
 playne dealing example, trayning all sortes of people into
 the Roman nett.⁶³ Besydes that they being a generation in
 grace with the [Pe[o]pele] people, whose Consciencs they
 more spetially leade by art of Confession, they haue great
 power, and haue not spared often yea cruelly and shamefully
 to vse it, in stirring tumults and seditions and bloody

⁶¹ Out of an Italian population of about thirteen million in 1600 (See the table in Parker, p. 23) this is surely an exaggeration. Yet it exemplifies the demonology of the embattled Protestant imagination pitched against the innumerable forces of revived Catholicism. The following pages augment this theme.

⁶² "For of this sort are they which creepe into houses, and leade captiue simple women laden with sinnes, and led with diuers lustes, *Which women* are euer learning, and are neuer able to come to the knowledge of trueth." II Timothy 3. 6, 7.

⁶³ "v. 1. II. 4. fig. To draw by art or inducement; to draw on; to allure, entice, decoy; to lead astray, deceive, take in. arch." *OED*

massacres against their enemies of the reformed Religion, being in general so strong Combyners of their party, as there is small hope to reforme Religion where they swarme.⁶⁴ And had not Fryers themselves in Germany bene the /10/ Authors of Reformation, had not the Monasteries bene destroyed and these Fryers Companies dissolved in England before the Reformation, it had not in all probability succeeded so easily as it did. But in this warfare the Iesuites above all play the master prizes.⁶⁵ For if a Colledge of them can be planted in any Province, they fynde it as powerfull to roote out the Reformed Religion by practises, as a strong Garrison of Soldyers can be to keepe Rebellious subiectes in obedience by force of Armes. Touching their temporall warfare, If /20/ the Popes affayres were driven to the Triarij (so the old Romans called their best Soldyers never brought to fygh but in cases of extremity), he might sett vp a grand rest vpon this Army. They are resolute in attempts, hauing no posteritye to care for, yea what they will not doe for the Roman Church, whome by experience wee haue seene to practise once the blowing vp a whole kingdome by a deuellish

⁶⁴ Compare, "The *Garmelitanes* [Carmelites?] and *Augustines* have their hives in every garden, and every where swarme." Sandys, sig. G2r.

⁶⁵ "n. 1. 1. The act of taking or seizing anything..." *OED* continues to define it in a feudal context, but Moryson seems to use the word in a more figurative sense, as seizure in an act of war.

blast of gunnpouder,⁶⁶ and often the killing of kinges, yea to kill them with their owne handes in that quarrell. They are commonly young, able bodyes, many of them /30/ gentlemen, and most of them men of the best spiritt, they are vsed to watching, fasting, poore Cloathing, ill lodging, and to colde.⁶⁷ No dispatches passe more swiftly then those sent from a Prior of a Covent to the Prouinciall Prior, and from him to the generall of the Order at Rome, they professe by vowe absolute obedience, they haue riches a boundantly to rayse and feede themselues, and their persons are nvmberlesse. would not this be [a] powerfull Army in strength, in disciplyne and heades of men, to be raysed with[out[....]] Charge, where nothing wants, but the Popes Commaunde, /40/ to assemble them. And why should it be doubted that extremity may produce this effect, since allready without any extremity the French League hath beene knowne to make like vse of them both in fieldes and in Garrisons.⁶⁸ The importance is, that these numberlesse

⁶⁶ Even twenty years after the Gunpowder Plot of November 1605, the repercussions and the reinforcing of prejudice live on.

⁶⁷ Sandys writes how innumerable friars would be capable of military mobilization should the call come. Over half a million are "...of lustie able bodies not vnfit to be soone employed in any warlike service...their fasting, watching, lying on the ground, enduring cold, exact keeping of orders and obedience to their commanders, ought to make them fit to all military discipline." Sig. G2r.

⁶⁸ Compare Sandys, in "...the late French troubles...the militarie companions of the leaguers, were oftentimes even stuffed with Priests and Friars, tall men and resolute..." Sig. G3r.

Fryers, and all the fore named Clergy men, sworne absolute vassells to the Pope agaynst all regall authority, are subiectes to kings, and mantayned, fedd, and inriched in theire kingdomes, without any the leaste charge to the Pope, yea with his great and continuall /50/ gayne, and filling of his Cofers by them, according to his occasions.⁶⁹

Nowe in this poynt giue me leaue in a worde to note (as I haue donne in the former poynts) that the Iewes // fol.386 Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Cap.V Conversion so much pretended to the Roman Clergy, is by this practise of Monkish life much hindered. For the goods of the Converted Iewes being confiscated to the Pope, as gotten with bitting vsarye from the Christians, and so not Iustly to be possessed by them after theire Conversion⁷⁰ (excepting some fewe who being Phisiians gett theire wealth by that Art, and so inuye it still by the Popes dispensation), the Iewes by conversion becomming poore,

⁶⁹ The whole thrust of Moryson's argument here is deeply indebted to Sandys.

⁷⁰ Marlowe's Friar Jacomo puts it more succinctly,
O happy hour, wherein I shall convert
An infidel, and bring his gold into our treasury !

The Jew of Malta IV. 1. 164 - 165.

See Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays*, edited by J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth, 1969). This is one of the "Three great impediments" according to Sandys, which prevent the conversion of the Jews, "The scandals of the Christians, the want of means to instruct them, & the punishment or losse which by their conversion they incurre." Sig. X4v.

haue no meanes to liue but by turning Fryers, which Course of life they abhorr, because they /10/ generally preferr the Ciuill life to solitarinesse, and marryage to virginity, as more agreeable to nature, more profitable generally to mankynde, and more pleasing to God, and hold the Fryers vnsociable life to be against nature, never commaunded by God, nor practised by their Ancestors vnder the lawe.¹¹ Yet I must confesse, that besydes the Phisitians retayning their goods after Conversion, my selfe haue seene at Venice two Common Iewes, who being very poore, and hauing no ill gotten goods to leese, became Christians, /20/ and were led in triumph through the City, with Musicke before them, and basons of Siluer into which most men (as they passed) did cast bountifull Almes, to incourage others, but like to prevayle only whith some fewe of the poorest sorte.

And thus I come to my purpose, namely to Monasticall Vowes, which hauing beene never practised by the Iewes vnder the lawe, and being scandalously performed by Christians, doe no lesse avert the Iewes from turning Christians. /30/

Not to speake of secular Priests generally bound from Marriage, all Monasticall Orders make [theire][three]

¹¹ "They preferre the ciuill life before the solitarie, and Marriage before Virginitie, as being to nature more agreeable, to mankinde more profitable, and consequently to God more acceptable." Sandys, sig. X3r.

vowes, of poverty, Chastitie, and Obedience, to which the Iesuites (affecting singularity in all thinges) haue in these later tymes added the fourth of Mission, peculier to them.

{ m.n. 37, 38. Vowe of porverty. }

Touching Poverty, as the old Roman Southsayers while they promised kingdomes begged groates, so [as][on] the Contray Fryers professing pouerty possesse Talents.¹² I confesse that the Mendicant Fryers haue no landes /40/ of inheritance, but only Colleges and Churches wherin they liue and Preach. Yet as our Gypsyes, by picking purses and Iugling Artes, liue merily, whyle they feede others with hopes of foretold fortunes, so these Fryers only cladd in rough garments for ostentation of holines, by their diligence in preaching and heareing Confessions, haue plentifull dyett, and all fauours (some more then are fitt to be told). In their Churches they haue a publike great Chest to receave the Almes of those who haue made their Confessions, /50/ into which myselfe haue seene them putt baked pyes, and choise Rosted meates, for none com emmpty //

Booke [387. Booke] III of Italy touching Religion Cap V fol

¹² The old 4d, here a trifling sum, is contrasted with the talent, an enormous Biblical sum of account, which could have been as much as £243 15s. Od. OED There is also a glancing reference to the Parable of the Talents, Matthew 25. 14 - 30.

387.

handed to them, who measure their repentance by their offerings. Some of each monastery of Mendicants goe about the Country preaching, and some daly goe about the next villages or townes, to begg foode for them that stay in the monasterye. And these no sooner tingle a little bell in their handes, but the doores are opened, and good portions of the best meates are brought in to them, for they will not feede on scrapps, and [are] impatient at any snall⁷³ stay at the doores, so as a man would say they rather commaunded then begged Almes. I doubt St Paule would not haue well /10/ allowed of this profession, liuing on other mens sweate not their owne.⁷⁴ If in these, or other monasteryes in generall a laye man offer mony to a Fryer, he will shugg the shoulder as if by vowe he abhorred from touching it, yet he hath a ready answer, desyring him to lay it asyde, which donne, ether he leades a boye with him to take it vp, or ells will take some other order that it shalbe Receaved for the publike vse. Is no this manifest hypocrisy. lett any equall iudge tell me,⁷⁵ how any priuate men may [be] truely esteeme poore, for whome a rich Community takes Care to make plentifull pro/20/visions, yea

⁷³ A minim missing ? "small".

⁷⁴ "And because he [Paul] was of the same craft, hee abode with them and wrought (for their craft was to make tents.)" Acts 18. 3.

⁷⁵ "Lett any equall iudge tell me..."

makes it an high case of Conscience to doe it. No doubt wee may truly say with St Barnard (a holy man but liuing in corrupt tymes, who being himselfe a monke, best knewe theire Conditions, and spared not to reprove them and other higher abuses of his dayes euen in the very Popes) *Humiles esse volunt, sed sine despect[a]l[u], pauperes sed sine defectu* : they wilbe humble without being dispised, and poore without wanting ought. Thus in truth, they professe poverty but practise idlenes and sloth, perverting Gods Order, who imposed labor and sweate on all mandkynde /30/ threatning that Poverty and want shall sease on the slothfull like an Armed man, and forbidding him to eate who will not labor.⁷⁶ My selfe in Italy sometymes haue had Dominican Fryers for Consorts of my Iorney, who feeding at the publike charge of theire monasterye, dyned largely, so as partly for that cause, partly for the pretended breaking of theire sleepe by prayers in the night, we of the layety were forced to wayte for them till they had slept some two howers after dinner. Some will say that the Carthusians liue more Austerely, and I graunt theire rules be such, yet are they rich and /40/ liue in plenty. My selfe once dyned with Italian gentlemen in one of theire Monasteries fewe miles distant from Florence called la Certosa, and I obserued that the Fryers professed silence, not talking

⁷⁶ "...cursed is the earth for thy sake: in sorow shalt thou eate of it all the dayes of thy life...In the sweate of thy face shalt thou eate bread..." Genesis 3. 17 - 19.

among themselues without lycence, excepting the laye Fryers as Cookes and like ministers. They eate no flesh (I meane in the publike Refectorye, which were a manifest breach of theire rules, but my Consortes thought they sometymes brake this rule privately in theire Cells). The Priest after the Masse hauing often bowed his head fell flatt on his face, and prayed prostrate, The /50/ monasterye[s] was large, fayrely built [of][with] free stonne, with open ayre towardses the North and East, and most pleasantly seated. Each Fryer had foure litle Cells, with a garden of //
fol

fol:388. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt V
fruite and flowers and a well of water pravate to his owne vse.^{76A} Yet they had no bedds, but slept only vpon strawe. Ordinarily they eate in these private Cells, and only vpon festiuall dayes and the Eauens thereof, eate in the publike Refectory, where they intertayned vs, and gaue vs good fish, and meate of Paste and fruite well prepared, but no flesh at all. They had large Revennues giuen them of old for Almes, out of which now they giue large Almes to the laiety by whome they inriched, denying no man a loafe of bread for eight monthes of /10/ the yeare. Yea the very Mendicant Fryers will seeme willingly to giue Almes. So as it may be sayde of them all that pretending pouerty they begg a Gose, and vnder the Cloke of Charity giue a fether. In Cyprous and Ierusalem the Franciscan[s] Fryers liuing on Almes intertayne the Pilgrames as it were of Charity, but

76A. "Private" is intended.

if they voluntarily giue them not more then would satisfye a greedye host, they wilbe ill contented, and ready to expose them to others extortions. Thus the Mendicant Fryers want nothings, the austere Orders haue rich Reuennues, and espetially the Dominicans /20/ liue in great ease and plenty. In theire Monasteries at Bologna my selfe did see in the hall great quantity of wyne left after theire dinner in a brason vessell for the poore which my selfe tasted and found to be much better then any was publike<ly> solde, and wee sawe theire large Cellers full of rich wynes, to which all theire other prouisions were answerable.¹¹ Yea the very Iesuites who wilbe reputed more holy then any other, and prefesse strict pouerty, are attyred though playnely and grauely yet in the best lynnen Cloth and stuffes. And for theire dyett, they /30/ all sitt on the bench syde of the Table the other syde being vacant, and each one is serued by himselfe with litle portions but choyce meates of three kyndes at least, besydes fruite. And no man can denye that theire Colleges are indowed with great Reuennues. But theire hypocresy in this profession of pouerty is singular aboue all others. The professe not to knowe mony nor the value of seuerall coynes. Theire Statutes expresly forbidd them to perswade any man to giue them stable Almes of inheritance, yet the same Statutes inioyne them yearely to

¹¹ "3. Corresponding, correspondent, accordant, agreeable." *OED* Moryson means "of a similarly high standard".

offer a wax /40/ candle to the next kinsman of each benefactor, and decree that all benefactors shalbe pertakers of the good workes donne by the professed Iesuites of their Colleges, about the proportion which in their scales may serue for their owne salvation. And are not these vehement perswasions to become their Benefactors. whereas I haue sayd the poore Franciscans haue Chests in their Churches, into which cold pyes and Rostmeates are cast for Almes, these holy Iesuites are forbidden by Statute to haue any such Chest, I knowe not why, except it be because they had /50/ rather [haue] shining gold then cold meate giuen them for Almes. They may take no mony with them in iournyes, and good reason for they commaund all purses where they goe. In the meane tyme these modest poore men, are not only //

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol.389.

indowed with great yearely revenues, but are knowne to heape vp great Masses of treasure. The relations of Venice name a Theatine Iesuite that caryed. 80. thousand gold Crownes with him in his trayne. The Germans write of a great Masse of treasure found by the Duke of Bauaria in his College of Iesuites, when he was for atyme incensed agaynst them. And the iudicious Author of the short discourse concerning the west Church (whose concealing of his worthy name forbids me to coniecture) it) writes that Pope Sixtus Quintus tooke at one clapp /10/ from the Iesuites (as being to rich for men vowing poverty) about 20000 Crownes rent,

and bestowed it on St Peter.⁷⁸

{ m.n. 14, 15. Vowe of Chastity. }

Touching the second vowe of Chastity. In Italy the breach thereof is so frequent and manifest, and in forayne partes so well knowne to men of experience, as it needes no prooffe, I thincke rather the accused will pleade guilty. Yet because the Order of the discourse forcethe the mention thereof, something must be sayd, but I will passe it ouer in fewe wordes. In the State of Florence I was familyarly /20/ acquainted with an old gentleman, who hauing beene not many monthes before at Rome, related to me many [monthes before] passages of his Iorney, among which I thought this remarkeable. Namely that at Rome he lodged in a monasterye, wherof his Nephewe was G[.][u]ardian, and brought thether a Truncke full of Apprell, (which might contayne many suites, as the vse to weare Drawers, or Sliuers and Cases),⁷⁹ and that one morning being ready to rise, and missing the Cloathes he wore, he stepped to his Truncke, which he likewise founde empty, whereat /30/ being

⁷⁸ The Jesuits "...being too riche, for vovs of povertye he [Sixtus V] tooke at one clappe aboue 20000 crownes rent, and bestowed it on Saint Peter." Sandys, sig. N3v. Sandys did not reveal himself on the title-page, and for good reason. The book was burned by the common hangman on 2 November 1605.

⁷⁹ Drawers are things drawn on, underhose; slivers in the plural even defeats the compilers of the *OED*, although in the singular it can mean a length of fabric, and cases are coverings, and, therefore, clothes, "fig. 4. b." *OED*

amazed, a Nouice Fryer came in to him, and offering him a Fryers habitt to putt on, pray him to haue the patience to spend that day at his booke, where he should not want good cheere, for he would bring him the dyett of his Nephewe and some other cheefe Fryers, who had taken his apparell the night before, and were gonne into the Citty to make merrye in that disguised habitt, and when he had thus expected them all that day, they returned an hower after midnight, and not content with the recreation they had abroad, brought with them a young Curtizan into /40/ theire Cells, where hauing passed the tyme till some halfe howre before the dauning of the day, they went downe into the Cloysters, and compassing the Curtizan in the midst of theire Company, they expected till the Procter should open the gate,⁸⁰ that they might dismisse her. Now it happened that the Procter passed on the other syde of the Cloyster with a Candle, where a Nouice Fryer hauing a Curtizan with him to the same purpose, perceaved that he was discovered by the Candle, to the Guardian and cheefe Fryers, whome he heard talking on the other syde, whervpon /50/ he came to them, and submitting himselfe to any pennaunce, prayd them to pardon him for the Comon fraylty of flesh and blood, but they merily replied: *Tu ha*>* del Balordo, habbiamo vna anche noi: Thou hast of the //*

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⁸⁰ "...open the gate..."

blockhead (or art a Foole) wee also haue a wench : withall opening theire Circle and shewing her, which donne the Curtizans were putt forth, and after the ringing of a Bell the Fryers went into the Chappell, where the G[u]ardian made such an excellent Sermon as the gentle men Considering his preparation, heard it with great admiration. Tell me was not the vowe of Chastity well kept in this monastery. For the like practise in Rome and other Citties of Italy, I appeale to the gentle men of England and other kingdomes, who knowe theire Con/10/versation, and who cannot but haue seene at Padoa and in other places, many Fryers attyred like gentle men, to haunte the publike meetings for dauncing (vulgarly called Balli) and the priuate Chambers of Curtizans. They will say that flesh and blood is frayle; and it is true, but when they make such voves as this fraylty cannot performe? They will say that the ministers of the Reformed Church offende in like kynde; and it may be some doe, yet they are not bound by vowe, nether offend they in such excesse as all the Clergy doth in Italy, where /20/ this offence is frequently and openly donne, so as nether they of theire owne Coate, nor those of the layety, thincke it straunge, or be any witt scanded therwith. These Fryers are sett ouer Nunneries, as Confessors and Superintendants, and to them those gates are open, which by theire rules are shutt against all others (for as for secrett faults, the Church iudgeth not of them) Of this poynte I speake spareingly, and omitt many perticulars

related to me by Italian gentlemen, onely giue me leaue to mention on thinge, which I haue harde them confidently avowe, /30/ that the Ielous Italians are no way so safely and frequently cornvted⁸¹ and deceaved by their wiues and [Curtiz] Concubynes, as when vpon pretence of Religion they gett their leaue to goe to these Nonneryes, with an old woman (a dangrous keeper of Chastity) to wayte on then. To this purpose *Hieronimus Turlerus* in his discription of the mount Pausilippo neere Naples, writes of the blessed virgins Chappell there seated, that many Matrons vnder pretence of Religion comming thether were wont to stray into the neighbor groves and /40/ thickest, sacrificing there to Venus, rather then to the blessed Virgin.⁸² As Religious orders vowe Chastitye, so the Priests and all the Clargy are bounde from marryage, which are all one, for the Roman Religion makes Chastitye and Marryage to be opposites,

⁸¹ "Cornuted" means given the horns of the cuckold.

⁸² Turler notes how on "The hill Pausilypus" there are two churches, one richly endowed, the other poor and ruinous. "Which thing, as I was informed, cam to passe vpon this occasion, bycause the staires wherby folkes vsed to goe vp to the hill neare by, are at this present broken away beneath, which in foretime were wont to bee commodious vnto manye Matrones and auncient Dames, in this respect, that by meanes of them they might step aside into the thickets and bushes which growe vpon the hill, where vnder colour of religion thei worshipped *Venus* rather, then the *Virgin Marie*." Hieronimus Turler, *The Traveiler of Ierome Turler* (London, 1575), p. 163.

Hand Two is rushed, turning "thickets" into "thickest".

tho God calls marryage holy and chast,⁸³ And St Austin durst not preferr the most holy Virginitie, to the chast marryage of Abraham the Father of the Faythfull. But in effect the Priests and Clergymen keepe the lawe of single life no better, then the Religious Orders keepe the vowe of /50/ Chastitie, by which single life is ment, and for it imposed. Yet the Papists will boldly say that the Pope forbids not marryage, but only decrees that married men shall not //

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be of Religious Orders, nor haue benefices and dignities of the Church. Why may one of them marry if he will leaue these Orders and promotions, no that will not serue his turne, but he must be burnt as an heritike, doe they thincke that these monasteries, promotions and dignities wilbe left vacant, which none but single men can enter. No doubt they would haue these places supplied, doe they not then forbidd them marryage by imposing single life on them. Lett them tell me on the fayth of honest men, if they thincke that Antichrist (whome they hold to be yet [to] come, we to be long /10/ since come and still to raigne) when he forbides Mariage and meates (as St Paul hath

⁸³ Moryson may be recalling various passages, but II Corinthians 11. 2, and Revelation 19. 9, the union of Christ and His Church, have some relevance here.

Prophecyed he shall doe⁸⁴) will absolutly forbid mariage to all sortes of men, whereby mankynde [should][shal]be in shorte tyme destroyed, or forbidding it will allowe the promiscuous vse of wemen, which the Gentiles by the lawe of nature abhorred, or will doe any thing more in this kynde then the Pope of Rome hath long donne. They will haue Priests and Religious Orders, yet none but such as are bound to single [f] life, and yet they will haue vs beleue that they forbid not /20/ mariage. To conclude the Popes lawe in this point is Diametrally oposite to Gods lawe (as wee haue shewed and shall shewe it to be in many other pointes) and this aboue all doth hinder their foresayd pretence of converting the Iewes. The lawe of God sayth, to auoyde fornication lett the incontinent marry,⁸⁵ the Pope sayth to auoyde Mariage lett fornication be permitted. Our sauior sayth Non omnibus datum the guift of Chastity is not giuen to all,⁸⁶ the Popes lawe sayth, vowe a chast single life as a thing in your power to performe. St /30/ Paul

⁸⁴ "Now the Spirit speaketh euidently, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, and shall giue heede vnto spirites of errour, and doctrines of deuils. Which speake lies through hypocrisie, and haue their consciences burned with an hote yron, Forbidding to marry..." I Timothy 4. 1 - 3.

⁸⁵ "But if they cannot absteine, let them marrie: for it is better to marrie then to burne." I Corinthians 7. 9.

⁸⁶ "All men cannot receiue this thing, saue they to whome it is giuen." Matthew 19. 11. Moryson maintains a fairly tolerant attitude towards sex. Perhaps he felt like the Apostle Paul, he could follow God more closely as an unmarried man.

perswaded Chastity, but was neuer author to vowe it, as not being in humane power, yea thought it lawfull for himselfe to marry, as the other Apostles had donne.⁸⁷ No doubt vowes are not to be rashly made nor foolishly to be neglected when they are made. If any one hath made this vowe, and fynde it not in his power to performe it, but after vehement prayers and long humiliation by Fasting, still fynde himselfe subiect to breake it, St Paules Rule is firme. Better to marry then to burne, better with hartly contrition to breake it once /40/ by lawfull mariage, then to add sinne to sinne by obstinate persisting in continuall transgressions against his vowe. Lastly I will boldly say that the Iesuites in all thinges affecting singularity, are in this point no lesse then in all other singular Hipocrites. They are forbidden by their Statutes to be Confessors to wemen, yet their Angle hanges for no fish so much as these, and England alone hath plentifull & wofull experience what hurt they doe by Plowing with our heyfers.⁸⁸ /50/

{ m.n. 50, 51. Vowe of obedience }

Touching the third vowe of Obedience, whereby they submitt themselues to be ruled by their superiors or governours,

⁸⁷ "So then he that giueth her to marriage, doeth well, but hee that giueth her not to marriage, doeth better." I Corinthians 7. 38.

⁸⁸ There is a distasteful bestial and sexual overtone here. Some women service the needs of the Jesuits.

to any pennance Imposed by them, and Captiuatē their vnderstandings to the will of those // fol.392. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Cap V. superiors, and take their worde for a lawe. As they offend in breaking the former vowes, so they sinne no lesse in strict observation of this vowe, in all thinges be they never so contrary to the lawe of God, or to their owne Consciēces. This is the Gordian knott which cannot be vntyed, but must be cutt with the kings sworde.⁸⁹ By this alone they are kept from reading the Scriptures and the writings of the Reformed Church, convincing them of grosse errors: by this they are kept from comming to our Churches, though they can fynde /10/ no fault with our forme of diuine seruice, as being all taken out of the old Lythurgy of the Church (for the more modest of them will not say that our omission of the prayers to Saynts can make our retayned prayers to God alone to be vnprofitable) yea by this they are kept from Conferring and disputing with those of the Reformed Church, as if they were condemned heritiques. This blynde obedience leades them into darke errors, making them obey humane traditions, tho they be

⁸⁹ This refers to Alexander the Great's exploit of unloosing the knot of Gordius in the temple of Zeus. It was said that whosoever performed this would rule Asia. Unable to do it, Alexander caused a sensation by cutting it with his sword. Harvey. This story, with the studied disrespect for the old superstitions, presents itself to Moryson as a parallel. With the priesthood of all believers, and the nationalization of churches and their lands, the Reformation itself was a process of secularization.

contrary to Gods worde.⁹⁰ Our Sauior sayth search the scriptures,⁹¹ /20/ the Pope sayth reade them not, and him they obey. God forbids to worship Images or to bowe before them,⁹² the Pope allowes both, and this obedience takes away all doubt of obeying the Pope. To conclude, this is the Papists Answer to all Arguments, if they be convinced of any error, so as they cannot reply against the truth, they will Answer we must obey the Church, and so obstinately persisting in error, denye the Conclusion against the rule of Logick, forgetting that it is a most certayne signe of the false Church to mantayne doc/30/trynes Diemitrally oposite to the worde of God. Finally this vowe doth so bewitch and stupify theire myndes with sencelesse Credulity, as they not only swallowe flyes, but very Cammells,⁹³ and as they breake the for[mer] voves with negligence and Carelessnes, so they obserue this (as wee manifestly see) with strange obstinacy, and [I] may boldly say with great Impiety and perverse affection

⁹⁰ Moryson is so convinced of his cause that he thinks that it can only be a Catholic conspiracy that is preventing others from perceiving the truth.

⁹¹ "Search the Scriptures: for in them ye thinke to haue eternall life, and they are they which testifie of me." John 5. 39.

⁹² The second of the Ten Commandments is, "Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, neither any similitude of things that are in heauen aboue, neither that are in earth beneath, nor that are in the waters vnder the earth." Exodus 20. 4.

⁹³ "Ye blinde guides, which straine out a gnat, and swallow a camel." Matthew 23. 24.

against the truth

{ m.n. 40. Vowe of Mission }

Touching the fourth vowe of Mission, it is peculiar to the Iesuites Order, an invention of the last age and a /40/ misteriall⁹⁴ strong support of the Roman Church, which I take to be only a braunch of the vowe of obedience, but they haue made it a peculiar vowe of that order, and indeede it is of a farr higher strayne in practise of the Iesuites, then the former vowe of obedience Common to all Religious orders. The pompous Iesuites brag that by the bonde of this vowe, they like the Apostells of Christ, are sent to the very Indians, to preach the Gospell vnto them, reprouing the Ministers of the Reformed church that they vndertake not like voyages for that good purpose, /50/ No doubt theire superstitious Religion, consisting most in the glorye of outtward Ceremonyes, may fynde more easye passage then the reformed, among //

Booke III. of Italy Touching Religion Cap V fol. 393.

Barbarous nations, all ready Consenting with them in their Idolatry, which hath diuided the Reformed churches from them. And howsoeuer it is well knowne that fewe of them are sent into those partes, and how safely most of them liue there vnder [the] Spaniardes, which worldly protection the Apostles wanted, yet [I...] I could willingly yealde them

⁹⁴ An obsolete form of "mysterious".

[any] any aduantage this brag can afforde them, so they would giue the Reformed [vnive] ministers leaue in the newe birth of the Gospell, to stay at home, and rather intend the preserving of theire sheepe from Iesuited /10/ [workes] wolues, and keepe our houses from the fyer of Incendiary Iesuites, then to putt theire sickle [into] into straungers haruest, while theire owne lyes vngathered. For what vayle soeuer they drawe ouer this vowe of Mission, by pretending the Conversion of Pagons, wee fynde that it is only intended, or at least only vsed to the subversion of the reformed Churches, wee knowe that they send not one to convert the Turkes theire next neighbours, that those fewe sent into the Indies vnder the Spaniardes liue there as safe from persecution, /20/ as if they were in Italy, and if they brag of any thinge donne in more remote and vnknowne partes, we haue Iust cause to suspect the truth therof, as shall after be shewed, but we can name multitudes of them imployed to trouble the Reformed churches, whereof in our age England aboue all kingdomes hath had woefull experience. when Religion began to be first reformed, and never before, the Pope knowing that the Italians would be slowe martyrs in the Cause of Religion, first began to builde these holy Semynaryes in Rome and the lowe /30/ Countryes, for the education of such young men as should fly from the Reformed Churches, with myndes obstinate in the Roman Religion, and inclyned to practise of treason against the Reformed States from whome they

fledd. And as they haue these Se[m] [m]ynaryes for fugitiues of other nations, so they haue the like in euery Citty and Country for education of the natiues, both vnder the Order of the Iesuites, who in most partes among them haue ingrossed the teaching of youthes.⁹⁵ One of these Colleges they holde as powerfull to subvert Reformation /40/ and confirme the Roman Religion, as a garryson of Soldyers may be to keepe Rebellious people in obedince. For in them the young gentlemen and Cittizens Children (without any care taken of the meanner sorte) are trayned vp in obstinate hatred against the Reformed Religion, and taught to dispute with such eagernes, and such pryde to ourcome, and to beleue such lyes and monstrous slaunders against the Doctryne and life of the Reformed, as in the end they haue no patience to heare them, no humility to learne the /50/ truth of them, and abhorr to converse with them, to be present at their diuine seruice, though they can take no exception against it, or to ioyne with them in any prayer, yea to say amen when they say grace at the table.⁹⁶ Thus they trayne vp all their Schollers //

fo 394. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt.V.
both Natiue and fugitiue, and the choise witts of them they perswade and incite (by all posible meanes) to become Iesuites, and when they are entred into that Order, employ

⁹⁵ "Engrossed, ppl. a. b. Collected from various quarters, amassed in large quantity." *OED*

⁹⁶ See Sandys, sigs. K3v - K4r.

them with no lesse art, the subtile speculatiue witts, to dispute and write of Controversyes, the sublime witts, to be confessors to Princes and to manage State affayres the most bold and resolute, to practise seditions and if neede be to suffer death for mantayning the Roman Religion, And as the king of Spayne hath greatest power to support it and them, /10/ so they all in generall ayme at his greatnes, Crying one God in heauen, one Pope and one king on earth. The speculatiue Iesuites, as they are many in number, and haue a vacant life to attend to theire Studdy, so they doe not Roue therein at pleasure, but each one hath a particuler Controuerscy assigned for his whole Study. So as in all questions, they haue altered of late the tenors and refyned the States of them, and invented subtile distinctions and evasions to elude the clearest text of scripture brought against them, and arguments /20/ to proue theire greatest absurdities, whereby the indifferent hearers may perhappes not thincke them vanquished, and theire partiall frendes will Iudge them Conquerors in disputation. Theire sublime witts and Statist liue in Princes Courtes, as Confessors to them, but are very spies to betraye them, searching out all secretes, of the State, and all great Familyes, For in those Colleges from Youth they were trayned vp in like practise, where all Iesuites hearing Confess[ors]sions, by that and all other meanes, search out the secretts /30/ of the State and [of]all great Familyes, euen sometymes whipping theire Schollers to

betray them, which secretts are weekly sent from priuate Colleges to the Provinciaall governor, and by him to the generall of that Order, resyding at Rome. Yet still they professe not to medle with State matters, as in England the Arch Iesuite Campia[a]n, openly professed to haue written to Rome, that according to the mandate of his superiors, he would not medle with matters of State. For the practises of sedition wee may abundantly knowe their manner of pro/40/ceeding, by the Actions in England during the late raigne of Queene Elizabeth, where the English fugitiues trayned vp in the foresayd Seminaryes, after the tyme of their Studdyes fullfilled, being founde fitt for that Employment, were sent ouer into England, to the vineyard or haruest as they call it, indeede to practise seditious, and expose themselues to death for the Roman Church, which hadd fedd them a fewe yeares to that purpose. For [in] shedding of whose blood the sayd famous Queene abhorring, did cause, /50/ swarmes of them to be apprehended, and then imposing banishment on them vpon payne of death, sent them safely backe agayne to those Seminaryes. //

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The Apostell St Iohn being exiled to Pathmos by the Emperour, wee reade not that he disobeyed that sentence, much lesse that he came from thence to Rome.⁹⁷ But the

⁹⁷ "I Iohn, euen your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdome and patience of Iesus Christ, was in the yle called Patmos, for the word of God, and the witnessing of Iesus Christ." Revelation 1. 9.

Iesuites thus exiled for their oath taken to the Pope a forayne Prince, and thus gently sent back when for that cause they deserued death, did ordinarily within fewe dayes retourne disguised into England, yea sometymes in the same Shippes that had transported them, with pretence to preach, but intending only to combyne the Popish subiects in some plott against the /10/ Queene and State. For it was euer obserued that their flocking into England was a most certayne signe forerunning some forayne invasion of the kingdome, or some treason practised against the Queenes person. whervpon tho their liues were many tymes spared, yet for example vpon some enorme practises they were sometymes putt to death, and thus executed for breach of the lawe forbidding their retourne vpon payne of death,⁹⁸ or of the law inioyning all subiectes on like penalty to take the oath of Alleagance, and to d[e]ny the /20/ Popes supremacy, they would be reputed Martyrs, and so were esteemed by the Papists, though the oath of alleagance had no force to distinguish mens difference in Religion towards God or the Pope, but their loyall or disoyall heartes towards their Soueraigne, and they could not deny the exacting of that oath, and the banishing of any subiects to be in the power of temporall kinges, and well knewe that the cause not the punishment makes true Martyrs.

⁹⁸ It was this act of 1585, imposed after William of Orange's assassination and Throckmorton's plot of the previous year, and the general increase in international tension which provided most of the Catholic martyrs.

Touching the Iesuites in generall, I haue formerly sp^oken in my discourse of Religion in /30/ Bohemia, where I perticularly haue related some of their Statutes. Among which Statutes giue me leaue here to remember some fewe that haue relation to this purpose (as I haue mentioned in the former vowes of Chastitye and pouerty, others of that kynde) They professe somuch to intend preaching and the education of these Schollers, as they are expressly forbidden by their Statutes to baptise or [to] buirye, yet [in] the Apostles Commission, out lord ioynes baptising with preaching, goe preach and baptise, and as well vnder the lawe as vnder the Gospell the /40/ buirying of the dead hath the renowne of a most charitable Christian duty.⁹⁹ Agayne in the debating of the foresayd Controversyes, they will haue their version or translation of the Bible to be helde most Authentically. Why then is it inioyned by their Statutes, that such young students who desyre to learne the Greeke and Hebrew languages, shall first sweare to defende and mantayne the translation allowed by the Roman Church, before they be admitted to those Studies. Me thinckes by this alone they confesse, and giue all men Iust cause to suspect, that the Roman translations are many wayes /50/ faulty, for otherwise the louers of truth will defent it without any bond of an oath to tye them therevnto. Agayne

⁹⁹ "Go therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost." Matthew 28. 19.

the Cunning //

{ c.w. arte the vse }

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art they vse, to intise Schollors to enter their Order,
and to hinder that no man perswade them to the contrary,
and the foresayd oath for languages, make me confident,
that they them selues distrust their owne cause. For to
this purpose they vse to intercept all letters sent by the
young Schollers, to their frendes abroad, and such as
their frendes sende to them, and they haue a Statute
expressly inioyning the professed Iesuites, to keepe the
young Schollers from conversing with any, who are like to
discourage them from entering that Order. Agayne another
Statute inoynes /10/ them, to receave young youths, and
trayne them vp to become Iesuites, because those of riper
yeares are rarely inclyned to obserue the rules of that
Order. Doe they not hereby confesse, that their rules are
fitter for blynde youthes, then for those that haue
experience and discretion. likewise they haue a Statute,
forbidding the young schollers admission to visitt those
that are sicke in the College lest being sicke in mynde as
in body, they should speake any thinge, that should offend
their Consciencs. By which it is apparant., that since
men sicke to death, commonly cease to dissemble, /20/ and
beginne to speake from their hartes they feare lest these
sicke persons should confesse such truthes, as might
discourage those young [sh] schollers from entering that

Order, yea perhappes altogether diuert them from Cotinuing
in the Roman Religion.

Thus wee haue spoken of two great scandalls, that of
Idolatry, and this of Vowes, whereof all are rashly made,
the first two negligently broken, the other two obstinately
yea impiously obserued.

{ m.n. 30, 31. Abuse of Confession. }

Now some thing must be sayd of the third grosse scandall,
/30/ manifestly apparant to the vewe of all [the] men at
theire first entring in to Italy, namely the great abuse of
Confession, and of Pennance Imposed by the Confessors,
whereby the Pope and all the Clergy are commonly sayd to
eate the sinnes of the people, for as Phisitians liue by
the rainging of diseases, so the more [men] sinne, the
richer are they, It is proverbially sayd that the Italyans
are made twise in the yeare, at Shroftyde, called by them
Carnouall (as taking leaue of flesh) and at lent. For all
the Carnouall, which they beinne at Christmas, and
espetially the three last /40/ dayes immediately before
lent, they liue most riotously, going every day about the
streetes disguised in apparell, with theire faces masked,
by companyes men and wemen together, the men sometymes in
wemens Apparell, the wemen most commonly in mens Apparrell,
and as they walke, so most commonly they eate and lye
together, and all this tyme espetially the three last

dayes, tho the number of Curtizans be exceeding great, yet one of them is not to be hyred on the sudden, but they are so prouident as they bespeake them before hande. And at this tyme, the greatest /50/ persons with theire chast Matrons, walke also abroade for recreation, in like sorte masked, but these wemen are never ore rarely attyred in mens Aparrell. //

{ c.w. Yea all this }

Booke III. of Italy Touching Religion Capter V fol.397.

yea all this tyme many murthers and other sinnes [.] in excesse are dayly Committed. But vpon Ashwensday they couer theire heades with Ashes, and with sadd lookes flocke to the Churches, as if it were in theire power to repent truly at pleasure vpon an howers warning. Insomuch as a Persian Ambassador comming to Rome at this tyme of the yeare, when he retorned told his king, that most of the Romans were madd at his being theire, but they had certayne ashes of such vertue, as by sprinckling them on theire heades they became graue and sober when they listed. Surely if he had stayed at Rome /10/ all lent, he would haue sayd that this grauity became madnes in another kynde. For in lent the Italyans not only compose themselues to modestity, in lookes, Appraell and dyett, but abstayne from ordinary blasphemyes, goe daly to Sermons (which they frequent not at other tymes) giue Almes, and outwardly shewe great remorse of theire sinnes. At this tyme espetially, they fall on theire knees before the Priests Confessing theire

sinnes, and vndergoe the Pennance the pennance imposed with great humility, and some with strange austerity, in fasting and whipping themselues. But in /20/ Confession they deale with God as wee doe with our Bakers and Brewers. For as wee vse to Cutt theire skores sometymes off the yeare with purpose to haue newe skores with them,¹⁰⁰ so they espetially at this tyme of the yeare confesse theire sinnes, and thincke to be reconciled with God by the Priests absolution, vpon performing the Pennance he imposeth, but with intent of retorning to theire Vomitt, as appears by theire practise greedily expecting till Easter come that by newe sinnes they may make worke for newe Confessions.¹⁰¹ For the Pennance imposed, of what kynde so/30/euer it be, It may be made voyde by purchase of the Popes Pardons, either such as are ordinarily graunted, or those bought for the purpose. The Pennance Commonly Consists in saying Auemaryes and Paternosters before shrynes of Saynts, and offering mony to them, and in

¹⁰⁰ "n. 10. a. A record or account...kept by means of tallies..." *OED* Cutting the talley stick marked how much was owed. Presumably at the end of a year, the trader would want settlement, so that further credit could be obtained. Similarly, according to Moryson's metaphor, sinners confess to obtain the licence to sin a bit more.

¹⁰¹ Compare "...yea, and the worser sort will say; When wee have sinned we must confesse, and when we have confessed, we must sinne againe, that we may also confesse againe, and with all, make work for new indulgences and iubile: making account of confession, as drunkards do of vomitting..." Sandys, sig. A4v.

Pilgrimages to them, or such like trash,¹⁰² but some are enioyned to whipp their bodyes with Iron hookes and with their owne handes, some privately, others (for Austentation of Religion) publikely in the streetes. And these men in diuers Companyes walke many dayes about the streetes, with their bodyes and /40/ faces covered with sackcloth, only hauing holes Cutt for their mouthes and eyes, but their bakes altogether bare and naked, which some of them so lash with those Iron hookes, as they runne with gore blood, and make deepe holes in their backes. (In which mangling of their bodyes notwithstanding, the [P.p.est][Priests] of Baall went farr beyonde them¹⁰³) But others of these Pennitents masked in sackcloth, deale more gently with themselues, content to giue outwarde obedience in performing the Pennance, without fetching any blood. And these companyes sometymes attend Commendend men to the /50/ place of execution, thereby more abundantly to merritt pardon for their sinnes, for it must allwayes be vnderstood that they will not begg but merritt all graces from God.¹⁰⁴ And to the same end, after the Pennance of

¹⁰² Compare "And for Penance, it consisteth ordinarily but in *Avenaries* and *Paternosters*...But were the penance by the Priests enioyned, never so hard and sharp, the Popes plenary pardons sweep all away at a blow:" Sandys, sig. B2r.

¹⁰³ "And they cried loude, and cut themselues as their maner was, with kniues and launcers till the blood gushed out vpon them." I Kings 18. 28.

¹⁰⁴ Here Moryson is sneering at the Catholic position on good works as an aid to grace.

whipping themselues //

fol.398. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V.

is performed they goe to some Monastery or other, there to vndergoe the rest of theire Pennance, by mumbling Auamaryes and Paternosters before some Saynts Shrine, and offering mony. For as euery Psalme endes with glory to the Father &c. so euery act of Religion with them endes with offering of mony. Each one of these men carryes in his hand a Crucifix, lest Christ should not see what they suffer, and they are reputed so holy in this Act, as the boyes and girles in the Cittyes flocke in great Numbers to kisse these Crucifixes. No doubt the first institution of Lent, /10/ for renewing of Repentance with the Renewing yeare, by prayer and fasting, without any superstions which Corrupt ages haue added to it, was good and commendable, and wee fynde that it hath beene of old and is to this day practised by all Religions, for euen the Iewes and Turkes haue theire lents or tymes of the yeare for extraordinary humiliation, and performance of Religious dutyes, and the Greekes besydes the great lent haue three lents in the yeare of shorter tyme and more remisse obseruation.¹⁰⁵ And some thincke that the present obseruation of lent /20/ among the Italians is of good vse, because it restraynes them from the excesse of wickednes vsed at other tymes, but as the Israelites did more offend God by taking his name in

¹⁰⁵ Moryson is accurate about Greek Orthodox practice. On Fols. 678, 679 he amplifies on what he writes here.

theire mouthes and approaching to his Alter with sacrifices because theire handes and hartes were still defyled, so I cannot vnderstand, but that the Italians outwarde deposing of excesse of sinne for atyme, without inwarde purpose of leauing sinne, as theire Common practise in turning to it with greedines makes manifest, should rather provoke the greater wrath of God, then be any /30/ way accepatale to him. In like sorte the first Institution of Confession and penmaunce was good and godly, namely at this tyme of the yeare more spetially euery man to call himselfe to accompt how he hath in the yeare past carryed himselfe in eschewing sinne and in doing good, and before Gods minister to deplore and confesse generally his want of performance [.] in both kyndes and [his] perticular sinnes so farr as might inable that minister to giue him Comfort in any distresse of Conscience taking from him preseruaciones of Counsell to worke /40/ contrition in his harte, bringing fourth fruites of repentance, in humbling his soule by voluntarye punishment inflicted on him selfe (as abstinence from wyne for a season in regard of his former excesse in that kynde) and in doing good by Almes to the Members of Christ for sake and [so] for the like dutyes of piety. But now the Roman practise is farre different, the confession must be auricular, and of all sinnes whatsoever, and each circumstance of the act, and most secrete passages, and that vpon /50/ payne of making all the rest of the Confession fruiteslesse if the least point be omitted, and

they impose the necessity of this kynde of Confession in the Priests eare, vpon no lesse penalty then hell Fyer. // Booke III of Italy touching Religion Capt V fol.399.

And that inward repentance of the heart which God requires is turned by them (at least in practise) to outward pennance or macerating of the body.¹⁰⁶ And no maruell since the Romans litle respect the spirituall vse of both, so they may haue the politike vse of them. For Confession is a great mistery of the Roman church, whereby they knowe the most secrett affayres of Princes, States, and noble Familyes, yea the humors & dispositions of all men, and the very thoughts of theire hartes, and wherby they drawe all private mens riches to them, /10/ espetically at the tyme of death, by perswading to r[r]ansome theire soules by theire goods, at which tyme of distresse, what [will] will not a man giue for the peace of his soule, espetically since to magnife this merritt of giuing they will disable the very Pardons of the Pope, by the want of Contrition in the sinner, and the merritt of masses by a possible want of intention in the Priest, no way to haue good being so sure, as by doing good, and by giuing all (if neede be) to God, who first gaue them all. For they take it for graunted, that what is giuen to /20/ Fryers is giuen to God, as the Popes temporall State is reputed St Peters Patrimony. And this mistery is not mannaged by simple men, but of old by

¹⁰⁶ "2. trans. To cause (the body, flesh, etc.) to waste or wear away, esp. by fasting." OED

the most Cunning Fryers, and of late by the most Crafty Iesuites, who haue ingrossed all Confessions, espetically of great and rich men. Insomuch as the Roman Church of old drewe to it so much of lay mens Reuennues, as all kingdomes were forced to make lawes for the restrayning of these guifts at the hower of death. And in the last age the Iesuites haue so practised by knowing secretes, /30/ as many States haue beene forced to banish them, and haue so inriched themselues by perswading sicke men to deedes of Charity, as the very State of Venice of late yeares was driuen to make restraynt of these guiftes at death,¹⁰⁷ And from hence grewe the old pleasant proverbe, that the Clergy had three great advantages of the laity, only by this mistery of Confession, namely the knowing of their secretes, and [the] liuing vpon the sweate of their browes, and the oportunity to lye with their wyues. This seuerity of Confession and /40/ Pennance, promiseth great Reformation in manners and piety at the first sight. But the Roman Church hath made such vnconscionable vse therof, as the practise of the Italians hath produced cleane Contrary effectes, where the most dissolute men most long for tyme of Confession, and lesse feare to sinne because it hath so fayre a remedy, vsing it to purge their harts, as men vse vomiting to purge their stomakes, and sining with

¹⁰⁷ This was one of the points of dispute in the Interdict controversy of 1605 - 1607. See Cochrane, pp. 261 - 266.

most boldnes and liberty (as in the Carnauall or shroftide)
when the tyme of Confession and absolution /50/ draweth
ne~~e~~rest, and most of all in the very day or night before
it, euen as wee see many sicke men most bolde to take
forbidden meates and drinckes, //

fol.400. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Cap V

when they are in the Company of their Phisitian. Nether
feare or shame they, to reveale their sinnes, since they
can chuse a Confessor, by whome they knowe as much ill, as
they can confesse to him, Yea the Confessors are so
fearefull by rough dealeing to make sinners fall to the
Reformed Church, as they preach mercy at large, to all that
continue in the Roman Church. And giue me leaue to add,
that my selfe at Padoa was familliar with a gentleman of
Germany, who tolde me that he had beene at confession, /10/
and being to pay the Fryer a Venetian Iustine, of two lyres
of Venice, or eightene pence English¹⁰⁸ (he called it
paying, whether it were for his paynes or for Almes I knowe
not), and hauing no mony but double Iustines, which the
Fryer could not change, the Fryer reached a payre of Cardes
from a shelve ouer his head, and played with him double or
quitt, wherewith he was much scanded tho he had the lucke
to winne his Confession. They Priests professe to keepe all

¹⁰⁸ I have previously written that the lire was worth
eight pence halfpenny. Moryson puts its worth here as nine
pence. As this story goes on to illustrate, the
difficulties of exchange with various coins of various
fineness must have been immense. See also *Itinerary A*, II,
155.

confessions secrett, and by their lawe the divulging thereof should /20/ be punished by pulling out of the Priest tounge offending in that kynde, or by burning his body at a stake, yet by their generall practise it is more then probable, and historyes wittnesse, yea them selues will confesse, that these secretes haue of old bene many tymes revealed, espetically if the revealing therof seemed profitable to the Roman Church, or to the head thereof. I haue formerly often mentioned and once at large discoursed, that at my being at Prage, I hapned to be acquainted with a young Englishman, who hauing bene brought vp in the /30/ Iesuites Colledge at Vienna, and vpon grevances hauing left that Colledge and the Order of Iesuites, yet still remayning an obstinate Papist, and purposing to enter an other religious Order, did among many abuses he had obserued, much lament the Iesuites ordinary custome rashly and knauishly to make knowne the Confessions of many persons with whome they hapned to be offended. And among many other testimonyes of this practise in former ages, which may easily be produced, the French historye hath one notable /40/ example, of a French gentleman, who hauing once purposed to kill the French king, Fraunces the first, but after much repenting and abhorring this purpose he formerly had, and confessing both his sayd purpose and earnest repentance thereof with great signes of Contrition for the same, was notwithstanding by the Priest accused thereof to the Magistrate, and by the losse of his life, learned to

late, that he had foolishly trusted so faythlesse a man
with a secrete of that importance.¹⁰⁹ Yet [this][the] act
had some Iust excuse of Religion /50/ and piety in the
Priest for preservation of his kings' person. But the
practise of all Priests at this day and in the last age, is
farre worse, espetically of the Iesuites //

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapter V fol 401

ingrossing the office of [.] beeing Confessors to Princes
and all eminent persons. For they are professed spyes, and
even divulgers of these secretes in all Countrys, as
theire Statutes commaunding, and theire Continuall[y]
practise executing the same, hath made clearer then the
light it selfe. For each Pryor of each Colleg (as I haue
often sayd) is bound weekly to advertise all secrett
affayres fished out by this nett, to the Provinciaall
Governor (though all Countrys where they are received) and
these Prouincialls likewise to advertise the Generall of
/10/ that order at Rome, of the most important matters of
this kynde. Only they professe religiously to hold this
seale of Confession, in carefully concealing all plotts and
treasons intended and practised against Princes and States
of the Reformed Religion, yea I wilbe bold to say that all
like plotts, treasons, massacres, seditions, of the vulger
multitude, and outrages whatsoeuer, Contri[mn][u]ed in our

¹⁰⁹ I have been unable to find out which history Moryson
means. It may have something to do with the great treason
of the Duke of Bourbon who defected to the Imperialists in
1523.

tyme and the last age, against the Princes States and persons of the reformed Church, haue beene hatched nourished and combyned by this /20/ Roman mistery of Confession, and that by the crafty wicked prictises of the Priests themselues, which I could [not] by many examples without exception demonstrate, if it needed prooffe.

{ m.n. 25 - 27. The Popes plenitude of power. }

Hauing [now][thus] treated of the three Generall scandalls apparant to all mens eyes in Italy. Now lett vs [come] consider of the Popes plenitude of power, reaching to heauen by his Making of Saynts, to the verge of hell by freeing soules out of Purgatory, and spreading ouer the whole earth by his vniversall pasterhipp. /30/ For he hath made Peters feede my sheepe, eate vp Dauids feeding Gods people and ruling them prudently with all his power, as if kings had nothing to doe in that office.¹¹⁰ Yea he hath expounded feede my sheepe, with a strange glosse of Peters vision, Arise Peter kill and eate,¹¹¹ as if this commission were giuen not only to buylde the Church, but to destroy the temporall heades and members hereof if neede be, and to

¹¹⁰ Peter is enjoined by Christ to "Feede my sheepe" three times in John 21. 15 - 17. David is told "Thou shalt feede my people Israel, and thou shalt be a Captaine ouer Israel", at II Samuel 5. 2. Moryson highlights the difference between the Pope as protector and sustainer of the flock, and the reality.

¹¹¹ "And there came a voyce to him, Arise, Peter, kill, and eate." Acts 10. 13.

lord[.] it ouer Gods heritage, which the Apostle Peter
himsel¹¹²e expressly re¹¹²proueth. This power is partly
spiritually, /40/ and common to all Bishoppes and ministers,
which the Pope appropriates to himsel^e, and extendes to
boundlesse limitts, and partly temporall, vsurped by the
Pope in all dominions but his owne, tho belonging only to
kings in theire seuerall Dominions. Both founded by the
subtile witts of Italy, and mantayned by like strong
policye of worldly wisdome, grownded vpon these Maximes.
First that no man out of the true Church can be saued,
taking it for graunted that Rome is the true Church, and
making the true Church the only Iudge and rule of /50/
Fayth, aboue the scriptures, and arrogating interpretation
of scriptures only to the Roman Church, whereby they make
vayne the Authority of Gods worde, which our Sauior bidde
vs //

fol 402. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chap.V

search, as bearing wittnes of him, and avoyde the Consent
of the Fathers in the vniversall Church interpreting the
scriptures. Secondly that this Church cannot err in matters
of Fayth, tho it appeares by Sigonius and other writers,
that Rome hath made it an Article of Fayth, that the Pope
may depose kings, and that two Popes haue excommunicated
each other, and each of them hath condemned and curssed all

¹¹² "Not as though ye were Lordes ouer *Gods* heritage,
but that yee may bee ensamples to the flocke." I Peter 5.
3.

the Actes of the other, not to speake of many other grosse errors of that Church in Fayth, as cleare as the Sunne. Thirdly that /10/ Christ gaue the kayes of heauen to Peter and his successors, tho it is manifest that they were giuen vnto all the Apostles, and wee say that it cannot be proved that St Peter was Bishop of Rome, yea the Contrary is probable by texts of scripture, and if this be graunted, yet they meere succession of Peter could no more make the succeeding Bishops of Rome good, then the succession of Iudas could hurt the Apostle Mathias and his successors.¹¹³ But howsoeuer, the Pope by these k<e>y<e>s challength power, by excommunications to shutt the gate of heauen, and /20/ by pardons to open them. And by these Maximes the Pope hath astrong Monarchy, founded in mens consciences, whereby he hath the hartes of all kings subiectes to whome their Soules are dearer then all other respects, thereby weakning the loyalty of subiectes to their kings only lordes of their bodies and goods, while the Pope is Prince of their Soules, which drawe the rest after <th>em, and make all men so absolutely obedient to him, as by this power of bynding and loosing, he hath excommunicated, and (for the /30/ good of the Roman Church) often deposed mighty Emperors and kings.

{ m.n. 33, 34. Excommunications }

¹¹³ Matthias was chosen by lot in place of the hanged Judas. Acts 1. 26.

Now lett vs see how the Pope vseth these excommunications,
Pardons and other straynes of his vsurped power.¹¹⁴ And
first for excommunications, it hath beene agreat and old
greevance that by them the Pope hath long tyrvanized ouer
Emperors and kings, but it is manifest that they
themsel[f]ues for Ambition first vpheld this power of the
Popes, which after was turned to theire owne vexation and
ruinne. For as they seeking pretence to /40/ invade the
Dominions of other Princes, procvured the Pope, to
excommunicate them, and became executioners of his
thunderbolts, so the Popes when they could not haue
whatsoever they would for the dignity and profitt of that
Sea, turned these thunderbolts against themselues that
formerly vpheld them, and that only for temporall
quarrells, were they neuer so obedient in matter of Fath,
so as [in] the end these kings had no power, but such as
they could worke in the Colledge of Cardinalls at Rome, by
chusing a Pope well affected /50/ to them. And howsoever
they were often deceaved in this practise, by the Popes
becomming farr other //

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol.403.

¹¹⁴ "Straynes" is an unusual word to use. It could be
"n. I. 1. Gain, acquisition; treasure" *OED*, i.e the gains
made from his usurped power, in which case it is an
extremely late use, the latest in *OED* is listed as 1275.
Equally, it could be that the Pope is having to strain very
hard to keep hold of his usurped power. My tutor, Dr. T. P.
Matheson has suggested that strains could be varieties or
types. In this context, pardons are merely one type of
manifestation of usurped power.

men then they were before in private estate, yet it is apparant that by this strength of Cardinalls voyces, some kings haue had, and one at this day hath, the power to make Cardinalls whome he will, and to name some fewe Cardinalls of which [are] one must be chosen Pope.¹¹⁵ And howsoeuer for the present this distasts both Cardinalls and Italian Princes, yet they are forced to beare it, the [f...st] Cardinalls for the gayne they haue by his Pensions, and to re<me>dy the disorders to which Rome is subiect when the Papall Sea is voyd, which /10/ admitt no delaye in the choyse, as the Princes haue patience, because they cannot hinder it, they being content that a quiett man be chosen for Pope, that there may be no warrs in Italy as the Cardinalls looke he shalbe an old and sickly man for the gayne in the frequent [C....][Choyse]. Thus wee see that the kinges, who by theire power made the Pope a Christmas lord, could not depose him when Christmas was donne, but he would still be master of the Reuells in spite of them.¹¹⁶ For this a misticall poynt of the Popes greatnes that heretofore kinges could not subsist, if /20/ the Pope once denovnned excommunication against them, theire very murtherers in that case by a newe Article of Fayth being made Martyrs, and it was ever most dreadfull, till the Popes themselues made it to be contemned. For as thunder

¹¹⁵ Presumably Moryson means Philip III (1598 - 1621) of Spain.

¹¹⁶ The Pope is seen as a Lord of Misrule.

would not be feared if it were Continuall, and did no hurt, so the Popes frequent darting of these thunderboltes, and that vppon meere ambition of the Roman Church, and for trifling causes, yea for the Popes private passions made them daly lesse and lesse regarded, yea often turne to the /30/ detriment of that Sea, for which cause at this day they spareingly threaten but seldome or never denovnce them. But it is worthe obseruation, that hohowsoeuer excommunication rightly vsed, is indeede a fearefull sentence, yet the Popes themselues thought their proceedings in this case meere screcrowes,¹¹⁷ rather fitt to terrifye, then able to hurt, euen in the tymes when Princes and States stode most in awe of them. For whereas the Apostle[s] Paul, knowing that God by his Iudgments would severely execute this sentence /40/ iustly denovnced, thought it terror inough by excommunication to [his] cast the incestuous [people][pers<on>] out of Gods protection in his Church, and so to deliuer him to the power of Sathan, without prosecuting him any further in his goods or person,¹¹⁸ the Popes cleane Contrary, trusting not in Gods executing their vniust sentences, neuer denounced them against any Prince, till they had stirred vp some [other] ambitious Prince to be ready in Armes to invade his dominions with fyer and sworde, as giuen to him, by the

¹¹⁷ "scarecrows".

¹¹⁸ I Corinthians 5. 1 - 5.

Popes vseurped right to dispose all /50/ Christian kingdomes in this case at his meere pleasure.

{ m.n. 51, 52. Indulgences or Pardons. }

The second misticall point of the Popes powerfull greatnes consists in his Indulgences and Pardons //

fol 404. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt.V.

wherein it is agenerall rule that great breaches of Gods lawes are easily pardoned, then small transgressions against the Popes lawe. For Sondayes the Christians Sabbothes are in Italy the greatest markt dayes, Idolatry is a godly worke, blasphemyes and Fornications, haue easye Pardons of Course, but if a man eate flesh in lent or vpon fasting dayes, or will not worshipp euery stocke and stone or dead man [hallowed and Saynted by the Pope.] he and his goods are without remission made a praye to the bloody Inquisition. And the like wee shall after /10/ shewe in the Popes dispensations, of marryage against the law of God and euen with Gods part in oathes and many like cases. And no doubt if the reformed Churches dissented not from Rome in all pointes touching the Popes greatnes and gayne, peace were easily made betweene them.¹¹⁹ For I dare boldly say,

¹¹⁹ This is an extraordinary comment considering the ideological chasm between the two camps. The Diet of Ratisbon 1541 which produced the compromise formula of faith of double justification by the Venetian Gasparo Contarini and Philip Melanchthon was repudiated by Paul III and Luther. In effect the time for compromise had passed even by then. See Elton, pp. 169 - 172.

that the Roman Church would more easily tolerate vnsounde opinions of the holy Trinity (as it [were] nowe doth in the Greekes who liue in Italy) then any the least impugning theire gaynefull doctryne of /20/ Purgatory. Touching which, the French king *Henry* the Fourth, standing by a good fyer, asked the Iesuite Cotton,¹²⁰ if the fyer of purgatorye were so hott, and he answering that it was tenne thousand tymes hotter, the king merily replied, that he did easily beleued it, because it made the Pipkins (or potts) of the Clergy boyle so merrily being farr distant from them. Monsieur Villamont a French gentleman of the Roman Religion relates that he made Petition to the Pope, first for license to visitt the Sepulcher at Ierusalem, /30/ to which the Pope subscribed *Fiat quod petitur*, let it be that is C[.]raued, secondly for pardon of his sinnes, to which the Pope subscribed *Fiat fælix*, lett him be happy. Is not this the mouth which speaks blasphemy.¹²¹ But he adds that after the Popes subscription, this graunt passed eleuen handes and Seales, with as much trouble and charge as if he had suied for a benifice. For it must be vnderstoode that

¹²⁰ Pierre Coton (1564 - 1626) was a Jesuit and confessor to Henry IV and the Dauphin, the future Louis XIII. It is a measure of the fear that the Jesuits generated in all countries, that he was accused of abetting parricide after Henry IV's assassination. He became Provincial of the Society, and even on his death bed had to distance himself from his fellow Jesuit, Santarelli, who attributed to the Pope the power to depose kings for certain crimes. *CE*

¹²¹ See fol. 106. To Moryson, there is no doubt that the Pope is the beast of Revelation. See Revelation 13. 14.

these Spirituall graces are dearely Solde to priuate lay men, and exchanged with Princes euen for /40/ temporall Principalities, as may appeare among other infinite testimonyes, by the treatyes of the last age betweene Pope Alexander the sixt and the French king Lewis the twelfth, related in the worthy history of Guicciardine, who was notwithstanding of the Roman Religion.¹²² The first misterie of these spirituall graces Consists in Pardons of sinnes, and thereby freeing them in this life from feare of falling into Purgatory after death. These pardons are frequently brought into all Cittyes and Countryes, ether by the Popes /50/ ministers to raise mony for St Peters vse, or by private men obtayned them at Rome for rewarde of service, with blankes to insert the names of the buyers. And the //

{ c.w. preachers in }

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol.405.

preached in Pulpitts magnifye these graces as sent from heauen, to make them vendable at higher rates. Besydes these pardons are at all tymes to be had by all men at home, since there is no monasterye Church, nor Alter, that hath not dormant pardons graunted by Popes and lasting to

¹²² "The Pope also, whose deuotion had this determination, to appropriate to his sonne Cæsar at that time Cardinall, all temporall greatnesse, raised his thought to high things, and sending Embassadors to the French king, was at a point to sell to his Maiestie spirituall graces, receiuing in recompence, possessions temporall..." Fenton, Book Four, p. 147.

the world end, whereby any man may haue pardon for his sinnes vpon easy conditions, as saying some Paternosters and Auemaryes (Almes being allwayes vnderstoode, tho of latter tymes not expressed to avoyde scandle) And these Pardons are wonderfull large, whereof I could easily /10/ make a Colection, [being] long to reade, and strang to heare, but I [am] [will] content my selfe to remember some fewe out of the learned and discrete discourse of the State of Religion in the west. One at Padoa for all sinnes from Baptisme to the last confession, with Eight and twenty thousand yeares after (for abundant Caution)¹²³ Another at Venice, for foure score and two thousand yeares, for every day so oft as the Confessed sinner shall say acertayne prayer of St Austin. Another at Padoa graunted by Christ in person at his mothers siute, vnto St Fraunces for all such /20/ as shall confesse, Communicate and pray in this Church of St Fraunces, since extended by Pope Sixtus the fourth to all Franciscan[s] Fryers, and Nonnes that were his Gordon.¹²⁴ Another of Plenary remission at the houer of

¹²³ The running titles, which spread over two pages, of Sandys's work read "*A relation of the Religion vsed/in the west parts of the world.*" Compare, "In the Ermitanes of Padua, their Preachers publish pardon of plenarie indulgence from Baptisme, to the last confession, with eight and twentie thousande yeares over for the time ensuing." sig. B2v.

¹²⁴ Gordon is not in the *OED*, but it may be a variant of Gordian, a possible allusion to the knotted rope that friars wore around their middle, and a back reference to the Gordian knot of ecclesiastical discipline on Fol. 392. In Sandys, the word is spelt "Cordon", sig. B3r.

Death, vpon naming Iesus with theire mouth or (if they cannot speake) only in theire heart.¹²⁵ Another the like vpon bowing the head, as Christ bowed his head vpon the Crosse. These and the like Pardons are so Common and easiley to be had, as he deserues no pittie that by negligence wants them. Yet if any man be so foolish as after death to dropp into Purgatory /30/ for want of them, he wants not remedies. For in most Churches they haue preuiledged Alters, for the dead where for every masse (Costing but a groate) a Soule is deliuered out of Pu[r]gatory. And if any man haue a Priest to his Sonne (as most Italyans haue) his fourth masse (tho sayd without any such intencion¹²⁶) ransomes his Parents from Purgatorye.

{ m.n. 38. Dispensations. }

Another misterye of these spirituall graces in the Roman Church, is no lesse detestable¹²⁷ then the former, I might say farr more abhominable, as more directly opposite to /40/ the expresse word of God. And this consists in the Popes dispensations, by vertue of his power to loosen and to bynde, where[h]in he playes fast and loose with marryage, and Oathes, and all the sacred bonds of Religion.

¹²⁵ This privilege, according to Sandys, was offered to the Paduan "...fraternitie of the Altar of the Conception of our Ladie in *Duamo*" [*Duomo* meaning Cathedral?]. sig. B3r.

¹²⁶ Sandys spells "intention", sig. B3v.

¹²⁷ "detestable".

Gods lawe forbidds marryage within certayne degrees of kindred, the Popes forbidds more dgrees, and so byndes where God looseth, moreover adding spirituall affinity (as being Gosopes¹²⁸ at the Christning of a Chylde) to be an impediment to maryage whereas indeede all Christians are ioyned in a farr neerer bond of Spirituall affinity, and so by the Popes rule should /50/ only marry with Pagons. But why forbidds he so many degrees permitted by God. To no other end but to gett mony for dispensations. And therefore the Cantons of Sweitzerland //

folo 406. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapter V being of the Roman Religion, wisely perceaving that the Popes prohibitions of these maryages only barred the [power] poorer sorte, being daly Contracted betweene those that had mony to purchase dispensations, made a lawe, that it should be free for the poore to marry within those degrees for nothings, since the rich did commonly purchase that liberty for mony. Agayne Gods lawe forbids certayne degrees, but the Popes lawe by dispensation allowes to marry within those degrees, though such marryages be incestuous, and so looseth where God bynes /10/ by his expresse worde.¹²⁹ Is not this Vicar of Christ highly presumptuous, and can Antichrist more exalt him selfe aboue God, then by dispensing with his lawes. This misticall

¹²⁸ Godparents. *OED*

¹²⁹ Leviticus 20. has various laws on the degrees permitted and forbidden.

point of the Popes spirituall power, is of such consequence, as I dare boldly say, that no king hath euer strengthened himselfe somuch by lawfull maryages, as the Pope hath strengthened his power by vnlawfull marryages. If any man doubt hereof lett him consider that some kings aboue other, mantayne the Popes power, and not without reason, beca[u]se that falling, their legitamate /20/ birth falls with it. For these kings hauing perhapps gotten most of their States by marryage, to keepe them still in their Famyly, they haue no better way then to marrye with the neerest of their blood, so as the[y] vnkle hath married the nyce, which is against the lawe of nature, the vnkle being in steede of the Parents vpon their death,¹³⁰ & expressly against the lawe of God, and only made lawfull by the Popes dispensation.¹³¹ Yea and thus one Prince hath bene to another, both brother Cosen, Nephewe, and Sonne. [in particuler.] Agayne in particular for Fraunce, reade /30/ Guicciardine, and obserue (as I formerly mentioned)

¹³⁰ The idea was common. Claudius enjoins Hamlet to "think of us/ As of a father" I. 2. 107, 108.

¹³¹ Compare Sandys, sig. D3v. Philip III "...will be as sure to the Papacy, as his father, being borne of a marriage prohibited by God, abhorred happily by Nature, disaproved by the world, and onely by papall authority made allowable." Philip II's last wife, Anne of Austria, was his cousin, the grand daughter of his uncle. Their issue, Philip III was king, and Count Gondomar his ambassador at the height of his influence over James I when this allegation was repeated. Could such problems have delayed Moryson in obtaining for the official *Imprimatur* until 1626, when England was at war with Spain and Philip III long dead?

that Pope A[x]llexannder the sixth perceauing that the French king lewes the twelfth desyred to be diuorced from his old wife, that he might marry with the widowe of Charles the Eight heyre to the Dukedome of Britanny, did graunt him this spirituall grace of Diuorce, or rather exchaunge it for larg temporall States giuen by him to the Roman Sea;¹³² and [hee] hauing a Daughter heyre of that Dukedome, after marryed to his successor Frances the first, the Pope did thereby as firmly bynde them and their successors, /40/ to mantayne the Papall authority, as theire <o>wne right to so rich a Dukedome could bynde them. Agayne the French king Henry the fourth was marryed with a wicked intent of massacring the Protestants, yet were the marryage good or no surely it was established at least by the Popes absolute dispensation against all impediments.¹³³ Notwithstanding, beholde the Papall integrity and singuler craft in these Cases, Another Pope for the same impediments pronounceth the same marryage, voyde, and permitts him to

¹³² "...and so the diuorce confirmed by sentence of the Iudges, there rested nothing else exspected, for the dispensing and accomplishing of the new mariage, but the comming of *Cæsar Borgia*, lately of a Cardinall and Archbishop of *Valence*, become a soldier & Duke of *Valentinoys*: the king hauing giuen him a companie of an hundred Launces and twenty thousand frankes pension: and for his title of Dukedome he indued him with *Valence* a Citie of *Dauphine*, with twenty thousand frankes of reuene..." Fenton, Book Four, p. 157.

¹³³ At the nuptials of Henry of Navarre (as he was then), to Charles IX's sister Margaret, the assembled Protestants were massacred on Saint Batholomew's Day, 1572. It was an inauspicious start to an unsuccessful marriage.

marrye another wife of the house of Medici. /50/ Doth not
this bynde him and his successors to mantayne the Papall
Authority, or to be subiect to seditions easely rayed by
Italian practises. Agayne for England king *Henry* the Eight
by the Popes dispensation marryed //

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapter.V. fo.407.

his owne deceased brothers widdowe, 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, and this bond so much prevayled with her, as in
respect therof shee nothing regarded her Fa[i]thfull
promise, made to her subiectes that vndertooke to fight for
her right, vpon the promise to mantayne the Reformed
Religion.¹³⁴ So as the Pope thereby regayned England, after
it was fully revolted /10/ from him, and his Clergy had
vtterly wasted all the professors of the Reformed Religion
in England, If all mighty God powerfully turning the same
humane bond to serue his diuine providence, had not rayed
her younger sister *Queene Elizabeth* to the Crowne, who

¹³⁴ Moryson is incorrectly repeating what Sandys alleges. See sig. D3v. Parliament had legislated on various Succession Acts in 1534 (to legitimize Anne Boleyn's offspring), and in 1536 (to legitimize Jane Seymour's) by conferring "on him the remarkable power to appoint any successor at any time by letters patent or by will." J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 456. A further act of 1543 settling the succession on Edward, then Mary then Elizabeth was confirmed in his will.

being borne of a second venter,¹³⁵ 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. /20/

Touching the Popes dispensing with Oathes, not only so farre as they are made betweene man and man, but even for Godes part in whose name the oath is taken, no doubt it is directy against the worde of God. For one instance, Ioshua was drawne by fraude to make a league with the Gibeonites by Oath, and howsoever this league with them was directly against Gods Commaundment to destroy them, yet when the fraude appeared, because the Oath was taken in Gods name, it pleased him it should be kept, and when king Saul long after brooke it, Gods pleasure /30/ was in reveng thereof to send a famine which ceased not, till seuen Children of Saul were hanged on a tree for that wicked act of their Father.¹³⁶ But I shall haue occasion after in this Chapter to speake more largely hereof. now I will only giue one instance of the Popes proceeding in this case. The Emperor Charles the fyfth being in a league with the Pope against the French king Fraunces the first, tooke him prisoner in

¹³⁵ "I. 1. a. One or other of two or more wives who are (successively or otherwise) sources of offspring to the same person." *OED* In this case the same person was Henry VIII, who had six wives but only three venters.

¹³⁶ II Samuel 21. 1 - 9.

a battayle, and after releasing him vpon Conditions, tooke his Oath to performe them. But asoone as the French king was at liberty, the Pope not /40/ likeing that the power of Spayne should so much increase by depressing the power of Fraunce, in the equall ballance of which kingdomes the safety of Italy Consisted; did presently forsake the Emperors parte, and making league against him with the French king, dispenced with his breaking of the sayd Oath.¹³⁷ And if he proceeded thus betweene two kinges of the Roman Religion, what confidence may Protestants haue in the Oath of a Papist, hauing this Dormmant [warrant], that no Fayth is to be kept with heritikes. /50/

For the Reuennues of the Roman Church raysed by this spirituall power, I haue spoken thereof in the Chapters of the Comonwealth of Italy. here I will only add in generall, that the Papists from the highest to the lowest, are much beholden to the Protestants, howe //

{ c.w. vnwillingly }

fol.408. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt.V.

[vnwilling] [vnwinglily] soeuer they are to accknowledge it, for since the Reformation of Religion the Popes fynding what neede they had of kinges supports, and to keepe the hartes of the people remayning vnder their authority, yet daily falling from them, haue more spareingly then in

¹³⁷ This is the example used by Sandys, sig. D4v.

former ages, [of] of late not at all, vsed the spirituall terrors of excommunication against the Princes of their people, and haue made the kinges of spayne and Fraunce partners with them in the Reuenues they rayse from /10/ the Clergy of their dominions. yea for their Spirituall graces of Indulgences or pardons not only one of those kings is sayd to share with the Pope in the profitts thereby raysed in his kingome, but ingenerall they are since [tyme] that tyme graunted at a more easie rate, and all exactions more spareingly vsed espetially in places adioyning to the reformed churches, or indeede the graces freely giuen, and the exactions altogether forborne, towards the Papists liuing vnder the Commaunde of the Reformed /20/ Churches for feare to offend them. I haue formerly spoken of the Popes Revenues much decayed by Provinces and whole kingdomes falling from his obedience, and of the great Reuenues he still rayseth from those that are vnder him, by Annats and Tenthes yearely,¹³⁸ and spoyles of the Clergy at their deaths, and by Indulgences and Pardons sold to him that will giue most, and of the Popes inriching the clargy by Obitts,¹³⁹ that rich man being reputed no good Catholike, who at his death giues not

¹³⁸ Annates are "The first-fruits, or entire revenue of one year, paid to the Pope by bishops and other ecclesiastics of the R. C. Church on their appointment to a see or benefice." *OED* Tenths or tythes are 10% of income that should be given to the Church.

¹³⁹ "2. c. A gift or offering made at or for such an office, or in commemoration of a deceased person." *OED*

thirty or forty powndes /30/ to the Clergy and good vses,
and of his inriching Churches and monasteryes, by
Pilgrimages to Images, and by perpetuall Indulgences
graunted to theire shrynes and Alters, and of the Popes
squeasing these Churches and monasteyes to his owne
profitt, when theire sponges growe full. Now I only adde
ingenerall, that Spayne yealdes the Pope as great Revennues
in this kynde as Italy, so as the worthy Author of the
discourse of the Westerne Church, relates from well
grounded informations, that Pope Pyas the fifth in a shorte
/40/ tyme after the Counsell of Trent drewe out of spayne
fourteene millions into his Coffers.

{ m.n. 43 - 45. The Popes meere temporall power. }

Thus hauing spoken of the Popes spirituall power, and of
his temporall power grounded vpon[.] it, which he vsurpeth
ouer all persons and temporall States of kings, it remaynes
to say something of his meere temporall power, by dominions
subiect to the Sea of Rome, which they call St Peters
Patrimonye. Of the Popes temporall Dominions in Italy (for
his forayne State of Auignon in Fraunce, since the
reformation of Religion, strong in /50/ those partes, is
reputed rather a charge then any whitt profitable to [h.]
him) I haue written at large in the //

{ c.w. Commonwelth }

Booke III. of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V. fol.409.

Commonwealth of Italy, and indeede it belongs not properly

to the subject of this Chapter, yet because it first grewe from the dreadfull awe of his spirituall power, I will breiefely mention. That Italy, besydes some inferior Principalities and free Cittyes is deuided into Foure great States, whereof that of the king of Spayne is the greatest, possessing the kingdome of Naples, and the Duchey of Milian. That of Venice is the second, in regarde of their force by Sea, and it Contaynes *Histria*¹⁴⁰ and seuerall rich Cityes with /10/ their Teretories in lombardy. That of the Pope or St Peter is the third, yealding the second place to the State of Venice only in respect of their Nauall power, and contaynes *Romagnna* the Dukedome of *Spoletto*, *Marchia* both the old and the new, *Rauenna*, the State of *Bologna*, and the Dukedome of *Ferrara*. That of the great duke of *Tuscany* is the Fourth Contayning three States, that were of old free Cittyes, namely of *Florence*, of *Pisa*, and of *Sienna*. The Popes State is very rich in Reuenue and hath the best Soldyers of Italy in *Romagna* /20/ and *marchia*, in so much as the discourse of the west Church writes the Popes State to yealde two millions of yearely Reuenue, and one hundreth thousand fighting men for their defence at home. Besydes this State of the popes is like daily to increase, [may] many of the other States being helde in fee from the Pope, by olde transactions, when the Pope had most power to defende or hurte them, and so being like to

¹⁴⁰ Moryson is referring to various ports on the Istrian coastline.

deuolue vnto him by want of heires males. For the Popes, since the deceasing of their spirituell and temporall power /30/ in forrayne kingdomes, haue beene and are to this day most intentiue to amplify their meere temporall State at home. So as the last Duke of [F.] Ferrara dying without lawfull heires malle, and holding in fee from the Sea of Rome, could not obtayne to haue the fee of that Dukedome transferred vpon his base Sonne, but the Pope tooke it into his owne possession. And it is confidently presumed, they will doe the like in other States holding in fee from that Sea, as the kingdome of Naples, paying the Pope yearely for quitt Rent, /40/ a white Mule or Hackney, and (as the foresayd discourse witnesseth) Foure thousand Crownes of gold yearely, and likewise the Dukedome of Parma, the dukedome of Vrbin, and other pettie States, in which the Pope hath like right or pretence.¹⁴¹ Yea the Popes of late haue cast such a Couetous eye vpon that kingdome of Naples, as they had not the patience to expect the deuoluing thereof by right, but haue practised to gett it by warre, to that ende purposing to combyne with other Princes, yea with the very Protestantes, /50/ which ambition Pope Sixtus the fifth is thought to haue bo[.]ught dearely with the shortning of his life.¹⁴² But

¹⁴¹ A quit rent is a payment in return for a benefit received. *OED*

¹⁴² Sandys reports that Sixtus V died "...hauing been poisoned by Spanish practise." Sig. N3r.

[the] Princes of Italy wish rather to see the Popes spirituall power and his temporall power ouer kinges restored and increased a broade, then his meere //
 { c.w. temporall power at [encreased] home, }
 fol.410. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V.
 temporall power [encreased] at home, which they would haue lesse then it is, looking vpon it with a Ielaous eye. And no marvell, for this temporall power at home increaseth by Collops cutt out of their owne sydes,¹⁴³ making the Pope richer but Italy poorer, whereas the spirituall power a broade drawes all men into Italy, where by their Rents, tributes, and exactions are increased, and drawes forayne treasure into Italy, wherewith it aboundes aboue all Nations, because they spareingly send it out, themselues exporting more /10/ natiue Commodities then forren are imported to them.¹⁴⁴ Agayne by this spirituall power the

¹⁴³ "2. b. A slice of meat." *OED*

¹⁴⁴ Moryson is stating the mercantilist "problem" of export of bullion if trade were not balanced or favourable. It had much exercised the minds of Englishmen. In Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* the villainous Black Knight (Gondomar) is able to export English gold to Spain,
 To convey White House gold to our Black Kingdom
 In cold baked pasties and so cozen searchers.

IV. 2. 46, 47.

See Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, edited by J. W. Harper, (London, 1966).

Moryson likes to portray the Catholic Church as a leech on the life blood of nations, but Italy's wealth came from economic regeneration in the decades after war ended in 1559, from population increases stimulating agriculture, banking, textile manufacture, publishing and ceramics. As Moryson recognises here, tourism was also a profitable phenomenon. See Cochrane particularly pp. 171 - 183.

election of the Popes hath beene drawne from the Emperors and people of Rome to the Cardinalls. Wherof the greatest part are Italians (the lessour part being reserued to gratifye forrayne Princes, and to sway theire kingdomes to the Popes obedience), whereby the Princes of Italy beare great sway in that Colledge, to chuse a Pope of that Nation, or such a one as they best like, and to manage forrayne affayres at theire /20/ pleasure. Agayne, [that] howsoever of old, Bishoprickes and great dignities of the Church were not in the Popes guift, and to this day in Venice, some benefices are like dignities, are giuen by the people of the Parishes, and confirmed by the Patriarke. Yet by this spirituall power the Popes haue drawne to themselues not only the guift of Spirituall promotions but the erection of newe Bishoprickes, and hauing made euery smal towne in Italy a Bishopps Sea, the Pope and Princes of Italy haue great advantage, /30/ by the multitude of Italian Bishopps, to carry most voyces ingenerall Councelles, as well appeared at the late Councell of Trent.

{ m.n. 34 - 36. The Popes power in generall. }

By the Popes ioynt power ingenerall, his Reuennues, haue beene, and are at this day very great, so as in the declyning tyme of the Papacye, Sixtus the Sixth dying, left fyue millions in Treasure, wherof his Succssor wasted foure

in tenne monthes.¹⁴⁵ But were the Reuenues never so great, they are subiect to Continuall wasting, by the great expences, to mantayne his /40/ Nvnčiaes, Legates, and other ministers, and all other supports of his dignity, but espetically by preferring his kinsmen and Nephewes (whic commonly are their base Children, so stilled by them,¹⁴⁶ only Pope Alexander the Sixth was not ashamed to avowe his Children, and call them by that name, whome he preferred to great Principalities, by warr and all kyndes of practises, yet in short tyme they were ruined, and came to nothing) As the Italians will disburse all their estate to make their kinsmen to be chosen /50/ Popes, so they make them bountifull retribution, with hauocke of the Churches Treasure.¹⁴⁷ //

Booke III. of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V. fo.411.

yea as the Popes, their Nephewes, Children, and kinsmen, are Commonly of [me..]meane Condition, so are they (as all other raysed high from lowe degree) Commonly most riottous. Besydes the Popes Chosen when they are old, cannot liue long, whereby these hauockes of treasure are frequent. And this last point is allso agreat defect in the Papall

¹⁴⁵ Sandys reports that Sixtus V, not VI, left five millions. Sig. Olv.

¹⁴⁶ "...so styled by them..."

¹⁴⁷ Plunder; "4. Probably of the same Gmc origin as *heave* is *havoc*, adapted from OE-MF *crier havot*, to cry *havoc*, *havot* being pillage or plunder..." Eric Partridge, *Origins A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, fourth edition (London, 1966).

Hierarchy. For changing often and being of diuers Familyes and nations, they never weaue the webb of their prediccors, but make newe frames of their /10/ owne. Yet lett the Popes power be never so vast, it can never be equall to his pryde, the excesse whereof no man can ymagin, that hath not seene it. My selfe litle vnderstoode what Pontificall pompe (called *In Pontificalibus*) did meane, till I sawe the Pope ride from his Pallace to the Church; with foure hundreth gentlemen brauely mounted, besydes his Cardinalls and Bishopps, all attending him, who in the middst roade vpon a white Mule, with diuers other ledd spare, all richly furnished, hauing also /20/ a rich Canopie, ouer his head carryed by six men with two horsemenn riding by [him] one with a great fann of peacockes feathers held betweene his face and the Sunn, the other with the like fann to make wynde and Coole him. Yea when he came to the Church he was taken from his horse, placed in a ricch Chaire and Carried on six mens shoulders, to his throane in the Church, soe as his feete neuer touched the ground, and there, with incredible presse, all men and woemen aspired to the happines to kysse his ymbrodered shoe, and in like sort, after the Masse hee was Caried backe /30/ from the Church to his Pallace.

{ m.n. 33, 34. *The Power of the Papacye* }

Thus much beinge said of the Pope, giue me leaue breiflie to touch the power of the Papacye. In my treaty of *Germany*,

I haue shewed, that the Duke of *Bauaria* and all his Subiectes weare *Papistes*, most of the Bishoppes weare *Papistes*, but some of them forced to giue liberty of the reformed Religion to their Subiectes, the Emperor & his familye weare *Papistes*, but most of their Subiectes *Protestantes*, havinge freedomm of Religionn, but all the rest of the Princes with their Subiectes, & all the free /40/ Cittyes, and the duke of *Konigsburgh* with his Subiectes in *Prussen*, & the free Cittyes of that Prouince weare all *Protestantes*, some after *Luthers*, some after *Caluins* doctryne, soe as hardly the Seauenth parte of *Germany*, & *Bohemia Silesia & Morauia*, weare accounted then of the Popes parte. only [of] the *Papistes* had two aduantadges, one to haue the Emperor on their side, the other to haue the *Protestantes* devided into *Lutherans & Caluenistes*, wherof the former, are soe eager in Contentionn, as they professed in Print, rather to tourne *Papistes* then to yeild to the other /50/ //

fol 4i2 Booke iii of *Italy Touchinge Religionn Chap: V*

in the mayne difference of the Sacrament. In *Poland Hungary & those partes*, the farr greater parte weare *Papistes*, the rest weare of diuerse Sectes of Religionn. But all theise had worke more then enough to defend themselues from the *Turkes* invasionn. Therefore the strenght of the *Papacye* Consisted in *Italye, Spaine, & Fraunce*. For howsoeuer a third parte of the *Grisons & the Switzers* weare then *Papistes*, yet the *Protestantes* beinge double in number, &

havinge the ricchest Cittyes & more warlicke people the Papistes there could add no strenght to the Popes pertye. And how /10/ soeuer many of the vnited Provinces in the lowe Countryes weare Papistes & many other sectes of Religionn, yet the Sectaryes hated the Papistes noe lesse then the Protestantes did & the States only allowed the publique professionn of the reformed Religion, the rest beinge subiect to penall lawes in the excercise of their Religionn: soe as all the forces of those Provinces weare stronglie vnited for the reformed Religion, which also did spread soe farr in the other Provinces vnder the kinge of Spaine as only his Power restrayned them from publique profession therof. /20/ And howsoeuer England had some Papistes, yet they had no Power to make any head against the whole State professing the reformed Religionn. And howsoeuer the kinge of Suetia (then beinge kinge of Poland & there recydinge) was a Papist, yet the Viceroy his vnckle & all his Subiectes weare of the reformed Religionn.¹⁴⁸ Touchinge Italye it was thought to haue some hundredes of Protestantes vppon the Confynes of the Grisons besides many favorers of them in Vennice, Lucca & others scattered abroad (beinge all in nomber more then the Papistes /30/ weare in England,) & thou<s>gh [it] may well be said whollye of the Popes pertye, yet the Princes hardlye

¹⁴⁸ Moryson neglects to mention that the Calvinist uncle deposed his Catholic nephew, and became Charles IX of Sweden in 1604.

brooked the increase of the Popes temperall power at home,
& litle approued his temperall power over kings & princes
abroad, & besides, all theise Princes had dependancy or
Proteccion pertlie on the kinge of France, pertlye on the
kinge of Spaine. But for the kingdome of Spaine havinge
rooted out multitudes of Protestantes in Sivill, by the
inquisicion,¹⁴⁹ it was held the Cheeffe support of the
Papall Power. For France (as I shall[e] shew in the
follow/40/inge Chapter) beinge for the most perte Papistes,
yet had then a stronge pertye of Protestantes, [that] [not]
only scattered, but vnited in Provinces, & Commaundinge
strong Townes; Also it had diuerse stronge perties emongst
the Papistes dissentinge from the Pope in diuerse pointes,
most Concerninge his ritches and power. In regard of the
aforesaid reasons wee may also say that the Cheeffe
strenght of the //

{ c.w. Protestantes }

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol 413

Protestants lyes in the kingdomes of England, Scotland,
Denmarke, and Sueti (or Sueyden) in the Princes of Germany,
and in the vnited States of the lowe Countryes. Now I will

¹⁴⁹ Elliott suggests that group at Seville in 1558 were not Protestant, "Although these communities had certain contacts with Geneva..." but were rather "...from among the cosmopolitan humanist circle around the [old] Emperor" including his confessor and his favourite preacher. p. 225. "These were the years in which Renaissance Spain, wide open to European humanist influences, was effectively transformed into the semi-closed Spain of the Counter-Reformation." J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469 - 1716* (London, 1963), p. 224.

breefely Compare together the cheefe supportes of both sydes. If any man say that Italy Spayne and Fraunce are of larg Circute, I answer those of the last named Protestants, are of no lesse Circute, and being more populous nations doe over topp the other in heades of figting men and besydes are Commaunders of the Sea through the /10/ whole worlde, by theire Nauall power. If those of the Papists be close ioyned together, to vnite theire forces, and haue the helpes of the Mediterra[e]nian Sea and the Ocean. Those of the Protestans are no lesse vnited in the North and haue the same yea greater advantages by Sea. [I say]. If any say the teritoryes of Italy, Spayne, and Fraunce are neere[r] the sunne, and so richer both in soyle and traffique. I cannot deny that Italy of it selfe is richer in treasure and soyle, and had of old greater traffique from the rich East, but as the rich are richer /20/ then in any other Nation, so are they fewe, and the Multitudes consisting of poore men, are farr poorer then in any other nation, being horribly oppressed by theire Princes with taxes, and most basely and tyranously vsed by theire landlords, eateing vp all the sweate of theire browes. And I cannot deny that Spayne is accidentally rich in treasure, by the west Indies, and the Port[u][u]galls had of old rich traffique in the East, but the Soyle of Spayne is in great part barren and full of desert places, And the kings Indian Treasures are soone consumed in man/30/ taying the excessiue charges of his garrysons and like necessarye[s]

disbursments in his many Dominions farr distant one from the other. Nether doe I dey¹⁵⁰ that Fraunce is rich in soyle and natiue Commodities, but it hath small traffique by Sea. And for the Dominions of the Protestants, it cannot be denyed that they are rich for the most part, in soyle and necessary Commodities, yea for England I will boldly say, it hath very rich natiue Commodities, and is better able to subsist of it selfe for all necessaryes in peace and warr, then any kingdome I knowe /40/ in the worlde: but for taffique,¹⁵¹ England and the Vnited Provinces of the lowe Countrys alone, may compayre with the other three, hauing free trade in the most remote partes of the East, west, and whole worlde. If any say the people of Italy, Spayne and Fraunce, haue more subtile witts, to plant Religion, to dilate Empires,¹⁵² and to mantayne them both: It is playne that their Religion is most politike, planted and mantayned only by witt, hauing the Pope for head, to combine them, with his vsurped power, and to call generall Councells /50/ //

fol.414. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V.

for confirming that Religion, whereas the Protestants differ in formes of Reformation, and haue diuers heads ouer them, and are only strengthned by Prouinciall Synods, but

¹⁵⁰ "deny" ?

¹⁵¹ "traffique", meaning trade.

¹⁵² "2. 1. trans. To make wider or larger..." OED

the haue truth to vnite them, which is great and evermore
prevailleth. For the rest, I hold that the French are better
Conquerors then mantaners of Conquest, and all historyes
wittnesse that Northern people haue made the greatest
Conquests, tho perhaps not longest mantayned them. Now
giue me leaue to say, that the sayd Dominions of
Protestants haue, No enemy on theire backe, /10/ but the
sayd Dominions of the Roman Religion haue the Turkish
Empire at theire backe, ready to invade them, if they
should assaile the Protestants. For which cause, howsoeuer
they haue massacred and persecuted the Protestants in
Fraunce, and the low Countryes, and on[.]^[c]e haue
attempted to invade and conquer England, yet they long
suffered the Reformed Churches of Germany to liue in peace,
euen because the Turkes aspiring to Conquer Italy, and
discouraged from invading it by Sea, since the defeate of
theire Navall power, neere the Gulfe of Lepanto, rather
affected /20/ to make theire passage into Italy through the
Alpes, by subduing the Dominions of the house of Austria.
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 /30/ them to make

warr vpon the Protestants, which the Turkes are not like to quench but by the ruinne of both.¹⁵³

{ m.n. 33 - 35. Of other pointes of Religion. }

Now lett vs see howe the Italians are taught in other points of Religion. The preachers haue long Pulpitts (not rounde as ours) some foure or fyue yeardes long, wherein they walke like Roscius vpon a stage,¹⁵⁴ 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 Rostra¹⁵⁵ ([th] with /40/ Artificiall eloquence, now inflaming, then allaying the passions of their heare[e]rs, and sometymes with a long prosopopia speaking to the Crucifix at one ende, and magnifying it as their

¹⁵³ This Protestant thinking has a long pedigree. In his preface to the translation of Ricoldo da Montecroce's *Confutatio Alchoran* of 1542, Luther himself thought that only when the internal Antichrist of Christendom, the Pope and his practises, had been overcome would any progress be made against Islam. Until then Christians must suffer. See R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962), pp. 104 - 109. Almost eighty years later, when the progress of Islam had been largely halted, Moryson's tone is cautious, but not wholly pessimistic. Nevertheless, the fear of Antichrist aiding Islam to destroy truth is still present.

¹⁵⁴ Quintus Roscius Gallus (d. 62 BC) was "the most famous comic actor of his day at Rome...The name of Roscius became prominent in English literature for an actor generally, not merely in comedy." Harvey.

¹⁵⁵ "In Rome, the platform in the Forum from which orators addressed the people." Harvey, p. 378. So called because of the beaks or pointed prows of the ships captured at Antium 338 BC which were hung there as war trophies.

Redeemer,¹⁵⁶ sometymes with like speeches Converting
themselues to the Image of our lady or some Saynt at the
other ende. I say more like Orators on a stage then like
graue diuines [were the Sermons] or doctors confined to
theire chayres. Yet were the Sermons Commonly learned, and
the Preachers shewed much outwarde zeale, and perswaded so
effectually /50/ <g>ood life and devotion, as the good
Conversation and piety of the better sort in Italy was
thought espetially to be attributed to these Sermons. And
indeede only the best affected came to these Sermons, for
they accounted it //

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a voluntary act, and not of Duty (as heareing of the
masses) so as men were not thought obliged to heare them,
but at tymes of leasure. These Preachers were commonly
Franciscans, or Dominicans, but espetially Iesuites, and
they were more Carefully chosen in lent then other tymes,
when they did preach euery day: vpon Satterday in prayse of
our lady and the other six dayes vpon the Gospell for the
day, which in the Church they did reade in lattin, but the
Preachers did reade no text, only expounded by snatches
such partes of the Gosple, as they liked best, omitting
what they listed, espetially such pointes /10/ as directly
impugned any Roman doctryne. But while they were thus

¹⁵⁶ Also spelt prosopopoeia, it is "1. A rhetorical
figure by which an imaginary or absent person is
represented as speaking or acting; the introduction of a
pretended speaker." *OED*

carefull[y] to keepe the scripture from the eares of the people [they] filled them with historyes of Saynts out of their Legens, and with forced allgories and rested interpretations of scriptures. For Masses, each one helde it his duty to present and kee<s>[p]e, when (at the sounde of a litle bell) the Consecrated bread was lifted vp to be adored, which donne, thy thought themselues for that day safe from all dangers, and euen on the Sabbath [day] followed their owne affayres, [and even] neglecting to heare the rest of the masse or the Sermons, /20/ so as in the very tyme of that seruice, I haue often seene Ciarletans or Monte b[i]anches (mounted on a scaffold) make sporte like a play, in the markett place, to much people gathered a bout them, thereby to vent their oyles,¹⁵⁷ and salues, and like wares, It is a ridiculous thinge, to see their many masses at diuers Alters, in the same Church, at one tyme, by diuerse Priests, so mumbled as the people kneeling about them, only see the dumbe gestures, Crossings, and bowings of the Priest, mumbling to himselfe but speaking not a worde. And indeede, /30/ when the solmne Masse was sung a loude at the high Alter, [..]it being in the latten tounge, fewe or none of the bholders vnderstoode it. All masses are only sung, sayd, or mumbled, in the

¹⁵⁷ Jonson gets his creation Volpone to dress as a *ciarlatano* or *montabanco* and vend his "*Oglio del Scoto*" whilst amusing the crowd with songs. See Ben Jonson, *Volpone; or, The Fox*, edited by David Cook (London, 1962), II. 1. 266 - 267. It is typical of Jonson to amass authentic detail.

morning, when the Priests and the Communicants are fasting, and no tyme after till midnight be past, yet at Venice my selfe did see a masse sung, in the Church of St marke, late in the euening before Christmas day, which they sayd was donne by a spetiall and perpetuall preuiledge, of old graunted to that Church by the Pope. The Preachers are beleueed in Italy by /40/ whole sale, and w<r>riters of Controversyes the Italyans nether sell nor reade, aswell because the Inquisition forbids the examining and handling of these daungerous wares, as because that Nation in these ages, is not bookish, at least in these abstrase studyes, chusing rather to beleue vpon hearesay, and see with other mens eyes, then take paynes in searching out the truth, every man ayming (*farsy buon' tempo*) to passe the tyme merily, All men hauing *Ariosto* at the fingers end, but no man knowing a lyne of the scriptures.¹⁵⁸ In other /50/ parts of the world, since the light of the Gospell and mist of blynding ignorance dispersed, the Roman Doctryne <is> not passable without our Sauiors S[h]earch the scriptures,¹⁵⁹ and the Roman teachers are gladd to be beleueed in part, and if they cannot haue the whole man, wilbe content to haue a peece of him, but in Italy, the

¹⁵⁸ This seems to echo Roger Ascham's complaint, "...they haue in more reuerence, the triumphes of Petrarche: than the Genesis of Moses: They make more accounte of *Tullies* offices, than *S. Pauls* epistles: of a tale in *Bocace*, than a storie of the Bible." Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London, 1570), sig. I4r. [STC 832]

¹⁵⁹ John 5. 39. It has been quoted earlier.

worde of a Fryer passeth for $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\phi\eta$ (himselpe //
 { c.w. sayd it) }
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 (himselpe sayd it) of Pythagoras, and they swallow not only
 gnatts but Camels without chewing.¹⁶⁰ These foundations of
 the Roman Religion are continually beaten into theire
 hea[.]des, and easily receaved without any discussion,
 namely, That the Church is the foundation of Fayth
 (notwithstanding it is buylt vpon the Gosple, preached by
 the Cornerstone and his holy Apostells) That the Church is
 the Treasurrer of truth, and therefore men must sticke to
 it (not considering that the dignity of this treasurer,
 comes not from it selfe, but from the value of the /10/
 Treasure it keepe, namely the Statutes and ordinances of
 God) That the true church is that of Rome, soly remayning
 from our lords death to this day vnchanged and without
 interruption, (notwithstanding that all priuileges which
 God hath promised to his church, belong to the vniversall
 Church, and cannot be arrogated by any perticular Church,
 as that of Rome, and that learned authors of the Reformed
 Church haue playnely shewed by historyes, how and at what
 tyme all grosse errors grewe in the Roman Church, and haue
 even[d]tly proued that the reformed /20/ doctryne is the
 same that was at first planted in Rome being o[.]nly
 purged of errors): lastly that the scriptures haue theire

¹⁶⁰ This is how Christ rebukes the Pharisees in Matthew
 23. 24. This has also been quoted earlier.

Authority from the Church allowing them (not with standing that the Apostle sayth If an Angell from heauen preach otherwise, lett him be accursed¹⁶¹) And that as the scriptures are allowed, so they must be interpreted by this Church that cannot err (not with standing that God hath promised to shewe his wayes to them that seeke him with a pure heart,¹⁶² and that the Roman Church standes manifestly convicted /30/ of many and grosse errors). And no marvell that the Italyans, altogether ignorant of the scriptures, sticke so fast to the Roman Church, in the greate[st]nes whereof their natio[.][n] hath greatest intrest, since it hath powerfull meanes to drawe also to it the affections of great learned men in forrayne kingdomes. Is any man needy, it hath infinite wayes to supply his wants. Doth any man loue priuate riches, beholde the deuill layes at his feete rich benefitts, yea Cardinalls hattts, and the Popes Miter, saying, all these will I giue /40/ thee to worshipp mee.¹⁶³ Doth any man approve the publike maiesty and glory of the Church, beholde the Pope more gloryous then Aron in his Roabes, more exalted in power, even aboue Emperors and

¹⁶¹ "But though that wee, or an Angell from heauen preach vnto you otherwise, then that wee haue preached vnto you, let him be accursed." Galatians 1. 8.

¹⁶² "Flee also from the lustes of youth, and follow after righteousnesse, faith, loue, and peace, with them that call on the Lord with pure heart." II Timothy 2. 22.

¹⁶³ This echoes Christ's temptation by Satan in the wilderness. "All these will I giue thee, if thou wilt fal downe and worship me." Matthew 4. 9.

kinges, giuing them his Pantofle to kisse, and his sturrope to holde, [yet] [yea] setting his feete vpon their neckes. Doth any man loue humility, behold the [same] Pope styling himselfe the seruant of seruants, as affable to poore meane men, as he is proude to great Princes, and confessing his sinnes daily to an ordinary Priest. Doth any man dispise riches, and /50/ loue austerity of life, behold whole orders o<f> Fryers Mendicant, clothed in rough garments, yea without shirtes, hauing hard lodgings, eating some only fish, others what they can gett by begging, some whipping themselues for their sinnes, and all taming their bodies by fasting often, and by watching great part of the night,
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to spend it, in prayer. Doth any man loue a retyred and chaste life, behold Monasteryes and Nuneryes for that purpose. Doth any man loue liberty, behold disguising maskings from Christmas to lent, wanton Curtizans allowed at all tymes, and holy Pilgrimages to wander at pleasure where they list. Doth any man feare hell, behold excommunications, and the terrible Doctryne that no man can be sure of salvation, to keepe him in awe:¹⁶⁴ would any Man giue all he hath to purchase the feilde wherein is the

¹⁶⁴ By implication it appears that Moryson, a Calvinist in doctrine, feels sure of his own salvation. This is interesting because sociological theory from Max Weber onwards suggested that a man could never be sure of salvation, but that outward signs of prosperity implied God's favour, hence the Protestant "work ethic".

pearle of Saluation, beholde Masses and Pardons to send him directly to heauen, /10/ and to redeeme him from Purgatory, yea from hell if neede be. Doth any man loue pompous Ceremmonyes in Church seruice, (as great part no doubt, litle pondering the true manner of inwarde worshipp, are carryed a way with this outward ostentation) Behold stageplayers acting a ma[tc][rc]h of glorious Thras<o>,¹⁶⁵ goe not in greater pompe then the Roman Priests, in their processions, themselues attyred in rich Coapes and white lynnen, with many fayre banners waving on all sydes of them, the Churches richly adorned, the diuine service sett forth with exquisite Musicke, of voyces and in/20/struments, so as they that haue least devotion, will come to Church not only to see and be seene, but even for recreation. Not to speake of the multitude of Ceremmonyes borrowed from the Iewes and Gentiles, as among the rest, the sprinckling of holy water, not only vpon those that enter into the Church (where also they haue a Funtt of holy water for all persons to sprinckle themselues), but also in priuate houses, where the Priests sprinckle euery Chamber perswading the people that it hath the power to driue away all ill, yea very deuills, from their persons and houses.

¹⁶⁵ "Thraso. The braggart soldier in Terence's 'Eunuchus'. The Elizabethan adjective 'thrasonical' (e.g. 'Caesar's thrasonical brag of "I came, saw, and overcame"', Shakespeare, 'As You Like It', V. II. 34) is derived from this character." Harvey. Moryson calls him "glorious Thraso" ironically. Moryson always associates stageplayers with deception and insincerity.

And likewise all their Alters /30/ in their Churches smoking with perfumed Incense, and the Images richly adorned with Apparrell, and diuersly sett forth vpon festiuall dayes, the Pax Carryed about to be kissed on festiuall dayes,¹⁶⁶ on Candlemas-day hallowed candells,¹⁶⁷ on Easter day hallowed eggs distributed among the people, and vpon Palmesdonday hallowed Oliue branches giuen to the people, and true peeces of the Palme tree giuen, to the Pope, the Cardinalls, and great men (being yeallow, and as bigg as short trunchons) and many like Ceremonyes. Touching Meriting by good workes, the lay /40/ bretheren of the very Iesuites, as Cookes, Bakers, and the like, and also the lay benefactors to that order, are made partakers of the good workes done by the professed Iesuites, and by the spirituall Coadiutors, of that order. For the Roman Church expressly teacheth, that heauen is not giuen of grace only, but violently taken by good workes, euen by meritt, first of Congruity, by which the Centuryon praying and doing good workes deserued to haue the giift of Fayth, so as the Apostle saying that whatsoeuer is not of Fayth is sinne,

¹⁶⁶ "1. 3. Eccl. A tablet of gold, silver, ivory, glass, or other material, round or quadrangular, with a projecting handle behind, bearing a representation of the Crucifix or other sacred subject, which was kissed by the celebrating priest at Mass, and passed to the other officiating clergy and then to the congregation to be kissed; an osculary."
OED

¹⁶⁷ The Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, 2 February.

what he calls sinne they call Meritt,¹⁶⁸ secondly /50/ by
meritt of Condignity or worthines of the worke,¹⁶⁹ which
they delate¹⁷⁰ with subtile distinctions, and the
superfluities of these workes (called by them workes of
super[er]ogation, that is, more then suffice for their
owne Salvation) as a treasure of the Church, not only the
pope, but (as it appeares) also the Iesuites, conferr vpon
others, <v>pon whome they //

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please to bestowe them. Yet the Prophett Dauid Cryeth, If
thou lord wilt marke what is done a misse, no man is able
to abide it, and enter not into Iudgment with thy seruant,
for in thy sight shall no flesh liuing be iustified.¹⁷¹ The
Prophett Isaiah Cryeth, that all our workes are like a

¹⁶⁸ Congruity was the Schoolmen's doctrine that it was
'congruous' that God should confer the 'first grace' in
response to the performance of good works by man. Its
antonym is condignity below. *OED* Moryson counters this with
St Paul's "For he that doubteth, is condemned if he eate,
because he *eateth* not of faith: and whatsoeuer is not of
faith, is sinne." Romans 14. 23. Questions of faith are at
the very core of difference between Catholic and Protestant
theology.

¹⁶⁹ "1. b. spec. in *Scholastic Theol.* That worthiness
of eternal life which a man may possess through good works
performed while in a state of grace." *OED*

¹⁷⁰ "2. To tender or offer for acceptance or adoption;
Obs." *OED*

¹⁷¹ "If thou, O Lorde, straitly markest iniquities, O
Lord, who shall stand?" Psalms 130. 3; "And enter not into
iudgement with thy seruant: for in thy sight shall none
that liueth, be iustified." Psalms 143. 2.

Menstrous Cloth.¹⁷² The Apostle Paul Cryeth out in his owne person woe is [he], [mee] who shall deliuer me from this body of sinne, and concludes that only in Christ wee are Conqurors,¹⁷³ yea our blessed Sauour sayth when you haue done all say you are vnprofitable servants,¹⁷⁴ No doubt howsoeuer the Roman writers in our tyme seeke to /10/ Mince this doctryne, defending it against the reformed writers, as if it were not so grosse as they vnderstand it, I dare boldly say that the Roman Preachers in Italy so magnifye good workes beyonde all due limites as most Italyans thincke that ho[.]ly men, not only meritt heauen themselues by their good workes, but also by them can helpe other sinners to enter it. Myselfe with these eares haue heard their Preachers, and with these eyes haue read their author<rs>, afferming and proving that a man may fully keepe all Gods Commaundements. In our memory one Lambert /20/ a Fryer, being executed at Tyborne, and there admonished to place his Sole trust in Christ, and to remember that he only dyed for him, did proudly answer like a Pharisye, wanting the accepted humilyty of the Publican,

¹⁷² "...& cast them away as a menstruous cloth, and thou shalt say vnto it, Get thee hence." Isaiah 30. 22. Menstrous means menstrual.

¹⁷³ "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliuer me from the body of this death? I thanke God through Iesus Christ our Lorde." Romans 7. 24 - 25.

¹⁷⁴ "So likewise ye, when ye haue done al those things, which are commaunded you, say, Wee are vnprofitable seruants: we haue done that was our duty to do." Luke 17. 10.

in these very wordes, and I agayne dye for Christ, no man hath greater Charity then he that dyes for another.¹⁷⁵ As if he had donne as much for Christ, as he did for him, and so had obtayned the highest degree of Charity. [.]one title¹⁷⁶ of the worde of God cannot perish, who hath sayd in this written lawe, doe this and liue, then if the Papists cand doe this, they /30/ shall surely liue, and haue no neede of Ch[.] [r]ist to giue them life. They will say that God commandes no Impossible thinges, and wee reply that the keeping of the Commaundments is impossible to man as he is meere flesh and blood, but was possible to the man Christ Iesus both God and man, and was performed by him for vs, and thus the Apostle sayth that the lawe was our scholemaster to leade vs to Christ, the defect of our righteousnes by the lawe, forcing vs to lay hold on the righteousnes of God which is by Fayth in Christ Iesus.¹⁷⁷ And because they are ashamed to say that the /40/ death of our lord is vnprofitable vnto vs, they teach truely that in all sinne there <is> [no][an] aversion [from God] [to

¹⁷⁵ As far as Moryson is concerned, this is a parody of Christ's words to his disciples at the Last Supper, "Greater loue then this hath no man, when any man bestoweth his life for his friends." John 15. 13. Mark Barkworth alias Lambert was a convert who became a Benedictine friar. He was hanged at Tyburn on 27 February 1601. *DNB*

¹⁷⁶ Does "title" mean tittle here ? Not one letter, one jot, one tittle of God's Word will perish.

¹⁷⁷ "Wherefore the Law was our scholemaster to bring vs to Christ, that we might be made righteous by faith." Galatians 3. 24.

sinne] [and a conversion to sinne.], but teach most falsely that only the first is remitted by Christs blood, and for the second wee our selues must satisfye by our workes of Repentance. For the Prophett Isaiah sayth playnly, wee haue gone a stray (that is turned from God) and followed our owne wayes (that is our sinnes) and God hath layd all vpon him, by whose stripes wee are healed.¹⁷⁸ But while they refuse to acknowleg all Salvation from the precious blood of our lord, it is most ridiculous to /50/ Consider in what triffling toyes and weake meanes they place the confidence of theire Saluation, namely in Pilgrimages to the Shrines of Saynts, in whippings of theire bodyes, fastinges. perfuntary prayers.¹⁷⁹ In being so confident in other mens meritts as they thincke them selues happy if they can be buyried in a Cloyster hauing theire dead bodyes couered in a Fryers habitt, with like trash, //

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and these fayling or wanting, in the Popes pardon purchased for a fewe [wordes] groates. In the meane tyme they most grossely slander vs in theire Pulpitts, teaching the people that our ministers preach against good workes, and wee never practise them, whereas our diuines teach good workes to be necessary effectes of a true and liuely Fayth, yet to

¹⁷⁸ "...and with his stripes we are healed. All wee like sheepe haue gone astray: wee haue turned euery one to his owne way, and the Lorde hath laide vpon him the iniquitie of vs all." Isaiah 53. 5 - 6.

¹⁷⁹ "perfunctory".

be so vnperfect, as they are not a sufficient foundation vpon which wee may builde the Confidence of our Salvation. And for our practise, it is manifest, and a wise learned Iudge of our tyme avowed in a publike audience to prove it by /10/ good evidence, that more was giuen to vses of Piety in the tyme of our late Queene Elizabeth (who dyed with in fewe Monthes after) then had beene giuen by the layety in any forty foure yeares since the Conquest, though not for building of Churches (which [wee] then wanted not) nor of Monasteries (which wee allowed not) yet for building and mantayning of Bridges. Hospitalls, Lectures of diuinity, with like good workes, and that vpon the proper and volentary Motion of the layety, without those Crafty instigations and practises which the Fryers vse at the hower /20/ of sicknes or death.¹⁸⁰ Touching prayer, the Roman Preachers teach to pray for the dead, and to the dead Saynts, and when wee obiet that sinners (according to Gods worde) haue [only] one only Mediator betweene God and them, the man Christ Iesus,¹⁸¹ they haue replied to my selfe,

¹⁸⁰ There was much discussion about charity and charitable reform about 1601, when a new act passed into English law. Some of its provisions and definitions are still valid. With the disappearance of the monasteries, secular giving had to fill the gap caused by agrarian dislocation and overpopulation in regard to the resources available. Although criticized for not taking inflation into proper account, see W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480 - 1660* (London, 1959), passim. Jordan agrees with Moryson about the explosion in charitable giving.

¹⁸¹ "For there is one God, and one Mediatour betweene God and man, *wh*ich is the man Christ Iesus." I Timothy 2. 5.

that wee are Mediators in praying one for another while wee liue, not obseruing that in this case wee are ioynte Peticinnors not Mediators, and that for so doing wee haue Gods precept (warranting thinges that may seeme vnlawfull, as the robbing of the Egiptians, and the Caruing of Cheribines /30/ in Gods Temple) which precept they haue not. And when wee object that in praying to the Saynts they giue them the attributes only proper to God, as heareing and seeing of all thinges in all places at one tyme, they would stoppe our mouthes with the Saynts beatificall vision of all thinges in God, which if the Saynts had for thinges on earth, the knowledg of them would much disturbe their rest in heauen, besydes that Gods worde teacheth playnely, that the Children of dead men on earth some come to honour some to dishonour but they knowe it not. Iob. 14. 21.¹⁸² Agayne /40/ they make the Angells Saluation of the virgin to be a prayer, and in their beades haue nyne of them for one Pater Noster, which two are their Common prayers, and every man about Noone and in th<e> evening, vpon the ringing of a litle Bell, whether he be in the house or in the streetes, falls on his knees, and sayth an Avamary, Crossing his body and beating his breast for a perfect forme of prayer. They doe not ponder but rather nember their prayers, for while they pray they will keepe

¹⁸² "And hee knoweth not if his sonnes shall be honourable, neither shall he vnderstand concerning them, whether they shall be of lowe degree,..." Job. 14. 21.

Company, not only in the house but in the streetes, /50/
and mingle with their prayeres not only prophayne but Idle
and merry speeches, at the same tyme talking with the by
standers and presenty [l.t] letting fall a beade at the
ende of [the] [a] Panoster or Avimarrye, till the [same]
haue numbed ouere their beades, once or as often as is
imposed vpon them, for they day¹⁸³ ordinarily or for sinnes
//

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extraordinarily from [which] which they are absolued vpon
that pennance. To which not only laymen are abliged, but
also Prists, yea the knights of military Orders. For I haue
formerly noteded, that the knights of [military] Rodes¹⁸⁴
(now called of Malta) [are bound by oath each day to
repeate] 409 Auamaryes and [Paster] Paternosters. The
Prophett Dauid sayth in the Psalme 119, seuen tymes aday
will I praise the lord:¹⁸⁵ from whence the Fryers and
Monkes (by the rule of their Order) are bound to sing
publike service in their Chappells seuen tymes /10/ in
twenty foure howers, first the Mattens presently after
[might] midnight, secondly the prime betweene one and three,
thirdly betweene three and six, Forthly betweene six and

¹⁸³ "pray" ?

¹⁸⁴ The island was captured by the Turks in 1522, to prevent the Knights harassing their communications with the newly won province of Egypt.

¹⁸⁵ "Seuen times a day doe I prayse thee, because of thy righteous iudgments." Psalm 119. 164.

nyne of the Clocke. Fiftly the noone at twelue, Sixtly the
vespers towards sunnesett, and seuenthly the Completory at
bedd tyme. To these howres Canonically or regular all Fryers
particularly are bound each day, but if they be [i...y.ed]
[iorny], or fynde that by absence or other affayres they
shall not haue leasure to say /20/ them the day following,
by ridiculous dispensation they may say them to day for to
morowe. In some places I haue obserued Fryers to rise by
night, Cloathed with a loose garment, and spend some three
howres in performing this taske. All the prayers aswell of
the Religious men as of the layety and very wemen, are in
latin for which practise of the Roman Church I can yealde
no reasen, except it be to Continue that badge of slauery
vpon all nations to vse their language, which the conquest
/30/ of the Roman Emperors first made necessary or vsefull
to them, or els because they thincke some prayers to
Saynts so blasphemous, as the people might abhorre to say
them in the vulgar tounge which they vnderstand. But the
reason is playne why they haue the Bible in the laten
tounge, and that also forbidden to be read by any without
expresse dispensation, nether will In any case permitt the
same to be translated into the vulgar tounge, namely to
hyde the scriptures from all men, but their sworne
Cha[.]mpions, not with/40/standing mee thinckes that by
this practise it is manifest, they suspect the truth of
their owne doctryne, and that they layety haue iust cause
to suspect them for [d.....es] [deceavers] and seducers,

since they hide Gods worde from them, and make them pray
the knowe not what, When I Sayled to Ierusalem, the master
of the shipp being a Grecion (as most of the Marriners
were) tooke mee one day asyde, and with great laughter
shewed mee a Fryer in the gallerye, saying ouer his beades,
while he satt at his easement,¹⁸⁶ and seemed to /50/ abhorr
his devotion ioyned with such a <s>ordid worke of natures
necessity. And this wee did often see donne by the Fryers
our Consorts, with no small scorne and derison of the
Greekes, that Ciuill men, //

{ c.w. and espetically }

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol 421.

espetically Fryers, knowing it an vncomely thinge for one
man to speake to another while he is a bout that base
worke, should dare at such a tyme to present their prayers
to God. Nether could these Fryers excuse themselues that
they were straightned in tyme, to performe that holy duty,
since after their prayers ended in that place, they had
leysure to spende much tyme in idle conference and talke,
which had beene better deferred, or the devotion
alltogether omitted (for the shortning thereof is not in
their power, the Number and tale of their /10/ prayers
being exacted of them by their rule, as rigurously as the

¹⁸⁶ Easing himself, defacating. *OED*

Number of bricke by the taskemasters of Pharo¹⁸⁷), Thus they are taught to vse perfunctory prayers, which they accordingly practise, litle regarding in them the contrition of the hart for sinne, or cheerefull thanckfullnes for Gods mercyes (which prayer in a tounge vnknowne cannot stirr vp, nor can be expressed in Paternosters [alone,] or in Auamaryes which indeede are no prayers) and so they performed the outward dutie and number, not caring for the inward intention of the /20/ heart. Yea they are taught, as in other good workes, so in prayers, to knowe the weight of them, thereby to cutt scores (as I may say) with God, giuing him in full payment prayers and other good workes, with proportion equall to theire sinnes. To which purpose, giue mee leaue to mingle a merrye but true relation, with this serious discourse. An English gentleman my familyar frend, had hyred a Curtizan to lye with him, and shee being in his chamber he went to bedd, but fynding her stay long, looked to see what shee did, and founde her /30/ buisye in saying ouer her beades, and when he prayed her to deferr her prayers to a fitter tyme, shee answered, my Soule, my life, be content, that being to doe ill, I may first doe this good worke. Thus shee dumbled her sinne, by that wherewith shee thought to mittigate the same, praying in presumption for mercy,

¹⁸⁷ See Exodus 5. 10 - 11, where Pharaoh's taskmasters want the same amount of work without providing the straw to make the bricks.

whyle shee still continued in full purpose to sinne.¹⁸⁸ To
which I will only add one straung and true observation, of
two Italians, who being for pennance to say a certayne
nvmber of prayers, played at Cardes which /40/ of them
should say so many prayers for the other. The truth is they
haue many good treatises of Piety and prayer, but herein
they differ from vs, they thincke in both ignorance to be
the mother of devotion, wee holde that in both the part of
vnderstanding giues life to the worke. Yea to stopp the
mouthes of theire Reformed aduersaryes, they haue of late
published like treatises in the vulgar tounge, but therein
they haue tenne prayers to Saynts, for one to God, and
these bookes are most vsed by Papists in forrayne
kingdomes, for in Italy, I could /50/ never see the lay
people reade any diuinity, in the vulgar tounge, saue only
the lying legends of Saynts, Touchinge Fasting (for hauing
spoken of theire devotion in lent, I haue sayd nothings of
theire manner of fasting), they hold it to consist only in
abstinence from flesh, for they will eate preserued
sweetemeates, and Sack Possetts,¹⁸⁹ //

fol 422. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V.

and drincke the best wynes, on theire ordinary fasting

¹⁸⁸ Could the "familyar frend" be Moryson himself, or perhaps his brother Henry ?

¹⁸⁹ "1. A drink composed of hot milk curdled with ale, wine, or other liquor...used as a delicacy..." *OED* Hence Moryson's indignation, since such a drink was hardly a privation.

dayes, or at least drincke a Cupp of Malmosy, if they want the rest, accounting his for a mortification of the flesh, which most provokes to lusts therof. They fast from flesh, each weeke, on Fryday in memory of our lord, and on Satterday in memory of our lady, (though these dayes fall vpon a Feast day, excepting only the feast of the natiuity) yet the Popes of old haue giuen priuiledge to the people of Dalmatia, to eate flesh on fasting dayes, because they [cannot] [want] fish, and I haue /10/ heard, that for the same cause, in spayne they are permitted to eate the entralls of beasts and such like fleshmeates on Satterday. But the foure tymes of the yeare, called by them *Quatuor Tempora* and vulgarly Ember weekes noted in all our Almanakes with redd letters (at which tymes the Popes vse to Create Cardinalls, and the Bishopps to make Priests) and also in lent for three dayes of the weeke, wensday Fryday and Satterday, they obserue a more strict Fast, and abstayne from eggs and all whit meates. The same lawe of Fasting /20/ is giuen to all nations as to the Italians, though Philosophy teacheth vs, that Northren mens bodyes haue more inte[n]ssiue inward heate, and so cannot in nature beare so many and so long Fasts as Southern men. They might with the same reason and equity imposed the light silken garments of Italy on all Northren Nations, whereas our gracious God hath giuen clothes to all men agreeing to the colde or heate of their Country, silke to Italy, wollen Cloth to England, Furrer to Moscoue. Agayne

for many other respectes in the diuers Constitutions of /30/ bodyes, one and the same rule for fasting, cannot possibly agree with all men and both Sexes, as the Pope imposeth [it.] [It. But they most grosly err in the endes of fasting,] for they vse it for meriting of Saluation, and expieting of their owne and other mens sinnes, and for hypocriti<c>all macerating of their bodyes, cleane contrary to the true endes, which are to humble our soules before God, as vnworthy of his least mercyes in regard of our sinnes, flying only to the miritts of our Saviour for remission of them, and to make the whole man more fitt and able by prayer to performe this duty and to mag/40/nify God with more cheerefull thanckfullnes, and likewise to make vs more fitt for like exercises of Piety for the present, and with more circumspection and feare of sinning after, to retourne agayne to the actions of our calling. The king who committs a Fortresse to the keeping of his soldiers, may iustly be offended with his Gouvernor, if he permitt them to liue in drunckennesse and all excesse, thereby making them vnfitt to keepe watch against the Enemyes approach (as the Italians are permitted, to liue, espetically in the Shroftyde from Christmas to lent) and hath no lesse /50/ cause of iust offence, if he starve and weaken them for want of vittles, and by too much watchings, make[ing] them vnable to goe on their feete, much more with courage to repell the enemyes assault (as the Italyans, espetically in lent, so macerate their bodyes, as they are made vnfitt

for any good worke) The like is the reason of our //
Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol 423.
Stewardshipp which God in this life committs to vs wherin
wee are made fitt for Gods service by moderate hamilation
sometymes in Fasting, and by continuall temperance in
dyett, and altogether disabled for the same, by excesse
aswell in macerating the body, as in luxurious liuing. I
will [cl] conclude this point (how the Italyans are taught
in diuers pointes of Religion) with the terrible [...] doctryne
of the Roman Church, that no man can be sure of his Salvation,
a doctryne that vents the sayle of masses and the Popes Pardons
to men liuing, and fearefully /10/ distractes the Consciences
of all, but espetially of those who lye wounded with God
Arrowes on the bedd of languishing. If a good man should
promise vs any thinge, wee would be assured, but if he should
swear, wee would be confident in his performance: our God
goodnes it selfe, hath giuen assurance of salvation to his
Children by many gracious promises, and shall wee not trust
in them, Yea he hath sworne to performe them, and shall
not wee rest confident in his omnipotent power and never
fayling truth to performe them. But it is [not] my purpose
to dispute this or any point of Religion /20/ only I will say
that the Gospell is full of these promises, and the spiritt
of God, to make his truth in performance more assured
often vttereth them in a Phrase of present possession,
as if they were allready performed, saying, he is (not
he shall be)

translated from death to life, and he hath (not he shall haue) eternall life. Therefore for my part, if the Deuill bidd me doubt of my Salvation, I will Answer thou art alyer from the begining, and I will lay hold on the threefolde corde which can never be broken, but will surely wynde all true beleeuers vp to heauen. Gods mercyes in his promises, /30/ his truth in performance, and his omnipotent power, and so with humble conceite of my selfe, and confidence in him, will boldly say, I knowe [to] [in] whome I haue trusted, and knowe he is able and willing to keepe that which I haue committed to him, against that day, as the Apostle sayth.¹⁹⁰

From their teaching lett vs discend to their practise. The Italyans taught in this Roman schoole, as they haue a Religion like the Pharisyes, glorious on the outsyde, but rotten in the insyde, so is their outward behauiour generally Ciuill and /40/ graue, but for the most parte, this nation aboue all others is defiled with wicked speeches and actions. They are in nature not vndevote, but their teachers seduce their devotion to superstition, and because their mumbling masses haue nothing but dumbe signes, and aswell [,not oly] masses as prayers are in a tounge not vnderstoode, not o[n]ly the laymen but those of

¹⁹⁰ "For the which cause I also suffer these things, but I am not ashamed: for I know whome I haue beleued, and I am perswaded that hee is able to keepe that which I haue committed to him against that day." II Timothy 1. 12.

the Clergy, and very Priests walke and talke in the Churches all the tyme of diuine seruice. I haue shewed their preposterous devotion in the tyme of lent, and that all men sprinckle their heades with ashes of Repentance vpon Ashwensday, /50/ to which I will add that vpon that day the Pope himselfe taketh those ashes and giueth them to the Cardinalls and great men //

fol 424. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V.

of the Clergy, and that for ostentation of holines, the very Cardinalls in lent goe about the streetes of Rome, masked that they may not be knowne, and barefooted, begging mony of others, to giue to the [people] [poore]. In a worde all Italy is so ouerflowed with superstition, as the better sorte of men and wemen are all Combined vnder some Saynt, in fraternities or brotherhoods, hauing a publike hall of meeting, and a publike stocke of mony, and as they haue large Pardons and priuiledges from the Pope, so their stockes of mony, and them selues, are devoutely at the Popes seruice. And as they are superstitious /10/ in keeping holy dayes of Saynts (which I haue noted before), so my selfe obserued, particularly in Venice, the Aduocates to pleade and the great Councill to be continually helde vpon Sunday. But I will returne to the pointe, and shewe to what issue this superstition leades them in practise. Three vices are generally imputed to the Italyans, which the most [in]genious of them will not deny, namely vnbridled lust, vnapeasable malice, and politique deceite. To which I will

add (that which all men of experience will confesse) that the pollicy of Religion grounded on worldly witt, and /20/ 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, and more spetially through the Popes State, as in Marchia and Romania.¹⁹¹ Here be the men who haue beene heard to brag of theire gayne by the fable of Christ. Here be they that shame not to say: *Qui stiamo allegri, et con boun' pan' et boun' vin ci facciamo boun' tempo, chi sa /30/ se ci n'ha in Paradiso? I Frati ne ciarlano, ma sanno nulla:* that is: Here wee are merry and passe the tyme pleasantly with good bread and good wyne, who knowes if their be so

¹⁹¹ Le Marche and Romagna.

It would appear that Moryson had read Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, either whilst he was in Italy, or in one of the many manuscript translations that are extant in the BM, (Felix Raab, who writes that the following passage is crucial, gives a comprehensive list in *The English Face of Machiavelli : A Changing Interpretation 1500 - 1700* (London, 1964), pp. 274 - 276.). In Chapter 11 of Book One there is the passage, "Thus he who examines Roman history well sees how helpful religion was in controlling the armies, in inspiring the people, in // keeping men good, in making the wicked ashamed. Hence if there should be a debate on the prince to whom Rome was most under obligation, whether Romulus or Numa, I believe that Numa would sooner get the first place...many good things are known to a prudent man that are not in themselves so plainly rational that others can be persuaded of them. Therefore wise men, who wish to remove this difficulty, have recourse to God." Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, selections from *The Discourses* and other writings, edited by John Plamenatz (London, 1972), pp. 166 - 167.

good in Paradise, the Fryers prate but knowe nothing, As
empty Confortlesse, superstition makes them fall to the
Contrary extreame of Atheisme, so that produceth frequent
blasphemyes. For the Italyans are great swearers, but
greater blasphemers, espetically the soldyers, and
Consequently the forenamed subiectes of the Pope, those
Provinces yealding more and better soldyers, then any /40/
other partes of Italy. And howsoeuer I confesse they haue
seuere lawes agaynst blasphemy in some States well
executed, yet are blasphemyes frequent, and those most
horrible, euen to the renouncing of God, and swearing by
the [h] whore, I tremble to say of whome (you may Imagin
it) and by those partes of the blessed virgin (whome they
pretend so much to adore) which I dare not name, together
with many blasphemyes, in scorne of our lord and Sauior,
and to the vilifying of the highest Saynts. In like sort
Italy is defamed for bloody and frequent murthers, not vpon
/50/ sudden passion, or furye of druckenness (which are
frequent in some Cittyes of Saxony, As Hamburge, and of
Bohemia, as Prage,) but vpon deliberate malice, and that
with all base advantages, as many armed men assaying one
//

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapter V fol.425.

naked man in his chamber or bed. yea they kill more then
they reuile or slauder, In somuch as there be men
(espetically in the State of Milan), called Braui, who
professe to murther men for mony. To which purpose I will

relate a strang accident (which some worthy English gentle men knowe to be true) that a Brauo in Lumbardy hyred to kill a gentleman, tooke him alone in his Closett, and telling him for what mony he was hyred to kill him, the gentleman offered him tenne tymes so much mony to kill his enemy that hyred him, which he also tooke, and vowed to kill him, /10/ yet he forbore not to kill that gentle man, saying that he should be disgraced for like future employment, if he kept not his worde, only he bad him dye with Comfort that his enemye also should surely be killed by his hand, which also he after performed. Was not this Brauo an honest man of his worde, And these murthers and blasphemyes are most frequent in Carnovall or Shrouetyde, espetially towards the end therof, when lent the tyme of Confession neerest approcheth. To which purpose giue me leaue to giue one instance in both kyndes, happning in Venice at [..][my] being there, some fewe dayes before /20/ lent, Certayne young gentlemen of Venice, went forth late in the euening to make merry, which mirth was nothing but a strife or emulation which of them should doe the greatest villany, and so parting with apoyntment of a place to meete, one of them mett a boye sent forth about buisines, and tolde him that he was a Iewe, which the boye merrily denyed, but he ceased not to threaten him till the boye was forced to shewe [his][him] his vncircumscised parte, which he most wickedly cutt off. The second mett a Fryer, and reproving him that he was so late out of his Monasterye,

tooke him at aduantage, and /30/ cast him into an Arme of the Sea runing through the streetes.¹⁹² The Third came into the shopp of an Apothecary, and demaunded asalue, and he asking for what kynde of wounde, the gentleman Cutt him over the face with his sword saying, such a wounde as this. To be shorte, each one hauing donne his villany, the mett agayne, and in all Company went to the house of the Popes Nunntio, and vnder his windowe, in the tunne of Church seruice, song many horrible blasphemyes against our Sauior and his Apostles, which I dare not name, and tremble to remember. This I relate only to shewe the /40/ wonderfull disposition of the Italyans, for I knowe that all good men abhorred the fact, and the Senate persuing these wicked persons, and only apprehend[ed][ing] one of them, did exemplary Iustice vpon him, Cutting out his tounge vnder the windowe of the Popes Nuntio, his right hand where the boye was wounded, his left hand at the dore of the Apothecary, and then bringing him into the markett place of Saynt Marke, vpon a scaffolde cutt of his head, and burning his body with the scaffolde, cast the Ashes into the Sea, Condemning the rest that escaped by flight to perpetuall banishment.¹⁹³ Agayne the invention /50/ of Poysons, and

¹⁹² The Friar was thrown into the canal.

¹⁹³ Moryson claims that he saw an execution on fols. 184 - 185. Nothing loses anything in the telling. Moryson seems to have conflated various cases, or he may be merely adding what others told him in the cosmopolitan atmosphere at the University of Padua or the German Inn. Six young men were accused by the Papal Nuncio on 26 November 1593, of adding

the skillfull and frequent vse of them for murthers, may Iustly be attributed to the Italyans. And I am sure at my being there it was vulgarly sayd, that a great Prince hauing newly made a poyson, gaue it to some condemned subiectes, and to the lightest offenders gaue the Antidote, that in both he might try howe they would worke, //

fol 426. Booke III of [Tur] Italy Touching Religion Chapt V.

in killing and recovering, aswell for the distance of tyme, as in the seuerall Complextions. For Adultrye, the Italyans forbear [it] not for feare of God or mans lawe, but rather of private revenge, making mirth of it when it succeedes without tragicall euent. Simple Fornication they hold for

blasphemous additions to *Ave maris stella*, the litanies and prayers. Three suspects, including a nobleman of the Vendramin family, were arrested and tortured, but subsequently released, as they refused to confess. In 1596 the lay arm, the *Esecutori contra la Bestemmia*, the commission against blasphemy, intervened in the slow processes of the Inquisition against five lower class blasphemers. It condemned three to have their tongues slit and to galley-service on 14 November. On 16 November, a lace-trimmer and linenworker were beheaded between the two columns at St. Mark's and their bodies cremated. See *Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1992), p. 128, and material supplied to me by BP from Archivio Segreto del Vaticano, *Dispacci del Nunzio a Venezia alla Segreteria di Stato*, busta 32, f. 379v, 385v - 386r. Goliards under the nuncio's window, the assault on a friar, and the castration attempt are simply not in the official records. They almost certainly would have been if they had actually taken place. They are probably the result of a fervid Protestant imagination, and not necessarily just Moryson's. The ritual mutilation of the condemned in the places where their crimes had been committed cleansed the scene of the crime, and would not be unusual. See Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), p. 247.

no sinne, or so smale as it hath a pardon of course, yearely, yea they wonder at them as Fooles, who abstayne from all excesse in that kynde, for the make no bones of veniall sinnes (as they call them and like sinnes of infirmity, though in theire owne nature all sinnes are truly mortall, and in /10/ Christ alone the least sinne veniall, besydes that they committ not these sinnes through infirmity, but with an high hand of presumption at the least). All the tyme of [the] Carnoal, from Christmas to Ashwensday, espetically in the [last] three dayes, a Curtizan is not to be hyred on the sodayne, for they are bespoken long before, to walke masked abroad and for continuall conversation at bed and at board. Our English men see with great wonder at Florence a Court of Iustice hauing written over the dore in great letters *La Corte d'honesta* (that is the Court of honesty) where Iudges solemnly sett in robes /20/ of scarlett, to giue the Curtisans right for the hyre of theire bodyes. Tr[.]oughout all Italy, and in Rome as freely as in any other part (for they that shame not to eate the sinnes of the people, will lesse shame to haue a share in this filthy gayne) the Stewes are allowed and the Curtisans had in honor and outwar<d>e respect, yet he that liues vpon the seruice of a Curtisan, is vulgarly branded with a filthy name, and had in contempt. Particularly at Florence the *Chiasso* (or

Stewes)¹⁹⁴ hath such priuileges, as if a wife fly from her husband, and gett the<t>her before he lay holde on her, he cannot bring /30/ her backe, or haue her punished. The very Duke passing those streetes will putt off his hatt to the Curtisans, and in tyme of Carnovall, will for sporte cast eggs filled with rosewater into theire windowes, and at theire play houses only Curtisans and Torchbearers are free to heare the Comedyes without paying one penny. Yet for all this liberty, all Italy, and this Citty more spetially heareth ill for Sodomye,¹⁹⁵ the excesse of which sinne[s] manifestly appears by the great number of sicke boyes in theire hospitalls. As I haue formerly noted, the Roman Church pretends great care to convert the Iewes, but he that considers /40/ that hath beene formerly sayd to this purpose, and also these vulgar vices of that nation, shall fynde smale hope thereof. For the Iewes detest Adultryes, and so much hate fornications as they marrye and are marryed of tender yeares, and aboue all thinges abhorre blasphemyes, which are the most frequent amd manifest [vises] Vices of Italy. But for outwarde exercises of Charity, the Italians in some thinges excell. No nation hath better provisions of hospitalls and like houses, to bring vp Orphants, to succour distressed travelers, to

¹⁹⁴ Zingarelli defines the second meanings of *chiasso* as a narrow alley, or brothel.

¹⁹⁵ "12. a. To be reported or spoken (well or ill) of." A Classical mode of speech. *OED*

releeue the aged, diseased, and men in pouershed, /50/ yea
for the very Curtisans, which they call the Converted, but
are indeede Commonly such, as are rather forsaken of sinne,
for age or by theire Customers, for diseases, then such as
vpon repentance forsake sinne. The hospitall at Florence
called St Mary the newe, is reputed the best in Italy, for
Rent and order, and it makes 96 bedes¹⁹⁶ for poore and
sicke persons. They haue in most Cittyes (as at Padoa //
{ c.w. and Bologna, }

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion. Chapt V. fol.427.

and Bologna) an house of office vulgarly called the
mountayne of Pietye, wherein is a bancke of mony, for
releefe of the poore, and to preserue all men from the
bitting vsurye<s> of the Iewes, where they lend mony vpon
Pawnes, vnder thirtye shillinges freely, a boue that sumne
after the rate of fyue in the hundreth, which vse is
imployed to pay the stipends to officers, and the rest is
yearely diuided among the poore, so as the principall
stocke or publike Treasure remaynes vndeminish, and day
increaseth by newe legacyes of dying men, giuen to that
purpose. The like office they haue at Venice.¹⁹⁷ /10/ Yet

¹⁹⁶ "beds".

¹⁹⁷ "*Monti di Pietà* were originally designed to be Christian pawnshops, able to lend at low rates because their funds were freely given to them by charitable persons. They were originally supposed only to lend small amounts to poor people. With time, however, they took on an additional function, because they began to accept money on interest-paying deposits, and to lend rather larger sums of money to persons who were not exactly indigent, but who

of old in England the lombards of Italy were the greatest vsurers, theire habitation in london being to this day called Lombards streete, and in Flanders and all the lowe Countryes, of old and to this day, they that lend mony vpon Pawnes are called Lombards, and though they liue excommunicated, yet are permitted as necessarye euills. Whereof I can giue no reason, except the Italians doe, as a Crafty vsuerer in England is sayd to haue donne, who mantayning his sonne at the vniversity till he was a Preacher, and he in his first Sermon before his Father preaching altogther and in bitter /20/ tearmes against vsuerye, so [as] his neighbours thought the Father would haue beene much offended with him, he not only Commended his Sermon, but dabled his exhibition, bidding him continue to preach against vsurye, that other men leaving it, his trade might growe better. Moreouer the Italians haue three excelent manners, or practises of Charity. The first for the Poueri Vergognosi, that is the shamefast poore. Italy hath fewe or no wandering beggers by the highwayes, for the inhabitants are proude, and scorne to begg without extreame

were strapped for cash (it was quite common to pay 4% interest on deposits, and charge 6% for loans). Moryson is wrong, or at least misleading, in saying that they have a *Monte di Pietà* in Venice, because throughout the sixteenth century Venice refused to have a *Monte di Pietà* and preferred to contract with Jewish bankers, who were subsidised by their communities as a form of taxation, and therefore able to lend at less than the minimum economic rate of 12½%. It is true, however, that from 1573 onwards the Jews in Venice were lending at 5% only, and that in that respect they compared with a *Monte di Pietà*." BP

necessity, and such as are therewith, and by /30/ diseases oppressed, haue good prouisions made for them in the foresayd hospitalls. But these shamefast poore are such,. as labour heard for their liuing, yet hauing many Children, cannot possibly gett meanes to mantayne them, espetically in the yeares of dearth, and withall are by common nature of that nation so proude, or (to vse their worde) so shamefast, as they would starue, rather then aske Almes, or (perhapps) receave it offered. Now the officers of the Citty or Parishes (espetically in tymes of dearth), inquire after such needy Familyes, and once or twice in the weeke, /40/ at their windowes (which in Italy are open in the day without glasse, and in the night shutt vp with boardes, so as more then a hande-breadth is open at the topp) cast in by night two or three shillinges, and halfe adossen of bread, or such releefe as they thincke their necessity requireth, which they receave as sent from God, not fearing the exprobration¹⁹⁸ of the giuer by worde or looke. Their second Custome is no lesse commendable, towardes men impouershed by Shipwracke, or like Casualty from the hand of God, To whome the Senate giues letters Pattens,¹⁹⁹ expressing /50/ the generall [quallity] quantity and quality of their losses, so farre as may stirr men to Charity, but not the perticule^{<r>}s nor the

¹⁹⁸ Reproach, action of reproaching. *OED*

¹⁹⁹ "letters patent" ?

names of the persons, which may make them knowne, //
fol 428. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt.V.
and so with their faces and bodies all Covered with
sackcloth, that they may not be knowne, and to that end not
speaking a worde, they silently shewe these letters in the
streetes, or stand with them at the most frequented places,
where all sortes of men giue them large Almes, according to
their losse, which fayre [reputation] [reparation] of
decayed fortune, very gentlemen and Marchants of the best
sorte will not disdayne, and the people never fayle in this
Charity, because these letters are never graunted by the
Senate, but rarely and vpon Iust and true groundes. The
third kynde /10/ of Charity is also most commondable, but
I somewhat suspect the integrity of the fact, being
exercised towards young wemen whome they call virgins, and
[re]commended to the Pope by Cardinalls, Bishoppes, and like
great men, Commonly no true frendes to [prove] [pure]
virginity, but howsoeuer, the Charity is good, of the
practise whereof I will giue one example for all Cittyes.
The Monasterye of the holy Ghost at Rome, is sayde to haue
great rents, they say about a thousand Crownes by the day,
only the Pope Sixtus the fifth tooke some parte of these
excessiue Rents /20/ to be employed for other good vses,
but in a worde whatsoeuer remaynes of these Rents at the
yeares end is disposed by the Pope for other good vses, and
esppecially in Dowryes for poo[p]re virgins. And when the
Pope vpon our ladyes day in lent came in Pompe to St Maryes

Church, I did see after the masse ended many virgins, Cloathed in white, and their faces covered with a white vail, come to kisse the Popes feete, of whome each received a litle white leather pursse, with a note inclosed to an officer, that he shoulde pay them so many hundreth Crownes as were there in /30/ containd, for their dowry. Touching the Italian Clergye, it may be well sayde of them, as of the layetie, that the rich are very rich, and the poore very poore. For the Cardinalls [live gloriously and haue great revenues] being also Archbishops and Bishops, not only in Italy, but also in forayne partes, where the Reuenues of Bishops are excessiue great (as some in Spayne, and most of them in Germany, where they haue Principalities, and are absolute Princes in their territories aswell for temporall as spirituall power) besides that many Cardinalls haue rich offices in Rome. The Rents of Bishopricks are from /40/ three hundreth to six hundreth poundes yearely. The Parish Priests haue no Tythes, which would amount to great summes in that fertile Country, yealding two or three harvests yearely, but they haue Glebe land, and portians of fruites, allotted [to] them, yealding to some [them] twenty fyue poundes, to others diuersely to fyfty poundes by the yeare, besides the profitt they make by extraordinary priuate Masses. And considering the great Multitude of the Clergy in Italy, (where so many Bishops are made, to sway generall Councells by /50/ voyces, each small towne being the seate

of a Bishopp, and so called a Citty) it is strange a Country so small in cirquitt should yealde them such Competent liuings. But indeede theire small Familyes, and sparing expences //

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol.429.

in Apparell and dyett, make those liuings plentifull and competent to them, which in other kingdomes would not be so esteemed. Theire Churches in Townes and litle Cittyes are not of any sumptuous building, and in great Cittyes rather neate and well adorned then spacious for Circuite, and some of them are built of pure marble, whereof Italy hath some quarryes, as also of excelent free stone, besydes that <they> haue commodity by Sea to import them from Turkey, Histrìa, and other places, And many Alters in these Churches, vnder which Familyes of cheefe gentle/10/men are buyried, as also inwarde Chapples ioyning to the Churches, in which they are likewise buyried, are richly adorned, by the Art of Paynters and Carvers, and shyne with rare and pretious stones. The Church of Saynt Vitalis att Rauenna,²⁰⁰ is litle but fayre, hauing the Rooffe richly paynted (Alla Mosaica, as the Italians call that kynde of paynting, often discribed by mee in the first Parte), and an Alter of Alablaster, an old Sepulcher of Porphery, and many rare stones in the walls. The Chappell of Pope Sixtus the fyfth at Rome in St Maryes /20/ Church, is very rich,

²⁰⁰ San Vitale.

and so is the Chappell of Pope Gregorye in St Peters Church, but the Church itselſe hath no [b..tye.] beauty. The ſeuē Churches of Rome are buylt of Bricke, but in my opinion had no magnificence, but only ſome pictures of the foresayd kynde, which the Italians much esteeme. But among the Churches esteemed the monuments of Italy, that of Syenna built of marble, and paued with costly marble, is the most beautiful of all others. To which I would add the Church of St Iohn Baptist, and the steeple of the Cathedrall Church, in Florence, all built of marble. As /30/ for the Church of St marke in Venice it hath many and rare pretious stones, and some rich Alters, but is verye litle, and extreame darke. 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 their burning of lampes and candles of wax at Noone seeme more comlye and requisite, or the better to sett forth the Ceremonyes of their Masses and Processions, as Comedians desyre to present their playes, and all Coseners /40/ to shewe their Counterfeite wares, by the candle, or other shadowed false lights.²⁰¹

{ m.n. 43 - 45. Their practise towardes Protestantes. }

Lett vs a litle consider of the practise of the Roman

²⁰¹ Plays and counterfeit wares are synonymous to Moryson.

Church as it stands in relation with the reformed. In all which wee shall fynde their proceedings manifestly iniurious against the reformed Churches, and the members thereof Commonly called Protestants. First all Phisians,²⁰² Surgions, Apothecaryes, and such persons as lett out lodgings to strangers are charged vpon great penaltyes not to giue any Medicnall or kichen Phi/50/sicke²⁰³ to sicke or wounded persons, till the Priest haue beene with them, and giue testimony that they are good Christians, hauing made confession to him, and beeing ready to receave the Sacrament, and vse all Ceremonyes //

fol.430. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapter.V. after the manner of the Roman church, as extreame vnction in great danger of death, and the like which tyranny is only practised against Protestants, barbarously denying them all [the] foresayd helpes, if by confession of their Religion they giue ill satisfaction to the Priest, for they denye not these helpes to knowe, Grectans,²⁰⁴ Iewes, and Turkes, liuing among them. Whereas the Protestants on the Contrary in their dominions freely a<ll>we these helpes and all comfortes to the [Priests][Papists] aswell as to themselues. Agayne the Protestants in Italy, vpon these cases of ne/10/cessity confessing their Religion, if for

²⁰² "Physicians".

²⁰³ "Kitchen physic" meaning home remedies ? OED lists only one use in the late eighteenth century.

²⁰⁴ Orthodox Greeks.

mony they gett secrete helpe and so recover (as sometymes it falls out) then are they drawne into the bloody Inquisition, if they dye, their dead bodies are dragged out (as those of men killing themselues) and cast into ditches or at [the] best there buyred. Whereas the Pro[s]testants proceede with more humanity and Charity towards them, not only in life conversing with them, and often making them partners of bead and boarde, but after death, commonly allowing them buyryall in their Churches & churchyardes. /20/ For if any be otherwise buyried (as sometymes it happens in london), they are ether such persons, as for spetiall causes are excommunicated, or Priests and lay [Priests] Papists Condemned for treason, and buryed in the place of execution, as commonly other malefactors are, or such as rep[.]uting our Churches vnholly, desyre their frendes to burye them neere the sayde Traytors, whome they esteeme Saynts and Martyers. Agayne the proceeding of the Papists against the Protestants, not only by exposing their kingdomes and States as a pray to all invaders, and stirring vp in/30/vasians and Rebellions agaynst them, but also in their owne dominions by the bloody Inquisition, confiscating their goodes, and burning their bodies, and by seditions massacres, and secreete murthers, is so manifest as it needes noe prooffe. whereas the Protestants only inflicted vpon Papists Mulcts of mony for not Comming to Church, and they can only blame themselves if by Continuall Treasons they haue provoked sharpe

execquition of the penaltyes, and haue forced the Protestants by newe lawes to make some of theire offences Capitall, in regarde of the fact not of theire /40/ Religion. For good lawes newly made haue allwayes sprunge from newe Crimes, and the Protestants were forced to make these lawes, except they would rather lye still while theire throtes were Cutt. But imprisoning and multes²⁰⁵ of mony are but fleabitinges to that which a Protestant apprehended in Italy must looke to suffer. So as on this practise, the Papists hath as great advantage over the Protestant, as a wicked person ouer a godly man, for the Papists vpon all occasions thinckes it a point of humanity to persecute his enemye with malice, the Protestant /50/ thinckes it a duty of Religion to forgiue enemyes, and a point of honor to spare those that are in his power. // Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V. fol 431.

And in this point the greatest Iniury (in my opinion) that the Papist offereth the Protestant, is this, that he attribuites the Protestants mylde proceeding against the Papists, not to there Charity, but to the guiltinesse of theire consciences, as knowing that the Roman Church is the true Catholike Church, and iustifyes the tyranny of the Papists against the Protestants as men fallen from the knowne truth of that Church, notwithstanding that the Protestants desyre theire Religion no further to be

²⁰⁵ *mulcts*.

embraced, then it agrees with that of the Primitive Church. Agayne the Papists /10/ themselues hauing Corrupted the scriptures, the olde authors of Antiquity, the Fathers, and Moderne writers doe the Protestants foule iniury, to cast aspersion on them. For the Protestants only relying vpon the scriptures, as the touchstones of saving truth, haue employed all possible endeours, to haue them purely translated into vulgar tounge. But the Papists, fynding the scriptures Contrary to their mayne doctrynes, as worshipping Angells, Saynts, Images, and praying to them, praying in a tounge not vnderstood, forbidding meates and marryage, and the /20/ like, first hid them from the people, publishing and preaching the authority of humayne traditions equall to them, prefferring the authority of generall Councells before them, and of the Church aboue both, and Consequently the Popes authority aboue all, and while they could not keepe the latten Bible from the Clargy, raysing vp schoole men to obscure the worde, and mantayne false interpretations by subtile and foolish distinctions, and suffering to that end the Corrupt glosses of Fryers to Creepe into the Text. And when, vpon the first Reformation, the Protestants /30/ Cryed out for vulgar Bibles, they shaming at first flattly to denye them, permitted some vulgar Coppies to be printed, but shortly after that Clamour ended, called them in agayne,²⁰⁶ hidding

²⁰⁶ See Sandys, sig. L3v.

the Scriptures from the layetie in theire owne Countryes as much as ever, only the Iesuites haue published a vulgar English Coppye, whose translation Doctor Fulke well obserued not to differ from ours in substance, but [s] vseing obscure wordes where wee vse playne (they reading the prepuce, where wee reade the fore skinne, and the like)²⁰⁷ And at this tyme, though they Alter /40/ not the Bible which they keepe from the layety, yet in the vulgar Catechismes the leaue out the second Commaundment forbidding I<d>olatry, and make two of the tenth, to fill vp the number of tenne. Yea Credible authors avowe that they haue consulted to purge St Paules Epistles, Casting many aspersians, as heady rashnes vpon that holy Apostle, and affirming that he published not his Epistles without the aprobatation of St Peter, though himselfe sayth playnely, that he was not inferior to any Apostle: nether learned his Gospell from any, but only by the Reuelation of Iesus

²⁰⁷ William Fulke (1538 - 1589), was a prolific Puritan controversialist, divine, astrologer and theologian. Hyamson. One of his books is entitled *A defense of the sincere and true translations of the holie scriptures into the English tong, against G. Martin* (London, 1583) [STC 11430]. The Douay Old Testament, first published in 1609, renders God's injunction to Abraham thus, "This is my covenant which you shal observe betwen me and you, and thy seede after thee: Al the malekind of you shalbe circumcised: and you shal circumcise the flesh of your prepuce..." Moryson is correct that in every version including Tyndale, the Great Bible of 1540, the Geneva, Bishop's and King James in Genesis 17. 10 - 11 "foreskin" is used in favour of "prepuce". See *The Genesis Octapla Eight English Versions of the Book of Genesis in the Tyndale-King James Tradition*, edited by Luther A. Weigle, (New York, 1952).

Christ.²⁰⁸ In like sorte /50/ the Protestants submitt
theire Doctrynes to be tryed by the first generall
Councells and the Consent of the old Fathers, and besydes
alledge against the Papists many of theire owne old and
Moderne writters. Now the Roman Church of olde //
fol.432 Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V.
while the tyrannicall power thereof florished, so as
no[w][n]e durst question it, permitted all old writters,
and giuing loosers leaue to talke and write, gaue such
liberty, as the very Italian[s] Poetts and historians were
bold to write, that Rome was Babilon, the Pope Antichrist,
pl[e]ac[s]ing many Popes in hell, and playnely saying, that
the worst of Italy were the Romans, the worst Romans the
Priests, the worst Priests made Cardinalls, and the worst
Cardinall was made Pope. But when after the Reformation,
the Consent of the Fathers and these authors were alledged
against /10/ them, they purged all the 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

²⁰⁸ "...for in nothing was I inferiour vnto the very
chiefe Apostles, though I be nothing." II Corinthians 12.
11; "For neyther receiued I it [the Gospel] of man, neither
was I taught it, but by the reuelation of Iesus Christ."
Galatians 1. 12.

old authors (as Dant and Petrarch), and newe Authors, who being Papists yet in many thinges wrote against them (as the Fryer Ferus and many others,²⁰⁹ appearing by many evidences out of the old and newe /20/ Coppyes and by the purging Indix of the Councell of Trent) but also for tyme to come haue taken order, that no bookes shalbe printed among them, which are not allowed by them, and haue forbidden any Protestants booke to be read, among them, yea the very tales of the old English Poet Caucer, Carping at many Popish errors and superstitions, most vulgar in this tyme. They object and wee graunt that wee haue in England purged the Resolution of Parsons a Papist, of errors and superstitions, and haue published the rest, as profitable for reformation of life (In which they write as well as any) but in the meane /30/ tyme wee permitt the old Coppies, and no man is punished for reading them, and wee freely professe our Copy to be so purged.²¹⁰ I graunt that in England some bookes are forbidden (as that of Sanders and other English Papists²¹¹) yet are they not forbidden

²⁰⁹ An Alphonsus Ferrus wrote books on syphilis in the 1540s. *BMGC* Perhaps Ferrus was a *nom de plume*.

²¹⁰ Fr Robert Parsons (1546 - 1610) published *The first booke of the christian exercise, appertayning to resolution* (Rouen, 1582), [*STC* 19353], which was then adapted by a Protestant into *A booke of christian exercise, appertaining to resolution, by R. P. Perused and accompanied now with a Treatise tending to pacification: by E. Bunny* (London, 1584), [*STC* 19355].

²¹¹ Nicholas Sanders (c1530 - 1581) published various books from Louvain. One was on the sacrament. One entitled *The rocke of the churche wherein the primacy of S. Peter*

for any point of Doctryne, but for scandalous lyes against the State and great persons, for otherwise wee permitt the very bookes of Bellarmyne to be sold by our Stationors, to the layety as freely as to the Cleargy.²¹² They say our Bibles are corruptly translated. Thus like rancke scoldes, being guilty, they seeke to cleare themselues /40/ by calling Hore first, and care not with what falshood and malice they doe it, so they may be beleued of theire owne Followers. To which purpose I remember that in Ireland, after the Composition made as kinsale with the Spaniards, My disceased worthy lord the lord Mountioy then lord Deputy, one day invited the Spanish Generall *Don Iean de l'Aguyla* to dinner, where *Don Iean* seeing the lord Mountioy eate flesh on a fryday, good store of Fish being at the table, out of soldiers liberty tooke the boldnes to censure his Lordshipp for so doing, who replied /50/ 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, //

and of his successours is proued [STC 21692], shows where his loyalties lay. Sanders was a "political" Jesuit, prepared to justify war, and to take part in it. He accompanied a small invasion force in Ireland in 1579. Despite the large price on his head, he was never captured. See Berleth, *passim*.

²¹² Contrary to what Moryson maintains, it would appear that Bellamine's books were either printed on secret presses or else printed at Rouen, Douai, Malines, and St. Omer. *STC*

it happined the lord Mountioy had a booke printed at Rome, and allowed by Pope Pius the fifth, at the sight wherof Don Iean stoode at first sight somewhat amazed, but presently, Crossing himselfe, sayd that he woudered howe the protestant ministers could gett those first leaues Printed at Rome, to sett before their false Bibles, and how they durst deceave the people in that manner, which vncharible and strange Conceite, the lord Mountioye, without reply, passed ouer with a smyle.²¹³ The Iesuites by [nature][Statute] (as I haue formerly sayd) are bounde not to admitt any of /10/ their schollers to study the originall tounes in which the Bible was written, till they haue first taken an oath to defende the translation of the Roman Church. The Protestants giue liberty to all men to study those languages, to pe[.][r]use and Conferr all old Coppies, and freely to taxe any. Now lett vnpartiall Iudges lay their handes on their hearts, and say freely which of

²¹³ See I Corinthians 8. 8. which in the updated Vulgate of Clement VIII is "*Esca autem nos non commendat Deo. Neque enim si manducaverimus, adundabimus: neque si non manducaverimus, deficiemus.*" This is rendered in the Geneva Bible as "But meate maketh not vs acceptable to God: for neyther if we eate, haue we the more: neither if we eate not, haue we the lesse." Don Juan d'Aguila was leader of the Spanish expeditionary force sent to aid the Earl of Tyrone in his rebellion against the English. Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland made a "composition" with the Spanish after winning a pitched battle against them on 24 December 1601, because of his appreciation of the weakness of his own forces besieging Kinsale. See *Itinerary A*, III, 109 - 110. Mountjoy had been sympathetic to Catholicism in his youth, which is probably why he had a Catholic New Testament to hand.

these deale more openly and sincerely in this point Agayne the Papists deale more Crewelly with Protestants, then with Turkes, Grecians and Iewes; knowen /20/ Turkes, denying the diety of christ, and holding him a Prophett farr inferior to Mahomett,. yet openly liue in theire portes, more spetially at Venice, but a Protestant is no soonner knowne in Italy, then drawn to prison, torture, and death, If it may be sayd this is done for feare to prouoke the Turkish Emperour, what will they say in excuse that the Grecians liue freely in Italy. They are Condemned by the Roman Church for heritikes, denying many doctrynes against the Popes power, and a greate Article of Faith, no lesse then touching the holy /30/ Trenity, for all ingenerall beleue the holy Ghost to proceede from the Father only, not from the Sonne, yet they haue a Church at Venice, with an Archbishop of Philadelphia, a Bishop of Origo,²¹⁴ and Priests maryed, and Monkes, saying Masse in the Greeke tounge and giuing the Sacrament in leuened bread and both kyndes, yea de[.][n]ying the Popes supremacye and giuing him only Primacye of Order. And with like liberty and beleefe they liue freely in Apulia and Calabria, Provinces of the kingdome of Naples, and in many Ilands neere Italy.²¹⁵ And in like sorte agreat Multitude of them liues

²¹⁴ See my note on fol. 679.

²¹⁵ "In the 1570s the Venetians first accepted the appointment of the Archbishop of Philadelphia, Gabriele Severo, as head of the Greek community in Venice. He was an Orthodox metropolitan, directly responsible to the Orthodox

at /40/ Rome, saue that they accknowledg the Popes
supremacye. Yea the very Iewes beleeuing not at all in
Christ, are not only tolerated in Italy but in the Cittyes
of many Princes haue greater preuiledges then the
Cittisens, for trade, and for letting mony to vse at
vnreasonable rates, so as many Covetous Christians vse the
name of poore Iewes to lett their mony to vse. At least
tenne thousand Iewes liue at Rome, some say a farr greater
number, and all Princes giue them habitation in their
Cittyes. Yea the Iewes banished out of all Fraunce, liue
freely there in the /50/ Popes State of Auignon. In these
places they were Redd or yeallowe Caps, to be knowne from
others, but in some Cittyes only a litle marke vpon their
Clokes, hardely to be seene, and liue with greater

Partiarch in Constantinople, and no doubt very useful to
the Venetians in their relations with the Ottoman Empire.
This move represented a change of policy. Hitherto the
Greek community in Venice, which was allowed its own church
of San Giorgio, had been accommodated on the grounds that
the Greeks in Venice adhered to the Union of Florence, of
1439, between the Catholic and Orthodox churches, on the
principle of 'unity of faith and diversity of rite'.
However, there were many Greeks who did not accept that
union and were not in any sense Catholics; Severo was
Orthodox, although he was interested in promoting a further
union. For that reason, no doubt, he was acceptable to the
Pope as well as to the Venetian Republic, and was given the
title of *nunzio patriarcale*. He held spiritual authority
over Orthodox subjects of Venice, e.g. in Dalmatia and the
Ionian Islands, and was paid both by the *Scuola* or
confraternity of the Greeks of Venice and by the Venetian
state. He was able to establish a convent for Orthodox nuns
in 1599...see G. Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche sulla posizione
giuridica ed ecclesiastica dei greci a Venezia nei secoli
XV e XVI* (Florence, 1967), pp. 99 - 111; F. Mavroidi,
*Aspetti della società veneziana del '500. La confraternita
di S. Nicolò dei Greci*, ed. P. Piccinini (Ravenna, 1989),
pp. 19 - 20, 23 - 24, 44 - 45." BP

priuileges then the subiectes //

fol.434. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V.

oppressing them with vsurye. They are Circumcised, Contrary to the Christain lawe, they haue Synnagoges, and their lithurgy in the *Hebrewe* tounge, and publike Sermons in the Italian tounge, reading only the Text in *Hebrewe*, to which Sermons all Christians may resorte. The true reason hereof, is the great gayne the Pope and Princes make of them, by borowing mony, and taking from them by extortion that which they haue gotten of their subiectes and other Christians by oppression. But they pretend other reasons, namely. That the Iewes are not of the Christian Church, /10/ and so being without, are not vnder the Authority thereof, and that Charity bids [vs] harbor them, since thereby the Christians haue meanes to convert them, which they should want if they liued in Turkye, to which end they are bound yearely to heare some Christian Sermons. But the same reason may be alledged to harbor Protestants, if they desyred to convert them by fayre meanes, such as they only vse towards the Iewes. And in truth it is not only improbable but impossible that the Iewes should be converted by the Italians, for very many reasons which I haue formerly alledged in /20/ diuers pointes of this Chapter, as of that of Itolatry, that of preferring the Popes lawe to Gods lawe, that of frequent blasphemyes, and the like, as also for mayne reasons conteyned in this point I now handle, namely that all antiquity is corrupted in

Italy by the purging of old Authors well knowne to the Iewes. That the new Testament is not among them translated into the vulgar tounge vnderstood by the Iewes, to teach them at first, nor shoulde after be allowed them to reade for theire further instruction, That the best Authors prouing the truth of Christian Religion /30/ (as that of *Mounser Duplesse*²¹⁶) and other learned Protestant writers to that purpose) are prohibited in Italy: and that the Italian Sermons which the Iewes are bound yearely to heare, are not directed to any point wherevpon the Iewes espetially stande[s], but rather made against the Iewes to confirme Christians already beleeuing, and such as teach Magisterially rather commaunding Fayth vpon hearesay and takeing the teachers worde for truth of his doctryne, then perswading it by evident proofes. Agayne the Papists doe grosse iniurye to the Protestants, in the Maxime allowed /40/ by the Popes as a warrant Dormant. *Non est seruanda fides cum hereticis*. No Fayth is to be kept with heritikes, and yet greater wrong, in the interpretation therof, branding them for heritikes vpon most vniust groundes. I[n] which kynde, the Popes dispencing with oathes, though most spetially it be a sinne against God, yet aswell the former maxime, as the same, and likewise the Iesuites

²¹⁶ Duplessis Mornay (1549 - 1623) was the famous Huguenot apologist. Moryson refers here to his *Traité de la verité de la religion chrétienne contre les athées, épicuriens, payens, juifs, mahométans et autres infidèles* (Antwerp, 1581). EB

æquivocation, are iniurious to mankynde, and espetically to the Protestants.²¹⁷ For by them generally all Fayth is taken away from amonge men, and in all treatises, the Protestants [are] in Religion and /50/ morall honesty, tyed by theire worde and oath, while the Papists thincke they may breake both, without any offence to God, and good men. Agayne the Protestants deale Faithfully with the Papists in confuting theire Bookes of controverscy //

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol.435.

Citing the authors wordes, and confuting them orderly, lyne by lyne, and point by point, and mantayne no men of purpose for this worke, but leaue it free for any learned man to vndertake. But the Papists, as in preaching they reade no Text, but speake vpon the Gospell, and vpon what pointes best please them, so doe they answer the bookes of Protestants, not Citing the Authors wordes (as appears by theire bookes of Controversyes solde in Italy) least the reader should fully knowe the Protestants opinions (which they desyre to conceale from them, and commonly vse /10/ to falsifye) nor answering them point by point [by ..] <but> Catching what they list to confute or carpe [at,] and

²¹⁷ Equivocation is an important theme in *Macbeth*, and the drunken porter makes a similar link with the Jesuits in a probable reference to the trial of Henry Garnett S. J. in March 1606. II. 3. 8 - 11. At his execution, the Recorder required Garnett "not to Equiuocate with his last breath, if he knew any thing that might bee danger to the King or State, he should now vtter it." sig. 3F3r. See *A true and perfect relation of the proceedings at the seuerall arraignmentes of the late traitors* (London, 1606). [STC 11618]

leauing the rest vnmentioned, and hauing a multitude of vacant Fryers, yet they appoint some spetiall men to answer Controverscyes, and as they appoint spetiall men wholly to imploy theire studdy in this or that point of Controuerscye, so they vse as many of them to answer one booke, as it contaynes seuerall heades of Controversyes. Agayne (as a learned Author of our tyme noteth)²¹⁸ whereas the Protestants, at the first reformation, together with the /20/ handling of Controversyes, did disgrace the persons mantayning them, by the testimony of theire owne Author, shewing their Prophaning of Scriptures, forgiuing of Miracles and writings of Antiquity, and the graunting of ridiculous Pardons, as likewise by ripping vp the liues, of Popes, Clergymen, and votaryes, and Citing many like scandalls out of theire owne historyes. The Papists haue made it theire spetiall Art of answering, not so much to confute the doctrynes, as to slander both the doctrynes and persons of the Protestants. But /30/ wheras the Protestants Cited authors allowed by them, the Papists Cite libells written against Protestants and factious bookes (as Marprelate in England²¹⁹) for good Authors, and haue

²¹⁸ The author is Sir Edwin Sandys. See Sigs. H4r to Ilv, where Moryson follows the arguments and imagery of Sandys closely in what follows.

²¹⁹ Martin Marprelate were anonymous presbyterian tracts, issued from 1588 - 1589 which satirized the episcopacy on both a general and personal level. Archbishop Whitgift and with more effect John Aylmer Bishop of London were particular targets. See V. J. K. Brook, *Whitgift and the English Church* (London, 1957), pp. 120 - 125.

themselues suborned Legends to be written a gainst Protestants (as against Caluin and Beza²²⁰), and Cite them for approued authors, knowing that it is not easey to disproue them in negatiues, and not Caring for the truth of the Relation, so it leaue a scarr in the reputation of theire aduersaries.²²¹ Agayne the Papists master peece of skill and art, to practise agaynst the /40/ Protestants, or at least to harten and confirme theire owne men to cleaue stedfastly to them, is their continuall and most impudent divulging of false newes, as the reconciling of States and great persons to the Roman Church, when no such thing is, in which kynde (among many other of like quality) at my being in Italy, it was divulged that the Ambassadadors of Elizabeth late Queene of England of happy memory, were on theire way to Rome, and there dayly expected, to reconcile her Maiesty and th[e][a]t kingdome to the Roman Church.²²² In like sorte at the /50/ deaths, first of Caluin, after of

²²⁰ John Calvin (1509 - 1564) is too well known to need further comment. His biographer and administrative successor at Geneva, Theodore Beza (1519 - 1605) is less well known. Beza was indiscrete enough to have published amorous Latin verses when young, which his enemies never let him live down. *EB* records Laingaeus's *De Vita et Moribus* of 1585 which may have been one of scurrilous "legends" to which Moryson refers. Moryson met Beza in 1595, and was impressed by him. See *Itinerary A*, I, 390.

²²¹ The argument and examples cited come from Sandys, sigs. I2r - I3r.

²²² Whilst at Lyons, Sandys hears something similar. Sig. K2v.

Beza, Constant brutes²²³ were spread through all Italy, that on their death beds they recanted from the Reformed Religion to the Roman, and advised the Senate of Geneva to send for certain chiefe Iesuites to reconcile them and to instruct them.²²⁴ They knowe that the first newes takes deepest impression, and that many heare the false newes, who never come to //

fol.436. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt.V.

heare it truely controuled.²²⁵ In like sorte they diuulge most false lying miracles to disgrace the Protestants and confirme their owne Religion, as of a Protestant minister killed with a thunderbolt, while in the Pulpitt he reviled the Pope, and certain English gentlemen destroyed by the Deuill, while for sport and in scoffing manner they were singing of a Masse, and who can yea who dare deny the truth thereof in Italy. Agayne the Protestants, from the first Reformation to this tyme, haue written bookes of their persecutions and Marterdomes suffered vnder the /10/ hands of the Papists, great numbers of them hauing bene with singular cruelty burnt at stakes (as hath bene evidently seene by sharpe persecutions in England, Fraunce, Germany,

²²³ "n. 2. Report noised abroad, rumour...arch." *OED*

²²⁴ "Not long after that, Beza the Arch-heretick, and *Calvines* successour, drawing towards his death, had in full Senate at Geneva, recanted his religion, exhorting them, that if they had care to save their soules, to seeke reconciliation with the Catholike Church, and to send for the *Iesuites* to instruct them." Sandys, sig. K2r.

²²⁵ Checked or verified. *OED*

and elsewhere) and when these publike executions ceased, the blood of those martærs prouing a fruitfull seede of the Gospell, they also haue written theire publike massacres, and priuate murthers and secrett makings away by the Inquisition. And the Papists, to make the Cruelty of the Protestants appeare no lesse (tho all men knowe they are tender in forcing the Conscience, and never put Papist to /20/ death simply for the cause of Religion) haue written like Bookes of theire sufferings, [but differings,] but differing from the first, in that the first are true Relations of men putt to death, against whome nothing was obiected but only Religion, and that in knowne places where the fact was evident, whereas these latter are lying forgeryes (as my selfe did see in the kingdome of Naples Pictures of English Papists Couered with skinnes of wolues, and so cast out to be deuoured by our Mastie doggs²²⁶) or false relations of men executed for Religion, against whome /30/ no point of Religion was obiected, but only practises of treason manifestly proued, or things pretended to be donne in the remote Indies, the truth whereof may iustly be suspected for the distance of place, but more iustly from theire mouthes and pennis, who shame not to speake and write such grosse lyes at home. And it is worth the observation, that the Iesuites, whose old and newe miracles are Commonly fetched from the Indies, are also the Minters of the

²²⁶ An obsolete form of "mastiffs".

foresayd slanders,²²⁷ false newes, lying miracles, equiuocations false marters, and like high straynes of /40/ policye (as they call them) divulged here at home, To which purpose they [then] had then a Presse at Venice proper to that order, which may well becalled the presse of lyes, for theire [they] printed lying Pamphlets, beareing date and title as if they were printed in other [pla.ed] place<s>, and as they beg<ane> with a lye in the first leafe and title, so continued to the end, Agayne whereas the Protestants vse nothing but the louely face of truth to invite men to theire Religion, or to keepe them Constant in it, the Papists prevaile much against them by hyring men, of best witts to /50/ write, and of most liuely Spiritt for action, to be of theire party, and by giuing good maintenance and large pensions to indi<d>gent²²⁸ persons, aswell to those that allready are Papists, as to all Protestants, and spetially their ministers, //

{ c.w. Leauing the }

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapter V fol 43[6].7 leauing the Reformed, and turning to the Roman Religion. But this rather is an Iniurye to Gods truth, and to these rewarded Renegates, then to those who remayne Protestants, therefore I will not insist any further [in] [vpon] it. The

²²⁷ The idea is in general currency. Thersites "coins slanders like a mint." *Troilus and Cressida*, I. 3. 193.

²²⁸ The manuscript is difficult to read. It could be "indigent" poor, or "indiligent" meaning lazy.

day, penn, Incke, paper, and my owne strength, would fayle mee, if I should recounte all the Iniuryes which the Papists continually practise with great malice and art against the peacable and simple Protestants. Therefore I will [only] add that grosse Iniurye, whereby the Papists movue their Followers to repute the Protestants no lesse then monsters in their /10/ doctryne and life. To which purpose a worthy Author of our tyme (who chuseth to be to be Namele[y])<s>) hath Compendiously, but very well and truly written, so as it will suffice that I only add my owne experience in this pooint. At my being In Italy, and passing disguised, so as I made not my Country knowne, I had the happ to reade and heare many relations, whereby they made the Protestants, and more spetially the Englishmen, strangly deformed in body mynde and practise, since their falling from the Roman Church. But in Ireland I had more playne demonstration of the Practise of /20/ the Roman Church in this kynde, by accident of some Spanish gentlemen of the best sorte taken prisoners at the battle, and delivered hostages at the Composition of Kinsale, with whome wee had familliar and free Conversation, after the manner of Soldyers, for some two or three monthes whyle they abode with vs. For the hauing the patience then to heare vs, not only deliuer many of our opinions dissenting from them, but also to reade the Text of Scripture by which wee were Confirmed in them, did many tymes, with Crossing and blessing themselues, wonder at their Fryers, who not

only in their /30/ familiar speech, but in the very pulpits, had persuaded them, that we beleue not in the holy Treinity, nor particularly in Christ, which now they founde to be most false, and that we did basely vilefy the blessed virgin mary, and the Saynts, whome they founde vs to reverence, though we denyed them the attributes of God, as the heareing vs and the knowing of all our necessities in all places and at [once] one tyme, and that we did preach against good workes, which they f[y]o[u]nde vs to practise though we professed not to trust in them for our saluation. To be shorte I haue /40/ formerly shewed howe they nourish hatred against the Protestants, by vsing their Schollers to sharpe and eager²²⁹ disputations, and by forbidding all Papists to conferr with them, or to ioyne with them so much as in saying Amen to our lords prayer, or to thanckes giuing at the table (though indeede they at the Table [only] vse a dumbe grace of bending the body and Crossing the breast). Nowe I will only obserue that, as in other places (if I be not deceaved) so I am sure in England, at the first Reformation in the tyme of king Edward the sixt, and at the restoring of /50/ that reformation in the tyme of Queene Elizabeth, for some fourteene of the first yeares of her raigne, the Papists generally both in England and Ireland came to our Churches, making no question thereof, because they founde our

²²⁹ Sharp, from the Latin *acer*. *OED*

lithurgy no way repugnant to their beleefe,²³⁰ //
fol.438. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V.
but indeede taken out of their Masse, only leauing out
prayers to Saynts and like superstitions, which they that
listed might after performe in their private houses. But
the Pope, fearing that this frendly conversation might
worke reconcilment did first, about this tyme, resolue to
sett the marke of the Beast on the foreheades and hands of
his followers, that they might be knowne from others, from
which tyme to this day, they haue beene, and are alinated
from vs by this being forbidden to come to our Churches, or
to conferr with vs, or so much as to say amen to our /10/
prayers, and this hatred of the Papists hath dayly
increased towards the Protestants, who notwithstanding,
hauing not these stinges of Malice, remayne calme and
gentle towards them. In aworde, why doe the Papists, by
all the foresayd Stratagems and crafty deuises vndermyne
the Protestants if they thincke they haue the Truth on
their syde, which is in true vertue powerfull to preuayle,
and needeth not any lye or Art to support it. Why doe they
prosecute the Protestants with the foresayd iniuries, if
they purpose not rather to destroy them by fyer and sword,
/20/ then to winne them by weight of Arguments, and by the
sacred authority of Gods worde.

²³⁰ Cranmer's 1552 Liturgy would have been unacceptable to orthodox Catholics. Queen Elizabeth was excommunicated in 1570, in the eleventh year of her reign.

{ m.n. 23 - 25. The Inquisition supportes the Papacy. }

If you would knowe the foundation vpon which the [The Inquisition] foresayd confusion of Babell standeth, it is [supportes the] in worde and disputation built vpon the [Papacy] Popes impossibility to err, and [vn]limited power to dispenche, but indeede and effect standeth vpon his followers ignorance of the truth, and the bloody Inquisition, <t>terrifying them who in some measure knowe it, from daring in the least word to professe any liking therof. /30/ The Italians may not heare the Protestants Sermons, or discourses of Religion, they may not reade their bookes, nor yet the very Bible, they knowe not somuch as the Protestants opinions in Religion, but from the false relation of their Priests they may not dispute of pointes of Controuersy in their owne Schooles, of all other nations in the world they loue their owne home best, and least trauell into forrayne partes, ether for naturall inclination, or for that they thincke fewe thinges beyonde the Alpes woth somuch labour to heare or /40/ see them, and for the Marchants who Commonly force nature for gayne, they are forbidden by the Pope to traffique amongst Protestants, as of old they were wont, so as nothing but the Roman Religion comes to their eares. Then it remayneth only to restrayne the liberty of Tounes and pennes at home, which is abundantly donne by establishing the Councell of Trent, and then planting the house of Inquisition to punish those that swarme from it in any the least point of Fayth. This

Inquisition was first invented in Spayne, /50/ more then an hundreth yeares past, in the tyme of king Ferdinand, against Mahometans and Iewes, professing Christianity outwardly, and being baptised, but retayning Circumcision and many superstitions in theire priuate practise, and it was planted only for a tyme which is expired, since remayning in force only by //

Booke III of Italy Touch ing Religion Chapt V. fol 439.

the kinges authority. And after the reformation of Religion, begining about the yeare 1517; and in short tyme spreading it selfe through most partes of Europe, this Inquisition was converted against Christians, and hath rooted out all of the reformed Religion in Spayne, b[uly][t] the death (as is Credible written) of more then twenty thousand in Ciuill alone.²³¹ After, the Spaniardes brought it 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.²³² Fraunce would never admitt it, the /10/ Portugalls (as they say) haue offered much mony to be freed from it, but it hath beene Receaved by the Pope at Rome, and many Princes of Italy, yet not with like rigor in the practise. Commonly the most zelous and rigorous Fryers are made Inquisitors, and the least

²³¹ "Seville". See fol. 412, and my note.

²³² Moryson is writing sometime in the period between 1621 and 1625, after the expiry of the Twelve Years Truce on 9 April 1621. Parker, p. 169.

worde or suspition is inough to bring men in question, vpon which the goodes of the accused are presently Confiscated without redemption, theire accusers are not made knowne to them, but they are forced, by tædious imprisonment, and tortures, to accuse themselues, or by many examinations taken in /20/ great distance of tyme, are intrapped by theire wordes, and in the ende, were wont to be putt to death publikely, but since are made awaye in secrett, that theire Constancy in dying might not proue seede to the Gospell. Or if by abiureing all opinions Contray to the Fayth of the Roman Church, they happen to be freed the first tyme, yet they never escape death if they be accused the second tyme, But this rigor seemed hatefull to many Princes where the Inquisition was in some measure admitted. For at my being in Italy, howsoever it was exercised in Rome /30/ with great rigor, espetially against the Italians, and such strangers as they listed to apprehend, yet many tymes the passage to and [fro] from Rome was generally more free to strangers, according to the present State of publike affayers. And in the State of Florence the Duke kept the moderating of the Inquisitions rigor in his owne hands, the Bishopp of Pisa his Minion being cheefe Inquisitor, so as strangers (in regarde of the gayne Italy makes of them, and for the Dukes peculiar loue to some nations) were seldome or neuer in that Dukedome questioned, and my selfe knewe /40/ some, who being in danger, had secrett warning by the Dukes fauor, to escape by flight out

of his Territoryes. Likewise in the State of Venice, the Inquisitors were the popes Resident Nontio; the Patriarke of Venice (Inquisitor [.] by his place) A Dominican Fryer, and three Venetian Senators, Chosen by the Senate, in whose power it was to moderate and guide their proceedinge. These did meete thrise each weeke in the Chappell of St Theodor. But aswell in the Citty as in all the State of Venice, all strangers were free from being questinoned for Religion, /50/ except they were so foolish as to giue grosse offence in that kynde by publike wordes or deedes. For without this liberty they could not haue Commerce with the Protestants Dominions, lying vpon their confynes. In Rome and other partes of Italy, the most dangerous tyme of the // fol.440. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V. yeare, for strangers passing by or making aboade in them, was the latter part<s> of lent towards Easter, when the Priests vsed to take the names in all Familyes, and to obserue those that receaved not the Sacrament. But strangers avoyded this danger by changing their aboade often from one Citty to another duringe that Month. Nether was it any danger to them at that tyme to liue in the foresayd States of Florence and venice, wher [nce] the Iesuites had nothing to doe with the Inquisition, but ether were not admitted, or shutt vp in their Cloysters /10/ as other Monkes were.

{ m.n. 12, 13. The Conclusion. }

To conclude. Whensoever the Protestants charge the Papiests with the foresayde or like errors, no answer is so ready in their mouthes or Penne, as the question when and howe the Church of Rome, so long famous for professing the true Fayth, fell from the same to so many and so grosse errors. To which I breiefely answer. The grasse in the feilde dayly growes, and though the growing cannot be daly perceaved by the eye, yet when hey haruest approacheth it is most apparrant to the same. No man soddenly becomes godly or /20/ wicked in high degree, for an habitt is gotten and lost by litle and litle. And so did all errors growe or rather Creepe into the Roman Church, insensible at first, but manifest when they were come to a monstrous head. When the Popes in their vnquestioned greatnes, gaue liberty of speech to all men, the very Poets of Italy many ages past spared not to write bitterly against the Popes vsurped power and generall Corruption of that Church both in life and doctryne, as Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace, to whome I might add the English Poett Chaucer, and many others. /30/ But after that the Popes restrayned this liberty, and purged these dead authors of the bitter reproofes they writt while they liued, they haue in processe of tyme, founde that feare is an [ill] keeper of diuturnity²³³ and that the forced patience of the people hath turned into furye, by great and generall defections from them. But

²³³ "Now rare. [ad. L. *diuturnitat-em* long duration...]"
OED

learned Churchmen are better Iudges then Potes and laymen in this case. Therefore I will boldly say, that Ecclesiasticall historyes, and Centuries, and the approved historyes of kingdomes, with generall consent manifestly shewe, by what degrees /40/ and in what yeares and tymes, the Popes vsurped power grewe, and all or the cheefe false doctrynes Crept into the Church, and [what] learned men Impugned the Popes vsurped power, and defended the truth, from the first age to our tyme. In which point giue me leaue, breiefely to name some fewe thinges most easy to be proved true, though I haue at larg written of this subiect in the begininges of the discourses of the Commonwealthes of Italy, and also of Germany, to which I referr the reader. It is not denyed that for /50/ the first three hundreth yeares after Christ, the Popes //

Booke III. of Italy touching Religion Chapt.V fol. 441.

of Rome were godly men, and many of them suffered martridome. About that tyme the Emperour Constantine gaue peace and riches to the Church, an happie gift, had not pryde and ambition [ended][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 of them sayd in playne tearmes). /10/ Gregory the great, being the last Pope of this rancke, was sayd to be the last good and first

ill Bishopp of Rome. For he wrote learnedly and soundly of many pointes of Religion, perticularly of Iustification, and when the Bishopp of Constantinople tooke vpon him to be vniv[a]ersall Bishopp over all others, he expressly wrote, that whosoeuer tooke that title, was Anthichrist, But withall, he first brought into the Church many Ceremonyes and superstitions of the Iewes and Pagons, with visians, and like Corruptions, the multitude /20/ whereof after increased [.] d<a>lye. The third rancke of the Popes from the yeare six hundreth to nyne hundreth, brought into the Roman Church the foundations of all the mischeefes vnder which it grones to this day. For the next successor to Gregory the great dying in the yeare 607.²³⁴ tooke vpon him the title of Vniversall Bishopp, to wich Gregory had annexed the title of Anthichrist, and that was giuen him by Phocas, who by murthering his master succeeded him in the Empire of the East, and for his strength desyred the fauor of the Bishopp of Rome. /30/ Here was the foundation layd of the Popes spirituall power, his supremacy, Pardons, Dispensations, and all false doctrynes grounded therevpon, which were strongly apposed by many godly and great Bishopps, perticularly the bishopps of Milan and Rauenna for hundreths of yeares not only denied his supremacy, but tooke to themselues Primacy ouer him, so as long tyme passed before these Doctrynes could be established and

²³⁴ The next Pope after Gregory the Great died before 607. Boniface III was Pope in 607. EWH

grew to full strength. The former Popes began to be weary of being subject to the Emperors of the East their /40/ temporall lordes, who had exalted them, and were strongly affected to wring the temporall Dominion of Rome and other Teritoryes in Italy out of the Emperors handes. In somuch as those Emperors pulling Images out of Churches, and being troubled with warr for that cause, the Popes about the yeare 712²³⁵ tooke part against them, and as in tyme, they drove them out of Italy, and made themselues lords of Rome, so withall they brought Idolatry into the Church. For the Images which they kept only for remembrance, grewe to be Adored /50/ by the people, first with Ciuill, then in processe of tyme with diuine worshipp. And howsoever many godly Bishops, apposed them selues against the first begining, yet in tyme the false doctrynes depending therevpon //

fol.442. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt.V.

dayly grewe stronger and stronger, and more and more Impious in the ages following. After this all Corruption of doctryne and manners invaded the Church of Rome, and horrible Schismes, so as from the yeare. 891. for 600 yeares after, that Church had many tymes two or three Popes at once. But from the yeare. 900. to 1117.²³⁶ the Popes

²³⁵ In 731 the Eastern Emperor was excommunicated. See John Julius Norwich, *Byzantium The Early Centuries* (London, 1988), p. 357.

²³⁶ This is a mistake for 1177. See the comments on Alexander III at the end of this page.

tyranny and the Corruption of manners and doctryne grewe to the highst. In the yeare 1008. the Pope published the Decretalls by which he makes himselfe in temporall power abue Emperors /10/ and kinges.²³⁷ In the yeare 1047. the Pope made a decree against Symony, which his successours did not vse against Patrons taking mony, but to forbid the Emperor or any lay men to bestowe Bishoprickes or benefices. About this tyme maryage was first forbidden to Priests, which [was] not obeyed in many yeares after, and in the yeare. 1059. the Cardinalls were first made the Electors of Popes. In the yeare 1073 the Romans chose for Pope, Hildebrand a true brand of hell, called Pope Gregory the seuenth who bended /20/ all his forces, to establish the Popes spirituall power in the Collation of Bishoprickes and Benefices, making it no lesse then Symony for Emperors and laymen whatsoeuer, to bestowe them, though they first founded them. Likewise he bent all his forces to establish the Popes temporall power ouer Emperors and kinges, never head of in former Ages to make and depose them at his pleasure, with power to absolue subiects from their Oath of alegance, and like doctrynes depending therevpon. To which ende he /30/ raysed many bloody warrs against the Emperors of Germany, stirring vp their subiectes and very Children to rebell against them. Yet were not these thinges established but in long processe of tyme, and with many

²³⁷ On fol. 65 Moryson is more accurate when he says it was about 1152.

bloody warrs in most kingdomes of Christendome. Nether passed they without opposition of learned and godly men, whose bookes are extant vnto this day. The Bishopp Valtramus of Niemburg, the Bishop of Verodunum,²³⁸ Benno the Cardinall, and Sigebert, wrote expressly against the Popes /40/ ambition, in challening the temporall sworde, and power to obsolue subiectes from theire Oathes of obedience to theire Magistrates.²³⁹ The Bishope of Florence in the yeare. 1104. preached publikely that Antichrist was allready [was] come into the worlde. The Church of Leodium²⁴⁰ called Rome Babilon, and St Barnard,²⁴¹ liuing vnder the greatest tyranny of Rome, and in a blynd age, yet expressly called the Pope and his Bishops the ministers of Antichrist, and sayth that the Prelates were become Pylates. /50/ To be shorte, the Popes Hierarchy of spirituall and temporall power, was not fully established till about the yeare 1177 when Pope Alexander //

²³⁸ Verdun. *OL*

²³⁹ I have been unable to find Valtramus. There was a Benno who was Emperor Henry IV's military architect, and was rewarded with the Bishopric of Osnabrück. He evaded being present at the "deposition" of Hildebrand, Gregory VII, by hiding beneath the altar. See Davis, pp. 257, 258. Sigebert of Gembloux (c.1035 - 1112) was " a violent imperial partisan" who used his considerable intellect to defend masses by married priests, and in 1103 when Paschal II ordered the Count of Flanders to punish the citizens of Liège for imperial sympathies, Sigebert "attacked the proceedings of the pope as unchristian and contrary to the Scriptures." *CE*

²⁴⁰ Liège. *OL*

²⁴¹ St. Bernard of Clairvaux ?

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V. fol.443.
sett his feete on the necke of Fredericke Barbarossa
Emperor, from which yeare it had atyme of station, and a
tyme of falling, but in the greatest tyranny thereof there
never wanted learned and godly men to oppose the same. St
Hildegardis about the yeare 1180, and Otho Bishop of
Freeseland, inveighed much against the Popes,²⁴² and about
these tymes the Valdenses and the Albigenses fell from the
Roman church, and preached against the masse, Indulgences,
Purgatory, and many doctrynes of the same. A bout the yeare
/10/ 1200. these verses were written.

Roma diu titubans varijs erroribus acta

Corruet, et Mundi desinet esse caput.

Rome stumbling oft, in diuers errors dead

shall fall, and shall no more be the worlds head.

And this Ryme was written in a breuiary of monkes,²⁴³
against praying to Roman Saynts newe made.

Adiuent nos eorum merita

Quos propria impediunt scelera,

Excuset eorum intercessio /20/

Quos propria accuset actio.

May theire meritts for vs pleade grace;

²⁴² St. Hildegard (1098 - 1179) was a German abbess and mystic. EB Otto Bishop of Freising from 1138 - 1158 was the chronicler of the deeds of Frederick Barbarossa. BP

²⁴³ "2. R. C. Ch. The book containing the 'Divine Office' for each day, which those who are in orders are bound to recite." OED

whose foule Crimes doe themselues disgrace:

or Intercession vs excuse,

whose Actions themselues accuse.

Sinaldus Bishop of yorke wrote a booke to the Pope full of reproofe[s]²⁴⁴ William Occam after the yeare 1328. wrote much against the Pope, and feared not to dye excommunicated by him. Speculum Aureum about the yeare 1400. was written against /30/ the corrupt State of the Roman Church.²⁴⁵ The like may be sayd of Nicholas Clemangis of Paris in Fraunce, Laurentius Valla, Iohn De Vesalia, and many others opposing themselues in those tymes against the Church of Rome.²⁴⁶ About the yeare 1400. Iohn Wicliffe in England preached against the Romish doctrynes²⁴⁷ whome followed his

²⁴⁴ No Sinaldus is listed by CE as an Archbishop of York.

²⁴⁵ "The *Speculum aureum animae peccatricis*...has been attributed both to Denis the Carthusian and to James [Jacobus] de Gruytroede, who died in 1473. The earliest printed editions date from about 1477 - 80, but it could have been written at a much earlier date." BP

²⁴⁶ Nicholas Clemangis (c.1360 - 1440) was a French theologian. Lorenzo Valla (1405 - 1457) was a classicist and humanist at the Court of Alfonso of Aragon at Naples. Alfonso's difficulties in a war for Naples against Eugenius IV may have prompted the famous denunciation of the Donation of Constantine, and all papal pretensions to secular power. Pico della Mirandola (1463 - 1494) was a theologian and humanist philosopher. Hyamson, CE John of Wesel, Joannes [Ruchardus] de Vesalia was the author of *Adversus Indulgentias Disputatio*, and his *Paradoxa* were condemned at Mainz some time before 1535.

²⁴⁷ John Wycliffe (d.1384) the theologian and reformer was the spiritual ancestor of the Protestant movement. In his exaltation of the authority of the Bible, and in his insistence of the spiritual rather than real presence at the eucharist, and by his translation of the Bible into the

schollers Iohn Hus and Ierome of Prage in Bohemia, who were burnt by the Pope, against the publike Fayth and safeconduct of the Emperor, at the Councell of Constance in the yeare 1417. But the /40/ Bohemians theire schollers, shortly after extorted from the Pope the Communion of the Sacrament in both kyndes. The Corporall presence of Christ in the Sacrament of our lords Supper, called Transubstantiation, which first began to be disputed in Fraunce, about the yeare 1042, and from that tyme had beene left free, for [old] [all] men to beleue according to theire Conscience, was first made an Article of Fayth by the Councell of Constance in the yeare. 1417. Yet the Roman Church, vsing to boast of nothing so much /50/ as of Antiquity (which it falsely challengeth to it selfe) hath burned more Protestants for this Nouel //

fol.444. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chap.V

doctryne, then for all other points of Religion, vsing it as a snare to intangle them, since none of them, hauing any measure of loue to Gods truth, could be so grosse, as for feare to dissemble the beleefe thereof. Some fewe yeares before Luther, many vttered theire greefes against the tyranny and false doctrynes of Rome, as *Auentine* about the yeare 1500²⁴⁸ Franciscus Picus of Mirandula, and many

vernacular, the Protestants saw him as a true reformer. The Council of Constance ordered that his remains be burnt. *DNB*

²⁴⁸ Auentinus was the pen name of Johann Thurmair (1477 - 1534), a Grammarian and Historian. *BMGC*, Hyamson.

others And after luther began to preach Reformation, about the yeare 1517, more then halfe the Westerne /10/ Church, within fewe decades of yeares, fell from the Popes obedience. Finally I will only add one thing, worthy to be obserued. That howsoeuer the learned men of the Roman Church, ashamed and indeede not able, with any probability to iustifye some poynts of doctryne therein professed, and yet loth to withdrawe their assistance from so beneficiall a mother, in the questions of her dignity and power, and knowing that to yealde in any one point was to graunt that the Pope might err, and in effect to betray his /20/ cause, haue by subtile and obscure distinctions, so refyned the questions in controuersy since Luthers tyme, as only a payre of sheares may seeme to haue deuided them and the Protestants (as perticularly in the points of Iustification and pr<ay[h]>ing to Saynts,) yet at this day in Italy the practise of the layety is no lesse or more grosse, then euer it was in the blyndest tymes.

Chapter. VI.

Of Fraunce, England, Scotland /30/
and Ireland touching Religion.

{ m.n. 32. Of Fraunce. }

The Ancient Galls beleueed the transmigration of Soules from body to body with Pythagoras, and had Mercury for their cheefe God, yet vowed to Mars the spoyles taken in warr, wherein the least fraude was punished with death. Cæsar writes of two sortes of men among them in Authority, the horsemen or knights for the warr, and the Druydes for the seruice of their Gods, who vsed excommunication for the greatest punishment in cases of /40/ Religion, and were free from seruing in the warrs, but held it a thing most vnlawfull to committ their disciplyne to writing, le[a]st the Common people should knowe it, and lest them selues trustinge to writings, should lesse excercise their memoryes.¹ Towardes the fall of the first

¹ "Everywhere in Gaul there are only two classes of men who // are of any account or consideration....The two privileged classes are the Druids and the knights. The Druids officiate at the worship of the gods, regulate public and private sacrifices, and give rulings on all religious questions...Any individual or tribe failing to accept their award is banned from taking part in the sacrifice - the heaviest punishment that can be inflicted upon a Gaul...The Druids are exempt from military service and do not pay taxes like other citizens...//...The Druids believe their religion forbids them to commit their teachings to writing..." Caesar, pp. 139 - 141, Book VI. 13 and 14.

Empyre a bout the yeare of our lord 400. the Franckes, a people of Germany, invaded the Galls and Conquering them, grewe into one people with them, //

Booke III. Of Fraunce Touching Religion Chap Vi fol.445.

Calling the land Fraunce, and the people Franckes or French men. And the [And the] first Family of the Frence kings were called Merouingi or Merouians, wherof Clodoueus the first was Christined in the yeare of our lord 485. The kings of this Family rainging successiuelly to the yeare. 750. never heard of the Bishopp of Rome, for any spirituall or temporall power the Challenged ouer forayne Churches or Nations. But I haue formerly shewed, that as kings in ages following haue suffered much vnder the tyranny of those [Popes] Bishoppes or Popes, so themselues were the first /10/ that for their owne ambitious purposes, planted their power in the heartes of their subiectes, as nowe I will shewe in the perticular example of the French kings. For now the Popes of Rome had gotten great reputation at home and abroad, for holynes and for cherishing the power of kings, and for being makers of peace betweene Princes, and betweene them and their subiectes, when Pipin the Steuard of the kings house in Fraunce, had shauen his master Chilpericus the last king of the Merouians,² and putting him into a monasterye, vsurped that kingdome, of

² The Merovingians are also known as the long-haired kings, because it was a sign of their regality. To cut it was to deprive them of kingship, and reduce them to the rank of other men. See Davis, p. 113.

whome discend the Carolines being the second /20/ Family of the French kings. And at this the Pope of Rome oppressed by the kings of Lombardy in Italy, came into Fraunce to craue ayde against them, of whose sayd reputation for holines, Pipin was content to make vse, to Confirme (with a most pernicious example) the deposing of Chilpericus and his vsurpation, and to absolue the subiectes from their Oath of Aleagance to the deposed king. Shortly after king Charles the great made league with the Pope against the Lombards, wherby, (they being Conquered) he deuided Italy with the Pope, and by him was Crowned the first Emperor of the renewed /30/ Westernne Empire, From which tyme the French Emperors confirmed and deposed the Popes at their pleasure, and as the kings defended the Popes, so were they honored by them, and neuer troubled for any obedience required of the Popes from them, for many hundreths of yeares. King Lewis the seuenth, who dyed 1180, first suffered the Pope to persecute by his ministers with fyer and sworde the Abbigenses, a people in Fraunce fallen from the Roman Religion, and preaching a gainst the vsurped power and corrupt Doctrynes of that Church. The next king Phillip the second, had the first strife /40/ with Pope Innocent the Fourth, about spirituall power he chalenged in Fraunce.³ And Philip the sixth Crowned in the yeare 1328. despised the Popes power, for being excommunicated and

³ Moryson means Innocent III (1198 - 1216).

deposed by Pope Bonyface the Eighth, he revnged it by practising to haue the Pope killed in Italy, which he also effected.⁴ For in this age the Popes hauing subdued the Emperors of Germany, first began to trouble Fraunce, and other kingdomes, with theire vsurped power. And the French kinges, from this tyme supported themselues against the Popes attempts, partly by the foresayd liberty of the old /50/ Gallican Church, not depending vpon the Roman in the tyme of the first Family of the French kinges, and diffiring from //

folo.446. of Fraunce Touching Religion Chapt Vi

the Roman in many Ceremonyes to this day, and in many opinions, more spetially in that the French men of this faction mantayne the Popes to be subiect to generall councells, and haue often[ed] threatned the Popes, excercising theire vsurped power ouer that kingdome, to fall from his obedience, and make to themselues a Patriarke ouer the French church, which the Popes haue iustly feared, because some tymes (as at the Councell of Trent, and at the Popes delaying [t]his benediction to king Henry the Fourth) these threatnings wanted litle of being putt in execution. Nether is it strang that the /10/ old Church seruice in Fraunce should differ from that of Rome, since the history of Italy wittnesseth that in Italy it selfe, namely the

⁴ Moryson mixes his Philips. Philip IV (1285 - 1314) known as *le bel*, the Fair, attempted to arrest Boniface VIII at Anagni, and the Pope died days after. Waley, p. 54.

Cathedriall Church of Milan, they sing the Masse of St Ambrose to this day, much differing from the Roman, indeede only agreeing in the wordes of Consecration. Againe the kings supported themselues against the Popes, with the faction they had in the Colledge of Cardinalls, whereby they had power to chuse such a Pope as fauored the French nation. Besydes that in the frequent Schismes of the Roman church, when two or three Popes were chosen at conce,⁵ /20/ the French kings, ether had one of them a French man [and] and risiding in Fraunce, or at least mantayned one of them against the other. Agayne when soeuer the Popes troubled Fraunce, it hath beene a frequent practise of the kings, to [re...][renewe] the execution of the P[.]r[a]gmaticall sanction, by which Lawe, the Carrying of mony to Rome out of Fraunce was restrayned, and like prouisions made against the Popes Vsurpations and extortions in that kingdome.⁶ By these meanes, and espetially by hauing a strong party in the Cardinalls voy[c]es at Rome, the French kings supported them/30/selues against the Popes, till abut the yeare 1560. For howsoeuer the seede of the old reformed Albigenses began to spring vp in the tyme of king Fraunces the frist, when Luther first preached Reformation in Germany, yet the reformed churches in Fraunce were not growne to any strong

⁵ "Once".

⁶ Moryson refers to the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438, which gave the monarchy strong control over the Church. Such control was renewed by the Concordat of Amboise of 1472. Waley, pp. 244, 261.

head till about that yeare, at which tyme also the long Ciuill warrs began so to rend that kingdome, as the kings distraced at home, coulde not beare any sway in the Court of Rome, and the Popes began wholly to inclyne to the kings of Spayne whome they founde only able to supporte them, and to suppress /40/ the growing of the Reformed Churches to theire preiudice. The French Reformed Church in the infancy had many great and braue leaders to mantayne it, as the two kings of [Ne] Nauarra, two Princes of Conde, the Admirall Coligni, the Earl of Turine after made the Duke of Boulion, besydes many Barrons and gentlemen, so as in the Ciuill warrs they were able to stand with a litle support out of England, against the kings of Fraunce, and the full strength of the French league, with the ascistance of the Popes and kings of Spayne, and they were seldome beaten in the field, but only were broken /50/ by oppressions in the tyme of peace, and by massacres in perticular places, and espetially the generall bloody Massecar of the yeare 1572 begining at Paris, and spreading ouer the whole //

Booke III of Fraunce Touching Religion Chapter VI. fol.447. kingdome, which bloody act I wondered to see iustified and commended by a publike Monument in the Popes Palace at Rome. In the [sayd] Ciuill warr, Fraunce was rent with foure factions, the first of the Royalists, who being Papists, yet followed the king against the Pope. The second of the league, the third of Spayne, both adicted to the Pope, and sworne enemyes to the Protestants called

Hugonotts, and the Fourth of the reformed Church. And howsoever the last king of Nauar, forsaking the Reformed Religion, was Crowned king of Fraunce, and called Henry the Fourth, yet his only Sister /10/ marryed [to] the eldest sonne of the Duke of Lorayne, could by no inticements be brought to renounce the Reformed Religion, but [byt] dyed Constantly in the profession theireof. And this great king Henry the Fourth, though he professed to be a Papist, yet ever cherished those of the Reformed Religion, who had vpholden him against all his enemyes, and whome he still esteemed his Faythfull subiectes, so as at the day of his death he made good to them the edict of peace, by which they had liberty of Conscience, possession of strong townes, and (with many imunityes) were made capable of bearing offices, and /20/ receaving honors and preferments. The old Prophecyes that the yeare 1588. should proue wonderfull, caus[ing]<ed> great expectation, not without feare in the hearts of many when the tyme drewe neere, espetially when they considered the Spanish Nauie prepared for the invasion of England, and the distracted State of Fraunce. Most of the Papist thought these Prophecyes tended to the ruinne of the Reformed Church in Fraunce and of England supporting it, which [in] my opinion had beene no wonder, that a handfull of weake men should haue beene swallowed vp by innumerable strong enemyes. But /30/ the true event made the yeare truely wonderfull. For towards the end thereof, England had the victory against the

Spanish Nauie, and within fewe monthes after, Fraunce, by the death of the Duke of Guise, the Cardinall his brother, and the Queene mother, began to resume strength in the kinges authority and power growing daly greater, and the Reformed Church began to be established in that kingdome. So as I thincke it may truely be sayde, that the wheele of the affayres of Christendome turned that yeare on the Protestants syde, who hauing beene formerly reputed by /40/ theire enemyes no better then heritikes or traytors, and for such persecuted by them, from that tyme began, if not to be feared, surely not to be dispised nor rashly to be provoked, but rather to haue theire amity and league required by theire aduersaryes. Yet for Fraunce (whereof I now write) at the tyme of my being in those partes ([as] whereof I write and desyre to be vnderstood) the number of the Protestants was farr inferior to that of the Papists, scarce one for twenty, and they were scattered in all parts of that kingdome, only in Poictou /50/ almost all, and halfe Gasconie, were Protestants, and in //

{ c.w. Languedocke, }

fol.448. Booke III of Fraunce Touching Religion Capt Vi.
languedocke, normandie, and other west ma[.]ritined¹
Provinces, they had a strong party, as allso in many partes within land, so as they, seemed not to feare open force, but rather massacres and doutfull Conditions of peace,

¹ Maritime ?

restrayning their publike exercise of Religion, and depriving them of preferments and bearing of offices, which had formerly beene fatal to them. But at that tyme they had many townes strongly fortified, and bare great offices of dignity and profitt in that kingdome, and had yearely Synodes or assemblies /10/ to certifie the affayres of Religion. And as the Reformed people were warlike, so they were thought to haue the best leaders or Captaynes of Fraunce, wherof three were [...ed] eminent persons, besydes many gentlemen not so eminent but no lesse practised in warr. But the greatest advantage they had, was that many of their adversaries [y] bare good affection to them, and the rest were much deuided among themselues. For of the Papists, many helde with the foresayd Galican Church, defending generall Councells to be aboue /20/ the Popes, and differing in Church seruice from the Roman, and in many thinges agreeing with the Greekes, which men were not like to desyre the rooting out of the Protestants. Agayne a second sort called Parliament Catholikes, consisting of more then three parts of the learned, espetically lawyers, held the Religion of Rome to be true, yet full of errors in doctryne and manners, and the Pope to be Antichrist, setting in the Temple of God by his dispencing with Oathes, and many points of Gods lawe, by his pardons, and /30/ espetically by his arrogating to himselfe that he cannot err, and these men were like to be no deadly enemyes to the Reformed Church. The third sort called Royallists, reputed

a third part of the Papists in that kingdome, hated the vsurpation of the Pope, and the Ambition of Spayne, more then they hated the Protestants, yea rather loued them for being enemyes to both the other. The fourth faction of morall men and louers of peace, professed that the Protestants held all the Articles of the Creede and fundamentall pointes of Religion, and /40/ therefore were rather to be Confuted by disputation for their errors of opinion, and to be won[n]e by fayre meanes, then to be destroyed by fyre and sworde. The fifth sort called leaguers, were great in number, hauing great Princes for their leaders. But these Princes had ambition rather then Religion for their end, the edge whereof was abated with ill successe, and for the rest consisting for the most parte of the Common people, though they hated the Protestants only for Religion, and were (according to their nature) soone prouoked by the Fryers to /50/ // Booke III of Fraunce Touching Religion Chapt Vi. folo 4[8]49.

seditions and tumults against them, yet the Protestants feared them not for open force in Armes. The cheefe of the Clargy in Fraunce of old had great Reuenues and large Iurisdictions, but since the foresayd Ciuill warrs the Courtyers and Soldyers were rewarded out of spirituall liuings, an<d> [that] it seemes that among the Papists the rents of the Clergy are ill diuided, for the meaner sort of Priests were poorer then any man would expect in so great

and rich a kingdome. In like sort fewe of theire Churches were of any stately /10/ buylding, and the best of them seeme to haue beene built by the English, being in those Provinces which of old were long subiect to England. The Reformed Churches followe the rule of Caluins dotryne, of which I haue spoken in the discourse of Germany, Sweitzand,⁸ and Netherland, shewing how it differs from the doctryne of Luther, about the presence of our lord in the Sacrament, and other pointes, I will only add, that it reiects all, euen the most allowable Ceremonyes of the Roman Church, and all kynde of Pictures and Images in the Church. It /20/ alloweth not the name or dignity of lords Bishopps, but in place of them hath superintendants, to whome they giue moderate yearely Pensians, and the Causes of the Bishopps Concistoryes are determined by the Elders, Consisting of some cheefe ministers and [a] lay men. And as the Roman Church, blynded the world by the ignorance of the Clargy, so this Reformed Church affectes nothinge more, then to haue alearned & honest Preacher in every Parish, which is hindred by nothing more then by old Alienations of benefices appropriated /30/ by the Roman Church, to Colleges, and Cathedriall Churches. Lastly the reformed are very strict in the Censure of manners, forbidding daunces and restrayning the peoples liberty in sports and conversation. To conclude, great and wise men of that

⁸ Hughes changes to "Sweitzerland", p. 284.

Reformed Church haue freely sayd, that this stricknes in manners, the taking away [all] all Ceremonyes, and the disallowing of Bishoppes, haue greatly hindred the increase of the Reformed Church, which was like ere this tyme to haue prevayled throughout all Fraunce, if in these thinges they had followed in /40/ some good measure the Reformation established in England.

{ m.n. 43, 44. England and Scotland. }

For England and Scotland I will referr the discourse of Religion to that of the Commonwealth to be more exactly writen in a treatise seuered from this worke. In the meane tyme giue me leaue ingenerall to remember the reader, that the learned Antiq[uity][uary] master Camden playnely shewes, that the Brittans were Converted to Christianity in the first age of the Church, hauing then many learned and godly monkes, but farr /50/ differing from the Romish Monkes of the last ages, as I shall breiefely shewe in the following discourse of //

{ c.w. Ireland. And that }

fol.450. Boo[o]ke III of England and Scotland touching Religion Cap Vi

Irland, and that Austines sending from Rome to instruct Britany [as][was] long after in the tyme of the Saxon kings, being Idolaters when they invaded this kingdome. And that our historyes shewe, that in the tyme of these kings the Romish supersticions first infected these partes, many

of them builded Monasteryes to expiate Murthers, and themselves for deuotion voluntarily left their kingdome to become monkes. But the vsurped power of the Popes first began to truble our kinges some yeares after the Conquest of the Normans. From which tyme the lawe /10/ of Mortmaine was made to restrayne the Couetousnes of the Clargy, getting the possession of temporall landes, for which by the Popes priuilege they did no service to the kings. And sometymes our kings forbad the exporting of mony to Rome. And because the Popes Legates vsed to trouble the kingdome, with extortions vpon the subiect, and doing many thinges in preiudice of the kings, they sometymes forbadd the Comming ouer of these legates while they were yet in the way beyonde the Seaes, except they would take an oath, that they brought nothinge, nor would attempt any /20/ thinge, to the preiudice of the king or kingdome, and in like sort forbad any man to bring into the kingdome any bulls purchased at Rome, to disturbe the Realme, or particular men, by drawing suites of lawe to Rome. In which historyes an Authour of our tyme hath well obserued, that our king Edward the third Cursed by the Pope, had good successe in his warrs, against the Scotts hauing the Popes benediction, and on the Contray, that our king Edward the second and Richard the second, hauing the Popes benediction, had ill successe, against the Scottes being vnder his Curse. /30/ To which I will only add in generall, that the English were allwayes Religiously affected, and while they were obedient

to the Pope, yealded him in proportion more profitt then any other kingdome. That the haue built and founded more Stately and rich Monasteries, Colleges, Vniversities and Cathedriall Churches, then any other nation, yea that the building of many Common Churches (peticularly in Lincolnshyre) cost more then all the houses of the towne. And I may boldly say that England hath more Bells, and of greater price, then any three kingdomes, if not then all /40/ the worlde besydes. To which giue me leaue to add the old and laudable Custome of England, to toll a Bell when any one lyeth at the pointe of death, to remember all men to pray for him, as the proper tyme when prayers may avayle him, namely while he yet liueth.⁹ To conclude these generall Remembrances, I thincke that nothings in our age hath more pinched the Papists then our gracious Soueraignes wise invencion of the Oath of Aleagiance, For when they suffered for the [of] Oath of supremacy, they had pretence

⁹ Moryson is contrasting Anglican with Catholic custom. Catholics pray for the dead in chantries. About 1623 when Moryson wrote this, John Donne was very ill, probably with a fever, perhaps with the plague. Donne thanks God for the lesson of the tolling of the "passing" bells, (rung for those passing from life to a better place). "That which rung yesterday, was to convay him out of the *world*, in his *vaunt*, in his soule: that which rung to day, was to bring him in his *Reare*, in his *body*, to the *Church*; And this continuing of ringing after his *entring*, is to bring him to mee in the *application*." This application is for the hale, and for the sick, to think upon the dying and the dead. The custom adds further reverberation to the famous lines, "And therefore never send to know for whom the *bell* tolls; It tolls for thee." See John Donne, *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, edited by Anthony Raspa (London, 1975), pp. 84, 87.

thereby, as for a point of Religion, to be /50/ made Martyrs. But howsoever the Pope hath made it an Article of Fayth, that he may depose kings and absolue subiectes from the Oath of Alleagence, yet I thinck fewe learned and godly Papists would be content to suffer for that new and strange Article of Fayth. //

Booke III. of [England] and [Scotland] [Ireland.] touching Religion Chap.VI fol.451.

{ m.n. 2. Ireland. }

Touching Ireland, for the tymes whereof I write, namely the raigne of the late famous Queene Elizabeth, I may say in generall, that the state of Religion was the bane of the publike State, Causing Alienation of myndes in the Irish from the English, from whence came seditions and Rebelions, as appeares by the second part of this worke, for how should they liue in peace vnder the government of the English, from whome they differed extremely in language, Apparrell, manners, and espetially in Religion, whereof I must nowe write, as I haue /10/ formerly of the rest, in the former Chapter of the Irish Commonwealth. And this point [I] will handle as breefly as I can. The Roman Church, out of Rufinus, would proue that they first in Asia Converted the Irish to Christianity.¹⁰ But the worthy

¹⁰ Rufinus Tyrannius (c.345 - 410), priest of Aquileia was the translator of many of the Church Fathers, Origen, Clement, Basil and Gregory Nazianus from Greek into Latin. I owe this information to Rev. J. Clifford Culshaw.

Antiquary Camden wittneth the Contrary, saying that Pope Cælestine, abut the yeare of our lord 431. sent the Bishop Palladius into Ireland, whome Nennius writeth to haue dyed in Britany, and to haue performed nothing in the Conversion of the Irish for which he was sent.¹¹ He addeth that /20/ Patricke a monke of Britany (which nation was Converted to Christianity in the first age of the Church) passed ouer into Ireland, [and.] and converted that nation, about the yeare 44i. And so deserued to be called the Appostle of th[at]e [nationn] Irish, And that the Monckes of Britanny, Scotland and Ireland weare in those daies most holy and learned men soe as they weare worthie Authors of spreadinge that professionn through all Europe. But withall he expresly saith that the Monckes of those tymes, much differed from those of fo<llowin>g adges and much more from those of our last adges. For those Monckes of ould desired /30/ to be such as they seemed and weare reputed havinge noe hipocrisy in them, soe as if they erred in any[thine][thinge] it was of symplicity not of mallice,

¹¹ "These Scots, not many years after, were converted to Christianity in Ireland; though they would have that story in *Rufinus* concerning the conversion of the *Hiberi* in Asia, to be meant of them. Then also Palladius the Bishop was sent to them by Pope Celestinus...Yet Ninnius says, that nothing was effected by Palladius, being snatch'd away by an untimely death..." Camden, p. 968. Nennius (c.790) is best known for the history of Arthur, and was the traditional author of *Historia Britonum*, one of Geoffrey of Monmouth's sources. I owe this information to Reverend J. Clifford Culshaw.

much lesse of obstinacy.¹² They soe Contemned riches and things of this world, as they not only Coveted not them, but also refused them, beinge offred for the present, or for inheritance (as hee also saith the Bishopps of those tymes to haue bynn soe poore, and such Contemners of Ricches, as they had noe propriety in the wealth of this world¹³) hee addes that those holy Monckes, especially of the Irish nation, attended only the seruice of God in the ancient English or /40/ Brittish monastery of Glastenbury, where they weare mainteyned by Stipendes from the Kinges, and instructed younge schollers in godlines and the liberall sciences:¹⁴ vntill at last Dunstan a bould and Crafty [man] insynuatinge himself by ill artes in[to] the fauor of Princes, did cast those holy men out of that Monastery abowte the yeare 950, and settled in their place a great multitude of Benedictyne Monckes of a latter institution, makinge himself Abbott over them, which Monckes from that tyme gott very ricch inheritance, and

¹² "This monastick profession, now in its infancy, was much different from this of our age. They endeavour'd to be what they profess'd; and were above dissimulation and double dealing. If they erred, it was through simplicity, and not through lewdness or double dealing." Camden, p. 969.

¹³ "*The Bishops of Britain in the Council holden at Rhimini were maintained by the publick, having nothing of their own to live upon.*" Camden, p. 969.

¹⁴ "In those early times, several very devout persons serv'd God here, and especially Irish, who were maintain'd at the King's charge, and instructed the youth in Religion and the liberal sciences." Camden, p. 64.

ruled over all the adioyninge pertes.¹⁵ For at that tyme the English Saxon kinges soe much esteemed Monckish life, as with incredible expence they not only built very many Monasteries //

fol.452. Booke III of Ireland touching Religion Chapt VI in England, but many of them became monkes, preferring that life to theire Scepters. Touching the State of monkes ingenerall through Christendome, the old writers affirme, that one Paulus, about the yeare. 256, first tooke vpon him to liue a solitary life,¹⁶ after which, some Companies liuing together, only attending prayers, fastings, and the Studies of learning, drewe that life into generall estimation, and the persecutions of those tymes invited many to that course of life, which at first was simple, and free, not bound by any Vowes, or to /10/ any fastings or like rules of life, but euery man had power to leaue that Course, and retorne to his former State of life at his pleasure Basill the great made Bishop of Cæsarea about the yeare 365, being offended with the Corruptions and dissolute disaplyne of the Church, retyred to solitary

¹⁵ Moryson loses Camden's irony. "But at length, Dunstan, a man of excellent wit and judgment, after his reputation of sanctity and learning had given him access to the conversation of Princes, instead of these brought in Monks of a newer Order, namely, *Benedictines*, and was himself first made Abbot over that large body settl'd there: and these by the bounty of good and pious Princes, got so much wealth as even exceeded that of Kings." p. 64.

¹⁶ *CE* suggests that St Anthony was the first monk, withdrawing from the world in 270.

life, and is sayd first to haue bound his Monkes, that if after one yeare they would still liue in a Monastery, then they should vowe to liue chastely, to possesse nothing, and to obserue his written rules, for which he is reputed the Authour of /20/ monkish life. Nazianzen sonne to the Bishop of that name, and borne, about the yeare. 370, did likewise imbrace solitarines, and write Rules of this solitary life, from whence his Father recalled him, and made him Prist, but he returned agayne to the Monastery, from whence he was after chosen Bishop.¹⁷ To the foresayd tyme of Dunston, Cathedriall Churches, the seates of Bishops, were at first possessed by Priests and Canons, into which Monkes [the.] then began first to intrude, as more holy, for the Vowe of Chastity, /30/ then the Priests which were then maryed, and so to be preffered, which after bea¹⁸ no smale Contentio[n][tion] betweene them. To Conclude this point it appears that the first Monkes, howsoeuer they liued asolitary life, yet were laymen and forbidden by the Councell of Calcedon to medle with Ecclesiasticall matters, and were not bound to any rules of Dyett, Apparell, or like things, nether was maryage forbidden to them, though some did freely chuse to liue vnmaryed, so as wee reade many of them to haue had wiues and Children, As Camden wittneseth,

¹⁷ St Basil the Great (329 - 379) Bishop of Caesarea from 370, and "Father of Oriental monasticism", was merely a friend of Gregory of Nazianus (325 - 389), who wrote a eulogy of him. CE

¹⁸ Bred ?

/40/ and Athanasius, who in his Epistle to Dracontius sayth, he had seene many Monkes and Bishops maryed, and hauing Children.¹⁹ But I will retorne to the State of Religion in Ireland, from alittle before the last Rebellion of Tyron to the end thereof.²⁰ The Clergy ingenerall, but espetiall among the meere Irish, was infected with Symony, Covetousnes, Incontinency, Idlenes, and all the Vices of a Corrupt Church. The Irish ingenerall, aswell the meere Irish, as the old English [Irish], and espetially the newe English Irish, planted in Mounster after the Rebellion of [the] Desmound, were all /50/ obstinate Papists, and fewe came to Church, saue the //

Booke III of Ireland touching Religion Chapt VI. fol 453. English governors, gentlemen, and Soldyers, newly come ouer into that kingdome. And this generall Corruption was by the wiser sorte not somuch imputed to the inhabitants, who for the most part seemed tractable by good meanes, as to want

¹⁹ Camden mentions the imposition of celibacy on the priesthood on pp. 27, 519 and 547. Protestants never used to tire of pointing out that celibacy was a church rule imposed with indifferent success, at the times when ambitious Popes were trying to differentiate between laymen and clergy. In the time of Athanasius (328 - 373), Bishop of Alexandria, marriage was not forbidden to priests in the Eastern Church. By the fifth century it had come to expect bishops, but not lower clergy, to leave their wives. See Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (Harmondsworth, 1967), pp. 175, 240.

²⁰ Moryson means that he is referring to the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. Hugh Earl of Tyrone (1545 - 1616) became the O'Neale in 1593 when he ousted his uncle. From that time onwards relations with the English deteriorated.

of Care in the cheefe English gouernors, who to that tyme had taken litle or no ca.[r]e to haue them instructed in Religion, and reduced to Ciuill manners without which no subiectes vse to be long Contayned in due obedience. For the wilde Irish, they were of the Romish Religion which they had sucked from theire nurses, and so must needes be, except the would be /10/ Atheists, hauing neuer beene taught the Reformed Religion. Yet in the end of the warr, the Itinerant Iudges sent about the kingdome, founde them so affected, as they thought them tractable, if care were taken to instruct them. The newe English Irish planted after the Rebellion of Desmound in Mounster, were found to be of all other the most obstinate Papists. For those Signoryes being giuen to English Courtyers and gentlemen, they went not ouer to inhabitt them (according to the purpose of the State) but many solde or lett them to farme, to such Papists and ill affected men in Religion, as /20/ for obstinacy being dayly questioned in England, were like to giue most for habitations in that place of liberty, where they not only remayned obstinate, but confirmed others in the Romish Religion, and fauored vnderhand the Rebells more then the English forces. For the old English Irish planted in all the Cittyes and many Countryes of that kingdome, they were generally Papists, for litle care had beene taken to teach them, and lesse to bring them to Church to be taught, so as in the cheefe Citty of Dublin, where the lord Deputy, by his guard, the Castle, and

Mutlitudes of English daily /30/ reparing thether, out of England and from all parts of that kingdome, had allway power to command the towne, yet the Cittisens being English Irish, were generally Papists, and fewe or none came to Church, yea the very Maior and some fewe of his bretheren, which were tyed by old Ceremony of State, to attend the lord Deputy at Church, had [in] their eares stopped with woll, least they should heare the seruice & Sermons, Notwithstanding it is most Certayne, that generally all the Papists in Ireland (as allso in England) came ordinarily to the Church seruice of the Protestants, till about the yeare /40/ 1572. For about that tyme the Pope first resolued to sett the marke of the Beast vpon the forehades 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. From which tyme, though most of them knewe our Church seruice, and I haue heard many of them freely confesse that they could [not] except against nothinge therein, the same being all taken out of the old Roman lythurgy, only omitting prayers to Saynts, and like superstitions, //

fol.454. Booke III of Ireland touching Religion Chap.Vi. which they that listed might performe at home, yet it was more easy, for the foresayd reasons, to bring a Beare to the stake, then any one of them to our Churches. I haue heard some of the most learned among them alledge other reasons of this generall obstinacy, namely that after the

foresayd tyme, the high Commissionors calle[d][ing] many into question, released²¹ them after for mony, and after fewe monthes questioned them agayne, and in like sort released them, vsing that power rather to impouerish then to reforme them, which first wrought in their heartes an /10/ hatred of the gouernment, and in tyme adetestation of our Religion, which they called Vendible. But wee by experience found many other true reasons of this obstinacy. As first vicious shamefastnes whereby many that could not deny the truth of our Religion, yet shamed to leaue the Roman, which all their frends and kinsmen professed, who would [n]ever after hate there persons, and avoyde their Company. Agayne the respect of profitt, and meanes to to liue Comfortably, since tradesmen becomming of the Reformed Church, lost the Custome of all Papists, who /20/ would neuer after buye any thinge of them, and man of other Conditions were not only depriued of any meanes or releefe they might expect from their frendes, but were most hated and Molested by them. Yea the Papists generally were so malitious against their Country men turning Protestants, as they not only in life Maligned them, but vpon their death bedds and in the hower of death, denied them releefe or rest, keeping meate and all thinges they desyred from them, and the wemen and Children continually pinching and disquieting them when they would take rest, that they /30/

²¹ Hughes amends to "released", p. 286.

might thereby force them to turne Papists agayne. So as I haue knowne a Governour forced to appointe men to keepe a sicke Protestant, from these tormentors, and Priests, and to see all necessaryes ministred to him. To which I may add, that the Irish could alledge many examples, of men of good Condition and estate, who hauing turned Protestants, were not cherished and incorraged by our cheefe Gouvernors, but rather left by them to perish by the former & like meanes. Besydes these thinges swaying the myndes of perticular men from vs, many generall abuses corrupted the generall /40/ State of the Church in those tymes. First the meere Irish lords kept most of the Eccles[t]iasticall Benefices in theire handes, leauing nothing to mantayne any Protestant Incumbent sent thither by the State, but rather mantayning with them theire owne Popish ignorant and base Priests. For such were both sortes liuing vnder them, whome they, out of a wicked Custome or tyrannicall rule of their barbarous Brehowne lawe,²² and Contrary to the receaved lawe of England, continually [opp] oppressed, no lesse then their laye vassals, with Impositions at their pleasure (vulgarly called Cuttings) & like extortions, /50/ thincking it no fault but rather a meritorious act to // Booke III of Ireland touching Religion Chapt. Vi. fo 455. [defende] defraude and allso oppresse the Protestant ministers sent among them. Indeede the lawes of England,

²² The native Irish law, from *breathamb* a judge. *OED*

had in those dayes so litle swaye in theire Countryes, as our Ministers could not safely liue there, where a valiant English Captayne with his Armed Company of Foote could not safely liue without some temporising and applying himselfe to theire humors. So as it was no [maruall] maruayle they oppressed the clergy vnder them by Cuttinges and extortians no lesse then theire lay vassalls, and kept spirituall liuings in theire handes without /10/ mantayning any minister, or doing any Religious duty, as Almes, hospilality and the like. Yea the Court of [Fal] Faculties in those dayes vsed to dispence with lay persons tho vnqualified, to possesse Benefices for the vse of Childrens education, who notwithstanding were trayned vp in Spayne and Flaunders, not in our schooles or vniversities, nether in those dayes was there any Booke of Rates for benefices to the great preiudice of the State and subiectes. Many gentlemen of the English Irish held by inheritance Impropriations not indowed with any /20/ vicarages. Many held Benefices graunted to them vnder the great Seale for life or Tearme of yeares (wherof I haue knowne one man to haue sixteene in one graunt by letters Pattents) Others by right of Patronage to bestowe spirituall liuings, held them in theire owne handes. And none of these had any the least care to prouide Preachers or Readers for these benefices, nether were they bounde by theire graunts and tenors so to

doe.²³ Yea in the latter tymes wherof I write, some founde a newe tittle (as newe vices gett newe names) whereby to hold spirituall /30/ liuings, vsing them no better then the former, manely by Custodium or keeping dureing pleasure.²⁴ It is incredible, but most true, that the Clergy of those tymes was not wanting to sett forward the generall corruption of the Irish Church. ministers were hardly founde, so as many great congregations euen among the English wanted Pastors, and the Bishopps were forced for the most part to tolerate ignorante persons, men of scandalous life, yea very Popish readers, rather then Parishes should want not only diuine seruice but the vse of baptisme Buiriall, mariage and the lords Super. /40/ which the Papists did often cast in our teeth, saying it was better to haue the Roman Masse, then no seruice at all, as in many of our Churches. Many who came ouer out of England, if they taught well in pulpitt, gaue ill example in life. The ministers which Ireland had, were blamed for not caring how many benefices they had, nor how remote they were one from the other. Yea the Bishops were no lesse worthy of blame in this kynde. For my selfe knewe one not very learned. Nor much approved for his life, who hauing beene

²³ "I. 1. a. In technical legal use (as in Fr.) implying the actual wording of a document..."

²⁴ Hughes changes to "namely", p. 288. Does *custodium* mean into guardianship ? The 'm' of the accusative case implies movement towards or into. It is probably another technical legal term so beloved by Moryson, for it is certainly not Classical Latin. FB

a Fryer, and turning Protestant had three /50/
Bishopricks, besydes many benefices of the best.²⁵ Both
ministers and Bishops non resident sent to their remote
liuings only Proctors²⁶ to gather their tythes and
profitts. //

fol.456. Booke III of Ireland touching Religion Cap. VI.
And as the Bishops abused their Iurisdiction, accounting
it a yearely Rent, so their Proctors, espetically in the
remote partes of the North, abused it much more, not
shaming to imitate the Priests of the barbarous Irish, who
vsed to take a Cowe of maryed people, and two Cowes of the
vnmaryed yearely, as a penalty of incontynency though no
such fault could be proued against them, and [now] [more],
(according to their pleasure), of those who were indeede
guilty, and that without Citation or Conviction by course
of lawe. It is strang²⁷ but most true, that our Bishops,
in places where themselves /10/ were resident, did followe
the meere Irish lords in extorting vpon the Clergy vnder
them. To which purpose my selfe did heare a Bishop say,
that he desyred not to haue learned ministers or men of
quality in his diocesse because he he Could not make so

²⁵ Moryson may be referring to Myler McGrath, the
Archbishop of Cashel, whose is called by W. L. Renwick in
his Commentary on Spenser's *State* a "sheer rogue." p. 180.

²⁶ A form of "procurator", an agent. See *OED* n. 1. 2.

²⁷ The number of minims is awry. "Straunge" is surely
intended.

much profitt of them, as he might of thers.²⁸ Both Bishopes and ministers did lett long leases of their landes and benefices (wherin they were not then restrayned by any lawe) and so all spirituall liuings were made vncomptent to mantayne worthy Incumbents. The Churches throughout the kingdome, did threaten ruine, /20/ yea in most places not only the Common but those of fayrest building were fallen to the grounde. The very Church of Armach famous in old tymes for the seate of that Archbishopp, Primate of that kingdome, was in those tymes ruined, and lay more like a stable then a Church. To which filthynes also all Churches ingenerall were subiect, except some fewe kept in cheefe Cittyes for the vse of the English. The Iesuites and Roman Priests swarmed in all places,²⁹ filling the houses of lordes, gentlemen, and espetilly Cittisens [C..[i]sans], and dominering in them, as they might well doe, /30/ for howsoeuer the men grewe weary of them, they had the wemen on their sydes. And these men were the bane [not][...] only of the Commonwealth (as I haue formerly shewed) but more spetially of the Church, obdurating³⁰ all the subiects in disobedience to the English Magistrates, confirming them

²⁸ Hughes amends to "others", p. 289.

²⁹ The image of Catholics swarming like insects in dirt is a familiar Protestant one. See Loyola's speech in Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, edited by J. W. Harper, The New Mermaids (London, 1966), Induction.

³⁰ "1. trans. To make obdurate, to harden in wickedness, or against moral influence..." *OED*

in superstition and blynde obedience to the Pope, reducing those that were ready to fall from them, perverting those that were wavering, and Cementing the disvnited affections of Rebels. The Children of lords gentlemen and cheefe Cittisens were for the most part brought vp in Spayne or Flaunders, for nether /40/ Ireland had Scholemasters of the Reformed Religion, nor would the Irish then haue sent theire Children to any such. The Monkes which had long beene rooted out of England, yet liued still in some parts of Ireland, wearing theire habitt and hauing their Crownes shaued, as at Donnegall in the North, and in Kerry and those parts of the South. The Monasteryes of Ireland (as of England) in the tyme of king Henry the eight were invested in the Crowne, yet [in Ireland] they were never seased for the king, nor putt in charge among the kings Reuenues, but some were giuen in Custodium /50/ (or keeping during pleasure) to great Irish lords, who being Papists, still permitted those Idle l[a][u]bbers³¹ to liue in theire old nests, some other were passed in bookes //

Booke III of Ireland touching Religion Chapt VI. fol.457 for inheritance of priuate men, and at such lowe rates, vnder pretence of wast, as the kings Reuennue was litle or nothings increased by the [ref....d][reserued] Rents therof.

³¹ "1. a. A big, clumsy, stupid fellow; esp. one who lives in idleness; a lout..." OED

Touching Reformation, giue me leaue first to Remember the generall Iudgment for like cases, of the late reverent Bishop of london Doctor king, in his seuenth lecture vpon Ionah, Fayth Commeth (sayth he) rather by perswasion then by Compulsion.³² Therefore first sp[e]ake to the Conscience by good Counsell, but if the eare of the Conscience be stopped with [x] wax, shake the whole house about [ther]her, and rayse her vp, speake to /10/ the eares, of the body, inheritance, liberty, lett the bodie tell the Conscience, I am afflicted, the inheritance, I am diminished, liberty I am restrained, for thy sake. But you will say that some men are [not] bettered hereby. Shall wee therefore, sayth Augustine, reiect the Phisicke, because the sicknes of some is incurable. And for the better [m.....] managing of the whole cause, he addeth his Iudgment. If they were terrifyed, and not taught, It would seeme tyranny: Agayne if taught and not terrifyed, it would harden them in an inveterate Custome, and make them more sluggish to receave theire salvation. As for that /20/ obiection of liberty of Conscience, he Answerth it in an

³² John King (1559 - 1621), was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford from 1607 until 1610, and Bishop of London from 1611. He was also the father of the poet and bishop, Henry. *DNB* His *Lectvres vpon Ionas delivered in the yeare of our Lorde 1594* (Oxford, 1597), [STC 14976], were reprinted five times thereafter. The passages that Moryson quote begin, "Advise will do more then threatning, & faith commeth rather by perswasion, then by compulsion, I grant it." p. 112. Moryson continues verbatim with a few omissions of allusions. In King's original it is "this" rather than "his Iudgment" on line 17.

other place, It is in vayne that thow sayest, leaue mee to my free will, for why proclaymest thou not liberty in homicides, and whoredomes aswell. God hath giuen indeede free will vnto man (free from Coaction³³) but it was not his will, meane tyme, that either the good will of man should be without fruite, or his euill without punishment. Turtullian is of the same mynd with Augustine, &c. He that hath a phrensie, must be bound, and he that hath a Lethurgy, must be prickt vp. If I were worthy to giue aduise, I would haue a writer goe with /30/ his inkhorne from man to man, and marke them in the foreheades that mourne for the wellfare of our Realme, and as bond men to their brethren, they should hewe wood and drawe water to the house of Israel, as Ios[.][u]ah vsed the Gibeonites for their guile.³⁴ Wee nurse vp Lyons whelpes for our owne ouerthrowe. Wee play too boldly at the holes of Asspes;³⁵ Wee embolden the faces, encourage the heartes, strengthen the handes of our enemyes. The cause is the lordes, lett vs Vindicate his dishonour. These are the wordes of that

³³ "I. 1. a. Compulsion." *OED*

³⁴ "And the Princes saide vnto them againe, Let them liue, but they shall hewe wood, and drawe water vnto al the Congregation, as the Princes appoint them." Joshua 9. 21. Thus the Gibeonites were made perpetual bondmen. Moryson is using scripture to justify English policies towards the Irish.

³⁵ "And the sucking childe shall play vpon the hole of the aspe..." Isaiah 11. 8. "The whole chapter needs to be read to get the flavour of the allusion." Reverend J. Clifford Culshaw, to whom I owe its identification.

Reverent Father. For my part, I am farr from the /40/
opinion that Reformation should be wrought by [f. ee] fyre
and sword, but only in cases of extremity, and I thincke
the fore sayd abuises will teach vs both myld and safe
meanes of Reformation. The generall Corruption of the
Clergy in that tyme, the obstinacy of the meere Irish and
English Irish in not comming to Church, and the imputation
thereof espetically layd on the former governors and
magistrates, might remember those that succeeded, carefully
to send ouer godly and learned Bishops and ministers, and
to send them more in Number and better in quality, /50/
because the deluge of the Roman Church was so strong and so
vniversall, the rather to vindicate theire owne honour from
the Iust Censure of posterity. Agayne the tractablenes //
fol.458. Booke III of Ireland touching Religion Chapt VI.
of the wyld Irish,, and the raigning of Popery in the
cheefe Citty of that kingdome, vnder the lord Deputies eyes
and eares to knowe it, and vnder the power of his handes to
reforme it, might Remember those that succeeded, to teach
the first, to Curbe the second, and in like occasions of
planting Colonyes, to send ouer men better affected, and
for the third to be ashamed to suffer it any longer. Agayne
the generall Conformity of the Papists in comming to our
Churches till the Contrary was Commaunded by the Pope, and
the Popes setting the marke of the Beast vpon the /10/
foreheades of his followers by this Commaunde, might
remember those that succeeded to knowe that this Comming to

Church was not with them a case of Conscience in Religion, but rather a question of outward Alleagance and obedience, Wherein the Iust power of the magistrate at home, was strongly to be opposed, against the Popes forayne and vsurped powe, and therefore to marke them with a blacke Coale of suspected subiectes. Who should be obstinate in yealding this obedience to the Popes Commaund.³⁶ Agayne the disgracefull and poore estate of Converted Protestants /20/ in those tymes, and the Papists malicious impoverishing and persecuting them, might remember those that succeeded, to obserue two pointes of wise policy. First to cherish those that turned Protestants, in prefering them to offices and dignities in the Commonwealth and Church, and giuing them them fauor and priuiledges in all courses of honor and profitt, or at least preseruing them (for examples sake if not for Conscience) from perishing or comming to extreme misery, espetically by the practises of those that should magligne them only for the Cause of Religion. Secondly to keepe a /30/ straight hand ouer obstinate and Ringleading Papists,, by keeping from them all offices, dignities, and espetically places of Magistracy, in the Commonwealth or Church, (as wee reade the Emperor Charle the great to haue

³⁶ The black coal may be charcoal. A similar expression is still in use when we talk of a "black mark". Moryson may consciously be invoking a mental picture of the coals of hellfire that await obstinate Papists.

done among the Rebellious Lombards³⁷) by laying on them the burthen of p^enall lawes, as Fynnes imposed for not Comming to Church, by taking from them all priuiledges of trafficke, by forbidding them the professions of lawe and Phisicke, by takeing from them the vse of Armes, the weareing of swordes, and the hauing or vsing of Peeces somuch as for exercise and game, at least /40/ till they should giue outward obedience to the kings lawe in comming to Church, then daly inlarging to them all priuiledges of honor and pro<fi>tt, as they should growe more and more Conformable. But spetially to curbe and punish those, that should fall from the knowne truth of the Reformed Religion to the Roman,³⁸ as likewise those, that by secrett practises and perswasions should peruert and seduce the ignorant from the Reformed profession. All these are mylde and gentle remedies, but the wiser sorte of that tyme, thought one thinge necessary in this point of Reformation (which may /50/ seeme more harsh, as all great examples haue [th] somethinge [in][to] them, that seemes not to sauour of equity) namely, as many States, in doubtfull cases of State, haue often imprisoned some dangerous and suspected persons, though //

Booke III of Ireland touching Religion Chapt Vi. fol.459.

³⁷ Charlemagne conquered the Lombards in 774, and integrated their kingdom into his. *EW*

³⁸ Moryson uses this in the theological sense of falling to damnation.

no Cryme could for the present be proued against them, so they thought that it was then easy to name six or seuen Cittisens, and three or foure lords, ringleaders in the obstinacy of Religion, who being called into England, and restrayned of liberty in the Tower, they supposed all the rest would be founde tractable in this reformation, if the former, the following, and like good meanes were vsed. Agayne the Irish lordes possessing Benifices of the Church, and oppressing the Clergy by exactions: the giuing of Benifices for the vse of Childrens education, who were trayned vp in Spayne and Flaunders: the want of schooles /10/ and good schoolemasters in Ireland with the f[.]r[o]wardnes of Parents, most averse from suffering their Children to be brought vp by such men, the English Irish possessing of Benifices by inheritance, not indowed with Vicariges, and others by leases, and others by Patronage, and all sortes by Custodium, and all without fynding any preacher or reader: the scarcity of ministers, forcing the tolleration of Vile yea very Popish readers, the scandalous life of many such ministers,: the generall non Residency,: the abuse of Bishops Iurisdiction: the Bishoppes Imitating of the Irish lordes in extorting vpon the Clergy, the long /20/ leases of lands belonging to Bishops, and of benefices, lett out by the Incumbents for very small Rents, and the ruine and filthines of the Churches in those tymes, might remember those that succeeded. To reduce by all lawfull Meanes all spirituall

liuings to the vse of the Clergy. To preserue the same from any the least oppression of the layety. To make laymen lawfully possessing Benefices, to fynd a sufficient Preacher or Vicar, and to fynd meanes wherby these Benefices might be redeemed out of theire handes and retourne to the vse of the Clergy, and be so distributed among them, as some should not haue all, and others litle /30/ or nothing, but the liuings of the Church might suffice to mantayne a sufficient number of godly and learned ministers, shining in example of life and purity of doctryne. To apoint Bishops and ministers so quallified, hating [non] Residency, and Bishoppes vsing Iurisdiction for edification not for distruction, and shaming to tyrانىse ouer the Clargy by barbarous extortions. To haue spetiall care to fynde out meanes, whereby the Churches might be reedified and decently kept. To restrayne by Act of Parliament the whole Clergy from letting lands or Benefices otherwise the[n] for convenient number of yeares and /40/ vpon conuenient yearely Rents (all which, most of the other Remedies and far greater, I knowe to haue beene most wisely and religiously prouided by our gracious Soueraigne king Iames, were not these worthy Acts of a later tyme then that wherof I professe to write) And lastly. To forbidd by Act of Parliament vpon great penalties the education of Children in forayne partes without spetiall license from the lord Deputy, and because Nothings is so important to the good of the Commonwealth and the Church, as the education of

Children, to renewe the old Statute of that kingdome,
wherby /50/ the Clergy men are bounde to teach Schollers,
and allso carefully to provide aswell honest Schoolemasters
of the Reformed Religion, to [be] mantaynde in townes and
Cittyes, as also that the Children be brought to those
schooles, and not trayned vp and corrupted abroade or at
home by Roman //

{ c.w. teachers. Espetially }

fol.460. Booke III of Ireland touching Religion Chapt.VI.
teachers, espetially to haue care to further the prosperity
of the hopefull Colleg planted at Dublin, which God graunt
may growe to a famous vniversity, of many Colleges richly
founded with Schollerships and Fellowships, euen till it
may iustly be envied by the famous vniuersities of
England.³⁹ For no doubt the natiue workemen, hauing the
Irish language, will proue farr more profitable then any
others, in the vinyard of the Church and Commonwealth. This
founding of Scholles and Colleges is a large and glorious
[theather] [Theater] of magnificence and Charity,⁴⁰ in

³⁹ This hope was fulfilled. Trinity College Dublin was founded in 1591. The government expected a dividend from this. Thus in a letter from Sir William Fitzwilliams and the Irish Council to potential benefactors dated 11 March 1592, it was stated that the new college was "...to the benefit of the whole country, whereby Knowledge, Learning, & Civility may be increased, to the banishment of barbarism, tumults, and disorderly living..." quoted by J. W. Stubbs, *The History of the University of Dublin from 1591 - 1800* (Dublin, 1889), p. 9.

⁴⁰ "6. fig. ...a place...where some thing or action is presented to public view (literally or metaphorically)."
OED

which God graunt the magistrates /10/ and rich men, may carefully and bountifully imploy theire labour and wealth. Agayne the permission of Monkes to liue in Ireland in the Monasteryes giuen in those dayes to Irish lordes by graunts dureing pleasure, and the graunts of other monasteryes by lease or by feefarme at such lowe rates as very small Rents were reserued to the king, might Remember those that succeeded, to resume the first out of the handes of the Irish lordes, and so to order the second, by lawfull meanes (as the questioning of graunts wherin the king is <..> deceaued and the [...] renewing of expired leases) /20/ that the kings Rents for those (and all other) lands might be much improued. To Conclude with the some of all (without which indeede all hopes of reformation would proue vayne and fruitlesse) the swarming of Iesuites and Priests in those dayes, and the perverting of all Familyes, and the disturbing of the Commonwealth and Church, by theire seditious practises and false doctryne, might remember those that succeeded, first to transport these Roman locusts out of that kingdome, and then Carefully to preuent theire retorne, by seure execution of the Act of [par] /30/ Parlament, whereby theire retorne is made Capitall to themselues, and to those that harbor them, and of like lawes and prouisions to be after made to that purpose. Some then wished the Bible to be translated into Irish, because many of the people vnderstoode not English, but others thought better by education to make the English tounge

vulgarly practised, because the vnity of language is of great power to breede vnity of affections.⁴¹

⁴¹ Many of the ideas come the classics and from Botero. He sought to deny heretics public office, and to impose a uniform language as the ancient Romans had done. See *State*, pp. 98, 109.