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THE UNPUBLISHED ITINERARY OF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 historicall Introduction. }

Touching the Historicall 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 united 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 over 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.
The common wealth of Denmarke. Chap:ii.
whose Genealogy followes.

The kings Pedegree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Christsianos or Christians the first chosen king of Denmarke in the yeare 1448, by that right succeeded king of Norwegia, was also chosen king of Suecia in the yeare 1457, but was after cast out of Suecia by his Subjects of that kingdome, and by right of inheritance [was] Duke of Sleswick and Duke of Holssatia, and did obtaine of the Emperor Sittmaria in Fee, but could not bring it into subjection; he married the daughter of the Elector of Brandeburgh, and dyed in the yeare 1500.</th>
<th>Gerrard his brother Earle of Oldenburg and Delemenhert dyed in the yeare 1500. Of his descend the present Earles of Oldenburg in Germany.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John king of Denmarke and Norway dividid with his brother the Dukedom of Sleswick and Holssatia which by the fathers will were given to the youngest brother; He married the daughter of Ernestus, Elector of Saxony, &amp; obtained the kingdome of Suecia in the yeare 1497. He had warr with the Seabordering Cittyes of the Baltick-sea and likewise with Suecia, being cast out of that kingdome and dyed in the yeare 1513.</td>
<td>Margaret married to James the third king of Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christier the second, king of Denmarke &amp; Norway, after obtained also the kingdome of Suecia, but having warr with the sayd Seabordering Cittyes, and with his vacle Frederick from whom he detayned his Inheritance, was for his tyranie, first deposed from the kingdome of Suecia, and after of Denmarke and Norwegia, and fledd to the Emperor Charles the fifth, whose sister he had married, and after taken Prisoner by the Dances dyed Captaine in the yeare 1559.</td>
<td>Francces his brother dyed a young man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip and Maximilian dyed infants.</td>
<td>Elizabeth married to the Elector of Brandeburg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John died in the Court of the Emperor Charles the fifth Anno 1522.</td>
<td>Dorthy married to the Elector Paistain of the Rheine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians first married to the Duke of Milan secondly to the Duke of Lorayne.</td>
<td>617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian third, king of Denmarke and Norvegia, born to Anna daughter to the Elector of Brandenburg</td>
<td>He reformed Religion and made a league with Suettia, increased the professors stipends in the university of Kopenhagen founded by Christian the first, and died in the year 1553.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorothy saryed to the Duke of Prussea</td>
<td>John born to Sophia daughter to the Duke of Pomern died in the year 1580.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederike Bishop of Slesnic died Anno 1559.</td>
<td>Anna maried to the Duke of Luneburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna born Anno 1573 married to the Duke of Brunswick</td>
<td>Christian the fourth king of Denmarke, and Norvegia, born in the year 1577.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Geographicall discription of Denmarke, I haue formerly shewed, that it consists of many Ilands within the Baltick Sea, whereof Sealand is the cheife wherein Copenhagen is the cheife Citty, and hath one of the kings cheife houses, and Roshilde is a pleasant village unwalled 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, and this Iland is sayd to be two dayes Journey in breadth, and asmuch in length; yet an other Iland called Schoudania, that is fayre Denmarke is said to be more pleasant then this,. A third Iland is called Gotland, of old subject 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 were said to be the dowrye of the Queene mother then living, so long as she remayned a widowe, but if she

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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.

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[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 subject 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 vpon the shore, soundes like humane voyces lamenting, and the Brimstone of this mountayne yeildes great tribute to the king.¹ 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

¹ 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 Beschriebung aller Länder of 1550, parts of which were translated in 1572 as A Briefe Collection and compendious extract of straunge and memorabel 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 yse alomoste eight monethes, and being broken & bru/sed...geweth so horrible a sound alomoste 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 to unite them in a Dukedom, and because they are hereditary the kings yonger brothers write themselves heyres of Norway and the Dukes of Holsatia. The land wherein the three States thus united to a Duke[dome] are seated, was of old called the Cimbrian //

Chersonesus or neck of land, also called Ivtia or Iutland, and was inhabited by Saxons, whom the Danes made first tributary, then Subjects 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 overflowed Europe, (and of them to this day the Cittyes bordering upon the Baltick sea, as Lubeck and others are called wendischs[c]äten, that is Cittyes of the Vandals, and howsoever the Inhabitants be Germans, yet in many villages they still speake the Vandale tongue). All Interland speaks the German tongue, and I shewed that Christiern the first obtayned it in Fee of the Emperor, and thereupon the Germans say, that when the Empire was powerfull, the kingdoms of Denmarke was reputed a member thereof, but the Danes deny all dependancy on the Empire, and say their kingdom is of absolute power, and that from

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1 The land-island (peninsula) of the Cimbri. Harvey.

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the first foundation it is electiue. Yet wee finde in Histories that these kings howseuer chosen haue succeeded in a right lyne to the kingdome, no lesse then gentlemen succeede 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. So as the Danes haue right to chuse their kings, howseuer they [haue] [..e] seldome or neuer vsed it to the prejudice 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 breaks 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 vppon all fitt occasions they stifly mantayne these priuiledges, And at this tyme when I passed that way, the king being vnnder 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 vnnder 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]<v>a 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, the sayde Charles governed 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) And in this warre the English marchants furnishing the

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13 See Fols. 48 - 50.
Moscouite with Armes and Munitions, did there obtayne great priuilegeds of traffique. But I retorne to speake of Christiene the fourth /60/ //


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 hoopes 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,\textsuperscript{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 diverse exercises, attended by his Hoffmeister (that is master of his Court) then called Hockholgersen a gentleman who had beeene 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,

\textsuperscript{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 Iohn 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 Mecklenburg \(^{15}\) and of an other nere Lubeck and a Channons place in a Cathedrall Church. The king was then on his journey to /30/ Flensburg, \(^{16}\) where an extraordinary Parliament was called, For his Subject 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 Sonday. 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 Treasorer 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 lower
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 //

gouerned by Tutors.

{ m.n. 2. The Court. }
The king had 70 Trabantoes for guarde 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 apparrrelled. 18 And he had tenn horsemen called

17 Had Shakespeare heard of this Rosencrantz, 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 dollars monethly for keeping of two horses, and yearely wages 20 dollars, and apparrell twice in the yeare. Some thirty gentlemen following the Court at that tyme, [had] each man [had] Fifty dollars monethly to keepe five horses. The Cuppbearer had asmuch to keepe so many horses, and moreouer 300 dollars 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 supplyed the place of Caruer, but no man tasted the meat, which Ceremonye I heard was not in vse with them. 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 dores 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, Joachist(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 disbursed 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 premiere 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 Revenues and tributes. }

Touching the Revenues 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 shippes, and of great quantity of deale boardes\(^\text{10}\) out of Norway, and of Brimstone from the mountayne Heclea in Iseland and some like Commodityes /30/ yeilde a good reuenue to the Crowne. Give 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 subject to the king of Denmarke; and were said to liue vnder the earth, feeding altogether vpon dryed fishes, and for the continuall snow seldome or never coming out of their Caues, and thereupon having a drye complection infected with a kinde of leprously.\(^\text{21}\) And these English Marchants or Fishermen, though they never enter the Sounde /40/ yet for secure passage and leaue to fish there, payd the king of Denmarke

\(^{10}\) Sawn timber. OED has specific dimensions for a deal, and differing dimensions for a board, so there may have been either some confusion in Morison'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".
yearly one hundreth Rose Nobles of gold. But these Revenues are of small moment compared with two Tributes wherein the Treasure of that kingdom consists. For the first an incredible tribute is raise of the Shipps passing the Narrow Sea called the Sounde, dividing Denmarke and Norway, and so leading into the Baltic 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 Baltic 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,

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 Morison 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.

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 shipps should passe either by force, or [by] some other way by stealth which might easily be done, those shipps and goods should be confiscated whensoeuer they are forced againe to passe that sounde. So as this tribute must needes be exceeding great. For every shipp entring vnladen (as the hollanderds doe for the most part) payeth for the ship a Rosse noble of gold, and for beacon gelt a Doller. But those that are loden /10/ pay of old for last gelt the hundreth penny of the goods, and a Rosse noble of gold for the ship, yea two or thee Rosse nobles if divers partners were owners of the ship, and halfe a dollor for beacon gelt (or mony). Only those shipps whose burthen is not aboue forty last, 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 theire burthen. An English shipp lately returning from Dantzke laden with wax (a light commodity)

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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 merchandise. 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. Morison 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 to 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, and many like) may easily reveng any wrongs done to them by neighbor Princes, or at pleasure may doe wrong to them in theire subjectes, For Christian /30/ the second (whome I formerly sayd to haue bene hated of his Subjects 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 vpon Lubeck and the Neighbor Cittyes of Germany bordering within the Baltick Sea two guldens vpon evry last (twelue Tonnes making a last) aboue the accustomed Tribute, and vpon all other straungers trading that way the last gelt was highly raysed, so as the

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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.*

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English paid a dollar for Eight Clothes\textsuperscript{30} and a dollar for each last of Flaxe, of waxe, of wheate, /40/ and like Commodityes, and a quarter of a dollar for each last of pitche, of Tarr, of Rye Corne, and of like Commodityes, and if any \textit{<entred}}\textsuperscript{31} [of a dollar] wheate for Rye, or vsed like fraude, the goods were confiscated. And howsoever Lubeck and the other Cittyes by grace obtayned 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 king\textsuperscript{32} (as I heard) being not long before offended with the States of the United Prouinces, for having opened certayne letters directed to his Ambassador, did suffer their shipps to enter the Baltick Sea (as they vse) vnladen, but when they retorned laden in a great Fleete, he made stay of them all, till they had satisfyed him for that wrong. Besides, this

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

\textsuperscript{31} The word could possibly be "doctred" or doctored, in the sense of tampered with, but this would be a very early use. \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{32} Frederick II (1559 - 1588).
tribute must needs be exceeding great, since often 100 and
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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 <Shippe> are comonly laden inward
with Sacks Suger\textsuperscript{33}, Spices, and woollen Clothes, all sold
deare in those North East parts, and are laden outward with
honye waxe, rich Furres, and Corne (wherewith all Europe is
supplyed thence,) being all rich and light wares, whereof
great value is carryed in small roome.\textsuperscript{34} So as I haue /10/
heard Danes of good sort esteeme this yearely tribute at
six Tonns of gold or five at the least, reckoning one

\textsuperscript{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
topers, the sacks may be the same as Falstaff's favourite
tipple, "good sherry-sack", \textit{II Henry IV}, IV. 2. 93.

\textsuperscript{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", \textit{The Jew of Malta}, I. 1.
37, in Christopher Marlowe, \textit{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, \textit{English Overseas Trade}
hundreth thousand dollors for a Tonne of gold. And the same Danes assured me that this Treasure was laid upp for the extraordinary uses of the kingdom, 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 raysed 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 private 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) but for beare brought out of Germany (which they drinck as largly as the Germans) for each Tonne [whereof] costing about seuen markes, they payd two markes to the king. /30/

{ m.n. 30, 31. Lawes and Judgments. }

Denmarke is gournered by a peculiar lawe of the kingdom,

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 have spoken in the discourse of Germany. For Civil Causes stay[ing] in that kingdom, was so short, as I will only say that the trials are much agreeable to those in England.

In Capital judgments they do not as the Germans extort confessions by torment, but the accused are tried and pronounced guilty or not guilty by a Quest of sixteen men, as in England, they are tried by twelve men. King Christiern the second of Condemned men in Suetia for treason beheaded some broke others upon the wheel, hanged others, and drowned some. Christiern the third besieging Copenhagen beheaded Meierus for Treason, and after his four quarters were sett upon a wheel to rot. But these things may seem to taste more of Martial lawe than the settled laws of the kingdom. Therefore I will briefly add that by the lawe. Condemned, for Parricide, and for premeditated wilful murder have their bones broken upon the wheel, for manslaughter are beheaded, for theft or Robberies are

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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 vpon the wheele to rott, for defiling Noble Virgins are beheaded, For adultery are putt in perpetuall prison at Dracholme a Castle of Holsatia. 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 manslaughters among themselues, commonly they pursue them by priviate reueng, in which quarrells notwithstanding they (as the Germans) are of a placable nature.

In generall none but the Sarieants 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 servants (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

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40 I have been unable to find its modern name.
41 Placid.
way is very rare, and only happens sometymes to Foote men, so as Travellers 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 1040\(^4\) 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

\(^4\) 1035.
portions, and have double parts with their sisters; yet among Gentlemen if the father had but one lordship, the eldest sonne shall have it giving his brothers their equal portions in mony according to the just value and price thereof. And if the father had many houses or lordships, the brothers shall succeed to them in course, always preserving the equality of portions among them, by giving or receiving mony after the value. /40/

{ m.n. 41, 42. The degrees in common wealth. }
Touching the difference of degrees in the Common wealth; they have no Dukes, Earles or Barons, only the kings brothers write themselves Dukes of Holsatia and heires of Norway. Otherwise the highest degree under the king, his brothers and Children is that of gentlemen who have high priuiledges and are free from all Tributes only in time of Warr they contribute mony, and are bound to serve 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 time 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 detainied 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 638
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 descend 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 vp\[\[\]\] a great
wrong, /20/ without seekeing remidy, 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 remidy from the
king, nor reuenge by his sworde, the vulgar speech was,

\[44\] In modern English we would add "with".

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that the king should use these words to him, *Bistu sein Shelem, so bistu mein vnd iedermans schelem auch.* That is, *Art thou his villain, so thou art mine and every man's villain also.* The gentlemen are very rich, since all the Country people in their private patrimonies are their absolute slaves, in the same condition, as the Romans, and /30/ the Heathen of old [held] their slaves, except perhaps on the profession of Christian Religion, they be voluntarily used with less rigor. So as there be some gentlemen that have forty thousand dollars yearly rent, and most gentlemen have always in readiness arms for some 20, or 30 horsemen or footmen. Those that are poor among them, either serve the king or follow the wars, but will never endure to exercise marchandize or any mechanical course. On the contrary the Country people are most base and miserable, groaning under the tillage of the ground, as the *Israelites* under /40/ the making of bricks,45 the gentlemen not reckoning their wealth so much by their rent and possessions, as by the number of [their] Clowns46 or slaves, who be they never so much oppressed, yet may [they] not change their dwelling or their lord. Notwithstanding if they have learned any mechanical 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 themselves 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 private gentlemen, which they challenge to themselues euyn to the power of life and death. To conclude one of these Country slaues dying, his mousables fall to his Children and heares, but his sonnes and heares 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 fallles 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 observing the antiquity of Gentrie, 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 Familyes of Gentlemen who of old were knights of the militaire /20/ orders now extinct, namely the Templaries or Tutonicks. 

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

Touching their warfare by land, the Subjects 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 obseruationa, then posituely write by any experience of their actions in our tyme.

As the Inhabitants of Halsatia and all Jutland were of old

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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.
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 heavy 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. If any man object 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,

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 vpon 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 exploytes, or haue had any other warr, or vpon 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 vpon our Coasts of England, serue nothing to prove 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 exployte 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

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or fetch Commodityes by any long Navigation into forrayne parts, because the Shipps of all nations passing the sounde supply their wants, and export their dryed fish and like Commodityes 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 ten great [&] well armed Shipps, which for building or sayling of all other /30/ Shipps 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 Shipps built of the Oakes in Norway last not aboute twenty yeares. And it seemes they haue no very good Shipwrights, for the cheife Shipwright who then built the kings Shipps 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, howsoever /40/ the Danes doe not without suspition shewe their Forts or Shipps to straungers, yet perswaded me in his Companye to enter some of the kings Shipps. Among the rest I entred a great Shipp newly built, and at first called David, 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 //
out seuen Ankers lying in the Haven. Vpon the Poope [.]
these great letters were written H. H. [s] z. G. A. (For
the Danes as the Germans use 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. firmat }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 Riuier 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 outstreched 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 Shipps would haue great advantage of it. Also I did enter other of the /10/ kings Shipps 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\(^6\) Each whereof was of some 400 Tonnes burthen, and all were strong, swift, and well armed. Besides I did see some old shipps, as the Sampson that could not last aboue nyne yeares, the Iosuah built before the former, the Drake /20/ built 16 yeares past, and the wolhiere, or rather the Carkas thereof, all being tall shipps of like burthen, and of the kings Navye.\(^7\) In the same Hauen were fower other men of warr not

\(^6\) 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.

\(^7\) 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 vpon 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 Shippes fishing at the mouth of this forbidden Hauen, and driuen in by Tempest, presented the Gouernor 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 Shippes and possess them for the king, and they said the Shippes 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 vpon the sodeine desperately cast himselfe ouer board, and so perished.

Of the common wealth of England according to all the particular Subjects mentioned in the Title of the first Chapter and first Booke of this 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 bewray 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, and with deliberation vpon that nice Subject; which Treatise I haue begunn, but it will require tyme and leysure to perfect it, And so for this tyme I passe it over untouched.

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1 It should read 244.
2 Hughes has "the", p. 184.
3 "2. v. ...reveal", OED.
Chap:iii.

Of the common wealth of Scotland according to all the particular Subjects 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.
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 Historickall 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 have bene Scithians, and from thence to have come to inhabitt Spaine, and judgeth them to have bene a people mingled of diverse Nations as Germans and Goathes (whose Pliny writes to have seated themselves in Spaye) or like barbarous people² (whome the Emperor Constantine the great drove 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 Hiberniarum 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. 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. When Lagerius raigned in Ireland being the sonne of that Nellus or Neale, of whome Giraldus thus writeth. Nellus the great being Monarch of Ireland, six sonnes of Muredus king of Ulster 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.

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1 Honorius was Emperor of the West from 395 - 423. EWH "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. For truth whereof they appeale to old Historyes, and to the Customs of those Nations still retayned in the said parts of Ireland. Also they acknowledge that the power of the Britaines ouer the Irish hath bene of antiquity and that of old the kings of Britany had their rights ouer the Irish., namely that Gurguntius king of Britany ([whome] we call Gurgustus) did about the yeare of our Lord 375 graunt leave, to a people sayling out of Spayne into Ireland, to setle themselves in that Iland, As also that the kings of Ireland payd tribute to the Britten Arthur Sonne to Vther Pendragon, whome they write to haue raigned about the yeare of our lord 516, and to haue beene of great fame.1

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

1 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?

1 "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.

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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,\textsuperscript{10} and that the Norwegians (whome he thinckes to haue beene Normans) did for 30 yeares foulely wast Ireland, till their Captaine being killed by treason, the rest were also destroyed scarce one man being left of them.\textsuperscript{11} And that about the same tyme Eadgarus the most powerfull king in England, did subdue great part of Ireland, with the City Dublin.\textsuperscript{12} And that after these warrs, a dissention betweene the kings of Ireland, opened the way to the English fully to conquer that land, about the yeare 1169 Henry the second then Reigning in England. For Dermott king of Leinster\textsuperscript{13} sonne of Murchard (vulgarly mac Morrog) tooke by force the wife of the king of Meath,\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{10} See Camden, p. 970.

\textsuperscript{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.

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

\textsuperscript{13} Leinster, the south eastern province.

\textsuperscript{14} Meath, the central province adjoins Leinster.
Meath. At which tyme king Henry being engaged in agreat warr with Fraunce, and troubled 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 havving first couenanted to giue the [the] Earle for wife, his daughter Eue heyre of his kingdome. So the Earle, assisted by the Geraldines and other noble Familyes 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 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. 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 conferring rights, as in the patent conferring rights to Morysone 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 lorde, resigned all their power and right to the king. Then king Henry passed through Osserey to Dublin, where he kept a Royall Christmas, and the Orork king of Meathe, (of whom /10/ discends Ororke at this tyme being a barbarous Lord of a large, Fenny, woody, and mountainous Country in those parts) submitted to the king. Touching the king of Connaght, 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 styled th[is]e Monarch of all Ireland, 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 whom (after suspected) he ioyned others

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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 Vivianus 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 Viater, 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 Viater. About the yeare 1204, Iohn Courcye Earle of Viater, 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 Viater 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 Iohn 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.\(^22\) //


But 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 Iohn or any other king cannot so gleeve 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. \textit{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 weakesse 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 arraignments of the late traitors (Guy Fawks, H. Garnett) (London, 1606), sig. 2M2, [\textit{STC} 11618]. Moryson is paraphrasing Camden, p. 971. Catholics speaking against Papal supremacy were considered
fowre Provinces, of Lemster, of Mounster, of of Connaght, and of Vlster. About the yeare 161291 /10/ O Hanlon and some lordes of Vlster, rebelling were subdued by the English Colonyes. 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. In the yeare 1339 generall warr was betweene the English Colonyes, and the meere Irish, 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 1340; Iohn Darcye 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.

"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.

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.

From Latin merus, unmixed, (with English blood.) OED
English Colonyes (or English Irish) degenerated first began to be Enemyes to the English, and themselues calling a Parliament, wrote to the king of England that they would no longer indure the insolencyes of his Ministers, yet most of the Lords Iustices thitherto were of 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 Leiuftenant of Ireland, came ouer with an Army of some 1500 by Pole,\(^27\) and quieted the borders of the English Pale, in lowe Lemster. He reformed the English Irish grewne 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 leiuftenant seauen yeares, and sometymes left his owne deputy to gouerne Ireland.\(^28\) About the yeare 150/

\(^{27}\) 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.
1400

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 leiuftenant, 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 daugher of Leonell Duke of Clarence the Earldomes of Connaght and Vlster fell to the English Family of the Mortuomars, and after to Richard Duke of Yorke who maryed their daughter and heyre whose Sonne Edward the fourth, king of England joyned them to the Royall Domaine, in whose tyme and his Fathers the bloudy ciuill warr began betwene the houses of Yorke; and Lancaster in England. During the Raigne of Richard the second, Ireland was gouerned by his Lords Leiuftenants 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 leiuftenant 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

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

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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).\footnote{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.}
And I finde small or no mention of seditions
in Vlster, especially from the meere Irish, so as that
Prouince till then. seems to haue bene most peaceable and
subject 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
aboue 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
pacifyed 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,\footnote{32 "To support their party". Part of the meaning of
bear as to sustain. See OED bear v. 1. 3. a.} 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 Vlster, and not
only the true Oneales, but every bastard, warranted by his
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 theire Earldom of Connaght in Ireland, the English Irish Bourkes theire kinsmen, and theire Tennants of those landes, imboldned by theire lords obs[...]ence] and the troubled State of England, and making frendship and mariages with the meere Irish, possessed that Prouince as theire 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, marying the daugher and heyre of King Edward the fourth of the family of Yorke, vnited these Familyes and so


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 divers successes of the Irish affayres in divers 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[gad][glad] to resigne his lands and take them againe as the kings vassall, and to renounce the Tytle[..] of Oneale, 34 then made a Capitall offence by Act of Parliament, In which Parliament also the said king in the yeare 1541, 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 Elisabeths 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 19th yeare of the happy Raigne of Queene Elizabeth being the yeare of our lord 1577. 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 have shewed that after this time 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 briefly passed over, as soon, and happily appeased. But that of Tyrone (as most dangerous of all that ever were raised) I have handled at large, and shewed his Crafty beginnings and pretended causes, with our negligence at the first, and factions at home, which caused our chief Commanders to be sent thither rather to break their backs then with any purpose to enable them to suppress the Rebellion. I have shewed the lamentable effusion of blood therein on both sides, and the huge masse of English Treasure exhausted in that Rebellion, and the causes and means by which the Rebels grew so strong, as at first the English Pale was straightned to Dundalke (beyond which Towne there was no passing Northwards without an Army, besides that in all other parts the mere Irish were in open Rebellion), and after in short time, by Combination with most of the English Irish, and by the support of Spaine, all Ireland was in Combustion, the Rebels were grown proud, by /50/ many victories, the English could not stirr out of their Garrisons, but they were beaten back by the Rebels who mightily gave Alarums to the very Suburbs of Dublin, when the lord Mountjoy came over lord Deputy. And

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

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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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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\textless or\textgreater er, the master

\textsuperscript{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.
\textit{Coriolanus}, III. 1. 126 - 127.

\textsuperscript{37} Moryson is thinking of the writing tables or tabulae
of ancient times. \textit{Nouae tabulae} was the shout of those who
wanted revolution in the Roman state, for all old debts
were cancelled. \textit{FB}
of the Rolls, the Marshall of Ireland, the master of the
Ordinance, the Treasorer 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
Justice, [as more spetially] when vpon the death of the
[lord] Deputy one or more lordeis 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
Gouernor vnder them, was comonly styled lord Iustice. But
howsoever the titles differ, the power is all one.
Sometymes of old, kings brothers, and sonnes (as Iohn sonne
to Henry the second and Leonell Duke of Clarence38 brother
to Edward the fourth) [had] [haue] gouerned this kingdome
with title of lord leiuftenant, and with power to leaue

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38 Hughes adds "son to Edward the third and George Duke
of Clarence", p. 186.
their owne Deputy to goure 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 Mountjoy for his great deserts in subduing Tyrones Rebellion [was] by our Soueraigne king Iames created Earle of Devonshire, and besides rich rewards of Inheritance in England was made lord leiuentenant [i]of Ireland, with two parts of the lord Deputies intertainment, who had the other third part with his owne Command 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 Command 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 Command of lord leiuentenant ceasing from that tyme to this day, which dignity indeed seems more fitt for the sonnes or brothers of kings then for any Subject. It is enacted by Statute of Parliament in the 33th yeare of king Henry the Eight, that vppon the death of the lord Deputy or

39 The cautious Elizabeth had only made him Lord Deputy.
like vacancy of that government the lord Chancellor and Counsell there may chuse one or two to supply the place of lord Justice, till the king may be advertised of that vacancy, and appoint an other government Provided that they chuse no Churchman, nor any but an English man. The foresaid lord lieutenant deputy or Justice, (be they one or more) have ample power little differing from Regall, yet always limited according to the kings letters Patents, which doe very rarely inlarge or restrayne the same to one more then another, and that power also is countermaundd many tymes by Instructions from the State, and by letters from the kings of England. The lord Deputy by his letters Patents vnder the great Seale of Ireland, may graunt Pardon of life, lands and goods, to any guilty or condemned men, even to Traitors, only espetiall treasons against the kings person are commonly excepted, as likewise wilfull murthers, which the kings themselves profess 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 Rebells. 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 ether English or Irish. The king Commonly 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 Chancelor, 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 posessors. The king reserues to himselfe the choyse of Bishopps, but all other Church liuings are in the lord Deputies guift. The king reserues to himselfe the Puples\(^{42}\) of Earles and Barrons, but the rest are in the lord Deputies guift, 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 guifts. of the higher places in the State and Army,

\footnote{\textit{"Pupil. n. 1. 1. An orphan who is a minor and hence a ward."} \textit{OED}}

\footnote{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. \textit{OED}}
of Bishoprickes, of Earles and Barrons Pup[il]ls, tho
reserved to the king, were wont seldom to be granted in
England but upon the lord Deputies letters of
recommendation sent out of [England] [Ireland] Fynally the
lord Deputy may leuie Forces, and doe all things of
Regall authority, saue Coyning of mony; which was allwayses
Coynd at london, and sent into Ireland: True it is, that
in those things which are putt in his meere power by his
letters Pattens, he hath allwayses subiected himselfe to
instructions and letters sent out /10/ of England, which
notwithstanding seldom haue crossed his Free disposall of
all things in his power, since he vsed to graunt them
presently, before any can passe into England and retourne
hauing obtayned them there, notwithstanding in thinges putt
in his meere power, the most wise and moderate Deputyes,
foreseeing the shorte tyme of their governement, and
knowing that the Counselors of State haue their places for
life, & observing that most Deputyes retorned into England
laden with Complayntes, aswell of Counselors as many
priviate /20/ men, so as after good service they haue beene
glad to receave the Padon\(^4\) of their errors for their
deserved 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

\(^{4}\) Hughes has "leiue", p. 188.

\(^{45}\) Hughes corrects this to "Pardon", p. 188.

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Counsell, by that art drawing their Consent, and yet still having their owne intentions, seldom or never opposed by those Counselors, who founde those referments gracefull and profitable to them, and so willingly seconded the lords Deputyes pleasure. /30/

In my opinion nothing 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 Deputies 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 tennants, then any Deputy of inferiour degree can doe, by greater vallour and wisdome. And since the Irish are most prone to tumults and Commotions, 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 //

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, hopeing the Magistrate shalbe recalled before he be skillfull of their affayres, and that another farr more vnskilfull shalbe sent ouer in his place, vse nothinge more then delatorye temporising in their obedience to the kings Commaundes or lawes, hopeing that newe magistrates will giue newe lawes, and so if they can putt offe any buisinesse for the present if it be but for a day, thincking with Crafty Davus /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 ariuall, 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 perhaps 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 benifactors 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 beeene /30/ lesse feared by them. But the State may allways 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 alwayes 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. Theire obiection 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 given to the gouernor to bring[s] his Counsells 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 theire successor should enter vpon theire 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 private fame rather then publike good, hath seldom or never troden the steps of his predccessor, but rather insisted vpon his owne maximes of government, especially careing that his actions be not obscured by those of his predccessor, And this Babilonian confusion of distracted & contrary motions in the Cheefe governors hath made the Irish, like wilde Coltes hauing vnskillfull Riders, to learne /10/ all theire Iadish trickes, whereas if the government were continued till the magistrate might knowe the nature of the people, with the secreets of that State, and apply the remedies proper therevnto: If after theire 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 gouvernment and the State of that kingdome, so as his successour might weaue the same webb he had begunn, and not make a newe frame of his owne: If in reguard the kings presence /20/ in Ireland may rather be wished then hoped, some spetiall Commissioners, 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 Reuenques 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 means to supply /30/ future necessityes of that State, Since the sayde Deputies and commissionors would euery one be ashamed not to add somthinge to the Publike good of theire owne, and much more to doe that was allready done, or rather to destroy it, by theire imployment. And the Irish would thereby be putt from theire shifting hopes gapeing for newe vnskillfull and diversely affected Magestrates, which haue allwayes annimated 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 authority 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 theire Deputy, and much more because the Judicail causes of the Irish haue beene determined in England without the lord

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Hughes amends to "authority", p. 192.

677
Deputyes priuety, or having beene formerly determined in Ireland, were sent backe to be agayne examined and determined, according to letters of favoure obtaind by the Plantiues in England, which made the subject prowde, and to triumph vpon the ouerruled Magistrate, who no doubt is ether vnfitt to governe a kingdome, or ought best to knowe who deserue punishment, who rewarde, and the most fitt wayes to determine judicall causes. wherein I dare boldly say the contrary proceedinges of our tyme, giuing that magistrate his due honor, hath much advansed the publike good.

Some doe not approue the residence of the lord Deputy 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

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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 Morison is trying not to be controversial, by saying that things have improved.
stopp all Rebells from disturbing the Pale which would not only yeild supplyes of necessaries to his Trayne and Soldiers, but also give safe passage for /10/ transporting munition and victualls to Athlone from the Stoare houses at Dublin. And this Counsell was so much vraged to Queene Elizabeth as these reasons together with the saving of the Charge to mantayne a Gouernor 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 City 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 fruiites 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.

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

679
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 Caesar in his Commentaries writes of the old Germans; like beasts they doe all things by force and Armes, after a slauish manner. The Magistrate doth nothing publiquely or priavately without Armes. They reuenge iniuryes seldom by lawe, but 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 vpon 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 vacan 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 proune\textsuperscript{60} to /50/ rebellions, 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 Customs which had beene long abolished, and by with drawing themselfes 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 outlawes [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 theire example) those that became lords of Countryes were euer as many heades so many monstrous tyrants. These haue not theire landes deuided in many Countryes, [and][as] our noblemen in England (whereby they are lesse powerfull to disturb 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 remove theire dwelling vnder an other landlord,\textsuperscript{61} they still desyre more land,

\textsuperscript{60} Hughes makes it "prounce", p. 193.

\textsuperscript{61} Tenants tied or "proper" to the land smacks of feudalism to Moryson.

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rather to haue the Tennants then the land, whereas if they could furnish theire old landes with Tennants (as perhaps they haue in some sorte done 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 Mischiefe, that among them, all of one name or Sept\textsuperscript{62} and kindred, dwell not (as in England) dispersed in many shires, but all liue together in one village, lordshipp, and County ready and apt to conspire together in any mischiefe. And by an olde lawe, which they call of themistry, vulgarly called Tanistry\textsuperscript{63} by many of our lawes abolished, yet still in force among them selues, evry 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 understand the most licentious sword man) as most fitt to defend them.\textsuperscript{64} And this Cheefe they not only chuse among themselues, but of Corrupt Custome impudently 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

\textsuperscript{62} "Clan or sub-clan", Myers, p. 237.

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

\textsuperscript{64} Hughes changes this to "swordsman", p. 194, meaning a warrior who lives by his sword. OED

682
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 plentifull spring of murthers Parracides and Conspiracyes against the kings and their lawes. For first hereby they professed to live after their owne lawes, and openly denyed 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 Countrie vpon submission to the States hath surrendred his lands to the king, and taken a new graunt of them by the kings letters Parrant 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 (noting the cheife or head) and Mac (noting the sonne of such a one), and thus they are called Oneales, O Donnells, mac Mahownes with a rable of like names, some rather seeming the names of De[a]vowring Giants then Christian Subjects, yea some of old English Familyes degenerating into this Barbarismme, haue changed their names after the Irish tongue, as the Vrslyes are called Mahownes taking the notation from the name of a Beare; yea some of the most licentious take to themselues Nicknames suitable to their wicked dispositions, as one of the O Donnells was called Garue that is a Cholerick strong (or lusty) Gallant, (and such [as] he was indeede. 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,

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65 We would probably say "denoting".

66 It is also spelt McMahon.

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

68 Hughes has "Garne", pp. 195, 197.

the white knight, and the like. And withall they despise our titles of Earls and lords, which so weakens the great men's estimation among them, as they must cast them away, and assume their old barbarous names whensoever they will have the power to lead the people, to any rebellious action. For in those barbarous names, and nick names, the Irish are proud to have the rebellious acts of their forefathers sung by their Bards or Poetts, at their Feasts and publique meetings. Againe they have a corrupt Custome to increase their power by fostering their Children, with the most valiant, rich and powerfull neighbors, since that people beares such strange reverence to this bond and pledge of loue, as they commonly loue their Foster Children more then their owne. The events of which Custome forced our Progenitors to make seuerse lawes against the same, which notwithstanding, howsoever restrayne 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 him a good father. But commonly they giue them

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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
least 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
thinking themselues to descend of them, wilbe called
swordmen, and scorning husbandrye, and manuall 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 vpon them, vpon all
occasions of spending, as Iourneys 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

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11 Hughes amends to "least", p. 196.
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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 evills, more specially of one mischeife, that if the Tenant by any Cryme forfeited [the] [his] goods, the lord denied him to haue any prop[ri]erty\(^{12}\) therein and yet if the same goods were seazed by the Sheriffe for any Fynes for the king, or debts of the lord, to private men, the tenants forthwith exclaymed of injustice 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 grounde, and doe them all like seruices, and howsoever 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

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\(^{12}\) "i. a. ...ownership, proprietorship..." OED

\(^{13}\) MacMahon country was between Meath and Ulster, the lands of Fitzgerald and O’Neill. Myers, p. xi.
magistrate commanded the Earle to restore to Sir Neale his old Tenants, but when peace was more settled, the Itinerant Judges going into Ulster, 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 unjust the kings Subjects borne in a free Common wealth should be used like slaves. Againe these lords challenging all their Tenants /50/ goods think scorn to have any Cowes or Herdes of Cattell of their owne, tho sometymes they permit their wiues to have 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 under the lorde absolute power as slaves, and howsoever they have plenty of Corne, milke, and Cattell, yet having no propriety in any thing, obey their lorde in right and wrong, and being all of the Roman church, and being taught that is no sin to breake faith with vs, and so /10/

H Hughes supplies "it", p. 198.

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little regarding an oath taken before our Magistrates, the
king was often defrauded of his right by the falsehood of
Iuryes, in his Inheritance, Wardes Attaindors, Escheates
intrusions, Alienations, and all Pleas of the Crowne. At
the end of the warr among infinite examples, this was well
scene 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. 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
escheates, 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 emnity 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
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, severely punished Iuryes for abuses of this last kinde, but /20/ with what effect, is besides 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 Subject, yet his sonnes having no lands in possession, should live with the Rebells, 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 theesues, as we doe Hawkes, openly boasting among themselves, who had the best theesues. 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 have a generation of Poets, or rather Rymers vulgarly called Bardes, who in their songs used to extoll the most bloudy licentious men, and no others, and to allure the hearers, not to the loue of religion and Ciuill manners, but to outrages Robberies living as outlawes, and Contempt of the Magistrates and the /40/ kings lawes. Alas how unlike vnto Orpheus, who with his sweete harpe and [holy] [wholeso<est>] precepts of

"Both prey on the unsuspecting, hence the metaphor."
Poetry laboured to reduce the rude and barbarous people from living in woods, to dwell civilly in Townes and Cittyes, and from wilde ryott to morall Conuersation. All goodmen wished these knaues to be strictly curbed, and severely punished. For the meere Irish, howsoever they understood 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 have daunted them, then if a Judge had doomed them to the Gallowes.

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 lorde's 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, 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 lorde's, 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.

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80 "From the Gaelic caerrbhach, "gambler."
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 employed then in hanging vpp such Raskalls and like vagabond persons. For howsoeuer none could better doe it then the Sheriffes; yet because the Irish frequently and in part iustly complayne 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 warres, 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 swordinen, yet were generally so sloathfuhl, 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. Whereas no doubt the exercise of trades, and the Custome of industrye to liue every man of his owne, are a strong establishment of any Comon wealth. The mere Irish giuen to sloath are also most luxurious. And not to speake of the abundance of all meates, they are

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82 These idle serving men of whom Morison 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
excessiuely giuen to druncckennes. For howsoever, whyle they liued in woodes and in Cabbines with theire Catle, they could be content with water and milke, yet when they came to Townes nothing /10/ was more frequent then to tye theire 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, 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. 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 [theire]

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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 Morison 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 Justice 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 diverse
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]le not
only /40/ as aduerse to the Reformation of Civill 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 Civill warr to alledge reasons, to
justifie their so doing, namely that they whose Progenitors
had conquered that kingdome, and were at first thought most
woorthy to gourne 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 worn out in the Ciuill warr of England, betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, they were not strengthned with newe Colonyes out of England, and so being weaker then the meere Irish, were forced to apply themselves 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 Gouernors 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 Gouernors 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 Rebells but by degrees grewe like the meere Irish in all things euен 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 pention to serue the State, they were more ready to rebell, then /20/

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the meere Irish themselves. Among these some in hatred to
the English changed their English names into Irish, yet
retaining the old notation, as the Vrselyes called them
selues Mac Mahones, 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 descended of old English Barons, and
the lord Curc[e]ly 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 retaining 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 judge 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 Subjects, and
will not be stayned with the name of Rebells, haue any just
cause to complayne that they are excluded from the
government, 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 anciantly 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 anciantly 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 inherritt 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 have 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 re/member, 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 leesing 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 advanced to it, but also more displeasing to the people, who least like the Comaund 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 State 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
Counsells were continually made knowne to Tyrone and
other[s] Rebells, and lett men iudge vnpartially, who could
more iustly be suspected of this falsohood, then the
Counsellors of State, borne in that kingdome. Many
Counsells were propounded for reforming the State, for
banishing Jesuites 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 Justice 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 overseers to looke into their
actions and make them knowne to her deputy. No doubt that
wise Queene either thought the Counsells of Sir Robert
Dillon knight, and the cheife Iustice of Ireland contrary
to the publique good, or vppon better advise, she /30/
would never have removed him from that place, which her
Gracious fav'our had first conferred vpon him.\footnote{Mountjoy wrote to Robert Cecil on 27 November 1600 saying that the Dillon family consisted of the "greatest men of living in the Pale", \textit{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 \textit{A Discourse of Civil Life}. See Richard Berleth \textit{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.} What neede we use circumstances, the generall opinion of that tyme was, that the English Irish made Counsellors of State, and Judges of Courts did evidently hurt the publike good, and that their false harted helpe, did more hinder reformation, then the open Acts of the Rebells. Generally before this tyme they were Papists, and if some of them, vpon hypocritcall dispensation went to Church Commonly their Parents, children kinsmen and servants, \footnote{Mountjoy wrote to Robert Cecil on 27 November 1600 saying that the Dillon family consisted of the "greatest men of living in the Pale", \textit{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 \textit{A Discourse of Civil Life}. See Richard Berleth \textit{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.} 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 Command to the people the use 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 usurping the hereditary right of him and his Subiects, in bestowing Church livings \footnote{Mountjoy wrote to Robert Cecil on 27 November 1600 saying that the Dillon family consisted of the "greatest men of living in the Pale", \textit{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 \textit{A Discourse of Civil Life}. See Richard Berleth \textit{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.} vnder
their Patronage, and valiantly opposed himselfe to this and
other oppressions of the Pope, observing that his Counsells
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 remidy against
these vnfaithfull Counsellors and Churchmen. That which
king Edward might doe in this Case, may not his Successors
doe the same in Ireland vpon like danger, sequestring any
suspected persons from places in Counsell and Judgment.
When magistrates themselues vse only Conniuencye in
punishing disobedience to the 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) lett vs further see, how
the English Irish in those tymes caryed themselues in
military Commands 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 Rebells party. Of these some woorthy Commanders did good service, and all in generall, so long as they were imploied 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 observed that generally they did no service, but lying still, wasted the Queens 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 Rebells, 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 Rebells fauour, as to haue the goods of their Countrye safe from spoyling, the very Subjects gaue large Contributions to the Rebells, insomuch as one Country (whereby an Estimate of the rest may be made,) did pay the Rebells /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 Rebells 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 Rebells, 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 project 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 Queens 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 aliuie to the State, whose reuenge they feared not, yea perhappa 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 Queens letters shall
bear me witnesse that the English Irish placed in Garrisons at theire owne home lyved idile without doinge any service exhausted the publique Treasure and by all meanes nourished the Rebellion especially by plothes laid at prviate parlyes and at publique meetinges vppon hills (Called Rathes) where many treacherous Conspiracies weare made.91 Would /20/ any equall man blame a Prince for puttinge such Souldgers out of pay for prohibitinge such perleys,92 and for Carefall wacchinge over such meetinges? Great priuilibidges 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 Subieccjon: But if theise Lordes vse theire priuilidges and power to Contrary endes, spoilinge the [Countrey] [subiectes] and wastinge the Countrey by theire sword menu, when the Cause Ceased, shall not the effect cease ? /30/ when theire vertue is Cha[.]n[ged and theire endes Corrupted, may not a wise Prince abridge theire priuilidges 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.
these ill Causes became jealous of the English Irish Counsellors of State and Judges and used the aforesaid Remedys against a Cheeffe Iustice & a Cheeffe Barronn of that tyme. Formerly I acknowledge that the English Irish served brauely in our Army, while they were under the Lord Deputyes eie, and some worthie Commanders /40/ [served faithfully] of them shewed great faithfullnes, and did speciall services, yet this most wise Queene found their defects, & that the strength of her affaires Consisted in breeding English Souldgers, soe as she commanded the other Companyes 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 there own Countreys, where they might not feare to draw blood of the borderinge Septes. The Earle of Clanricard served the said Queene soe well, as he cannot be to much commended for the same,²³ and was also highly /50/ in her Fauor, yet when the Earle of Essex had left him Gouernor of his owne Countrey, howsoever she would not openly displace him, yet shee Ceased not till by her directions he was induced to a voluntary Resignacion thereof into her handes: For indeed the English Irish and meere Irish of that tyme weare generally soe humorous,²⁴ // fol:266. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

²³ 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.

²⁴ "3. b. Moody, peevish, ill-humoured..." OED
as their fathers or brothers that dyed having any
government of the Country or command 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 mischievous Course. To conclude, the
English Irish of that time (few or none excepted) were
obstinate and most superstitious Papists, and what our
State might have hoped from such men in high places of
government, let wise men judge.

The second excuse of the English Irish for applying
themselves /10/ to the mere Irish in manners laws and
Customs, and so growing strangers (if not Enemies) to the
English, hath some Coulor of truth, but can neuer justify
this action. Namely that the Colonyes of the first English
conquering Ireland, being broken and wasted it [in] the
Ciueill warr of England betweene the houses of Yorke and
Lancaster were neuer supplyed, but left so weake as they
were forced to apply themselves to the mere 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 vpon Ireland, and in this mean time the mere Irish
had taken such root, and so ouertopp'd the English
Irish, as the sending of English Colonyes thether so long
as the mere Irish remayned good Subjects, would rather
have 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 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. Whereof two great mischeifes grewe. First that these Papists being more obstinate then others, and thervppon choosing to leave their dwelling in England, where the severity of the lawes bridled them, and to remove into Ireland, where they might be more remote, and so haue greater liberty, shewed the old prouerbe to be true, Calum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt

Passing the sea with a swift wynde, doth change the aire but not the mynde


"Oeulum 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 Province; 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, giving them Freeholds, Coppy holds & leases, and tying them to serue on Foote, or horseback vppon all occasions of tumult or warr, which would much haue strengthned 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 servants 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].

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first troubles of the next Rebellion of Tyrone, themselues and the State founde by wofull experience, that they had no way strengthned 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\textsuperscript{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 Iuryes betwene the king and the Subiects, so as the lord President had not power to suppresse the first Rebells, and the Judges in all tryalls were forced to vse the Irish, who made no conscience of doing wrong to the king, and the English Subiects.

Againe theire Irish Tennants ether rann away, or turning Rebells spoyled them, and the Irish in theire houses were ready to be tray them, and \textsuperscript{30} open theire dores to the Rebells. So as some of those vndertakers were in the first tumult killed, some taken prisoners were Cruelly handled, and had theire wiues and daughters shamefully abused, great part rann out of the kingdome, and yet shamed not to clayme & proffesse in the ende of the Rebelion these landes, the defence whereof they had so basely forsaken. Some fewe kept theire old Reveued Castles, but with great charg to the State in mantayning warders to defend them, which warders were so many, as they greatly diminished the force of our Army in the \textsuperscript{40} fielde. 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 magnifie 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 //

fol:268. Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. vndertakers of Mounster, or vpon the landes of any other English Irish throughout Ireland, or to liue in Cityyes and townes, were generally observed to haue beene ether Papists, men of disordered life, banckrots, or very poore (not speaking of those of the Army remayning 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. To conclude, I deny not but the excuse of weakness 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 persuade the planting of Ireland with new 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. If I should commend and extoll the Act, I feare I should therein be reputed as foolish as the Sophister, who in a publike assembly made along oration in prayse of Hercules, whom no man at that tyme or formerly euer dispraysed. But I will passe from their alleged excuses to the true causes of their Alienation from us 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[l]so predominant, though in a lower degree, is the profitt they

86 Moryson sees the English state anthropomorhically, 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.

87 "2. Foresight, prevlsiori...wise arrangement... guidance..." OED Moryson is always complimentary of James.

88 "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 Customs 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 theire Contracting affinity with them by mairiage, 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 Parlament, did of old make many Actes against them, which some tymes wrought reformation, but without any during effect,

For contrary to these lawes,9 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 theire English Parents, and allso mutually fostered each others Children, which bond of loue the Irish generally so much esteeme, as they will giue theire Foster Children a /50/ parte of theire goods with theire owne Children, and the very Children

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9 Morison 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 Cittizens, espetially 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 bee 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 (vugarly\textsuperscript{100} called glibs) which hanges downe to the shoulders, hidinge the face, so as a Malefactor may easily escape with his face covered theire with, or by collering his hayre, and much \textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{100} Hughes amends to "vulgarly", p. 212.

\textsuperscript{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 worene 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 vsed 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 alienate the myndes of all nations, so as the
wise Romans as they inlarged theire Conquests, \(^{30}/\) so they
did spreade theire language, with theire 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 tongue in Ireland, was ever interrupted by Rebellions, and much more by /40/ ill affected subjects, so as at this time whereof I write, the mere Irish disdained to learn or speak the English tongue, yea the English Irish and the very Citizens (excepting those of Dublin where the lord Deputy resides) though they could speak English as well as we, yet Commonly speak Irish among themselves, and were hardly induced by our familiar Conversation to speak English with vs, yea Common experience shewed, and my selfe and others often observed, the Citizens of Watterford and Corck having wives that could speak English as well as we, /50/ bitterly to chide them when they speak English with vs. [Insomuch as after the Rebellion ended, when the Itinerant Judges went there Circutes through the kingdom each alfe yeare to keepe assises, fewe of the people no not the very Jurymen could speak English, and at like Sessions in Vlster, all the gentlemen and common people (excepting only the Judges trayne) and the very Jurymen putt upon life and death and all tryalls in lawe, commonly spake Irish, many Spanish, and fewe or none could or would speak English.] These outward signs being touchstones of the inward affection, manifestly shewed that the English Irish helde it a reproch among themselves, to apply themselves 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. //
fol.270 Booke II The Commonwealth of Ireland Chap:V

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 things 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 things about it cleane contrary to vs. To conclude they abhorr from all things that agree with English Ciuality. 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 penaltyes to rayse a yearely Rent to themselves, 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 uses, 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 theire power. First they did so for feare lest vpon peace established they might be inquired into for theire Religion, being all obstinate Papists, abhorrings 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 theire eares with woll or some like matter, so as they could not heare aworde the Preacher spake (a strange obstinacy since fayth comes by heareing, to resolue 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 necessaries. /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 Rebells, they furnished them continually with all necessaries, neuer wanting crafty euasions from the Capitall daunger of the lawe in // Booke II The Commonwealth of Ireland. Chap:V fol 27i such cases. For among other subtileties, were obserued some of them to lade a great[er] quantity of English wollen cloth and like necessaries 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]vrtised\textsuperscript{105} some Rebells 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 Rebells 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

\textsuperscript{105} Hughes amends to "advertised", p. 215.
made excessive profitt, the Rebells being sometymes in such want of munition, as they would glue whole heardes of Cowes for a small quantity of munition, for they could easily recover Cowes againe by rapine, but most hardly gott supplyes of Armes /20/ and munition. And these Armes the Citizens vsed to buy of our Cast Captaines, as powder from our soldiers having a surplusage of that which was allowed them for exercise of their pceces, and also vnderhand of trayterous vnderministers in our office of the Ordinance residing in their Citayes. And in like sort they furnished the Rebells 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 Rebells. These their abominable practises were well scene and greatly detested, but could not easily be remedyed, the delinquents euery 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 supplyed, in regard that the wyndes are there so uncertaine, 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. cassd captain; this led to other uses." OED
hazard before new supplyes 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, For Dublin was in part ouer awed by the lord Deputies residencye, 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 //

fol:272. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. the same to pernitious 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 Citty. And when vppon their manifest rebellion at the very end of the last Rebellion, the lord Mountioy then lord Deputy bringing to their Citty 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 Iohns charter (as not grauntable to such prejudice of
his /10/ Successors) with king Iames his sword, and to sowe
salt vpon 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 vpon
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 Rebells, to
export and import traiterous Jesuites in their Shipps, 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 judged 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, vpon the same forealledged causes,
as in [no][one] particular Case of their Community of

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

{ 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 [servant] 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,\footnote{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.} 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 Subjects might see their goods possessed by them, and yet could not recouer them. Yea, nothing was //

more frequent [then] for the State[s] to give 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 avoyded, 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 mette for so noble and worthie a Prince as he was: that he used 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]. Morison 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 urged, 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 give entrance to an Enemyes Asse laden with gold;111 so Ireland could not have 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 servants, yea Counsellors of State, and (I shame to speake it, ) the very wifes and children of the lord Deputy ready to begg his Pardon, who seldom or neuer missed to obtayne it.112

They further urged, that not only armed Rebells were /30/ in this kinde pardoned, but also that those taken, and putt in our prisons, were commonly by like Corruption freely pardoned, or suffered under hand to breake Prison, and then pardoned under 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.

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

*Crede mihi res est ingeniosa, dare.*

*Beeleeue, Tis' a most witty course, to give & bribe with open purse.*

And touching the Prisons, they said, that the Jailors of Prouinciall and other Prisons, seldom brought their Prisoners to be tryed before Judges, but some were executed by Marshall lawe, contrary to the dignity of Ciuill Iustice, Others they would affirme to be dead, vpon their bare word without testimony of the Crowner, or any like proceeding necessary in that Case. Others they would affirme to have bene freed by the commaund of the Prouinciall Gouernors availeable rather by Custome then

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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." Yea they would not shame to confess some to have 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 give power of Protection to military Gouernors, that they might bring Rebells in to the state, but they alleged many corrupt abuses committed in that Case, whereby not only Armed Rebells, but // fol:274. Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. 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.'17 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 driven to desperate Courses especially since the punishment of all was vnpossible in such a strong

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

117 The MacCarthy Sept were very important, and Morison 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 particuluer 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 opposition\textsuperscript{118} 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 seuere hand. How much better (said they) had our State /30/ done [to haue giuen no protection or pardon in the beginning, but] to haue severely 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 pitty and mercy had bene judged fitt to be extended to any, surely not to those, who after malicious and blody Acts of hostilitye were at last broken, and vnable longer to subsist much lesse without some pecuniary

\textsuperscript{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 hope of future service. In all which kindes they gave 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 by [many] notable instances, that Irish and English Irish, who had forsaken their lorde in Rebellion, to serue in our Army, after when their lorde 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 Rebells 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 returning to them from the service of the State, and more specially those who had faithfully served vs in the warr for spyes, and for guides to conduct our forces through the boggs and woods and forttified places, 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 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 servants 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 Judges to pardon them, who neuer fayled to execute them whose pardon he craued. /30/ But why we should subiect the servants of the State to the oppression of great lords that
had bene Rebells, or why the State should vppon any pretence graunt them Marshall lawe (the examples of both which I confesse were frequent and pregnant\textsuperscript{119}), I thinck no coulorable reason can be giuen.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{y}es, as had not one foote of land in the Countyes, 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 perueriting the Iustice of their owne (as also their freinds) causes, especially by making Iuryes serue their t<u>rne. 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 \textsuperscript{[Eng]}Ireland, the bare seeking whereof implyed 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

\textsuperscript{119} "a. 1. clear." \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{120} "2. b. ...having at least a \textit{prima facie} aspect of justice or validity."

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dangerous Crimes. //

fol:276. Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.

Hereof my selfe can only say, that in England these Pardons are not obtayned without great difficulty: and that the Irish lorde in and before the last rebellion, complayne 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 Justice. }
Touching the generall Justice of Ireland howsoeuer 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 united vppon mariagge 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 appoynted by the lord Deputy, with a cheefe Iustice and
the kings attorney\textsuperscript{121} for the Province, not hauing any Courtes of Justice, 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 \textsuperscript{[was]} in like sort governed by a governor (after styled lord President) with Counsellors to assist him, and among them a cheefe Justice and the kings attorney, as in mounster, both governing in cheefe aswell for millitary as Civill 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 authory but that \textsuperscript{[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 Subjectes. The Cittyes and townes had their subordinate magistrates, as Maiore and Souraues,\textsuperscript{122} to governe them. But the Courtes for the Common lawe for all Ireland were only at Dublin, as

\textsuperscript{121} Hughes corrects to "attorney", p. 223.

\textsuperscript{122} Sous can mean deputy as in sousprior, sous-chef, and "reeve n. 1. I. 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 Exchequer, 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 supplyed by vnlearned and vnpractised men. And there also at the ende of the warr was erected the Court of the Starr Chamber. And there resided the cheefe Judges of the whole kingdome, as the lord chauncelor, master Cheefe Iustice, the cheefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, and the cheefe Barron of the Exchequer, who had not formerly the style of lords nor scarlett habitts, both which were granted them after the /10/ Rebellion ended, to give 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 Judges among themselues, who
determined theire causes by an unwritten lawe, only
retayned by tradition, which in some thinges had a smacke
of right and equity, and /20/ in some other was contrary to
all diuine and humane lawes. These Judges were called
Brehownes, all together vnlearned, and great swillers of
Spanish sacke (which the Irish merily called the king of
Spaynes Daughter). Before these Judges no [,] probable or
certaine Arguments were avayleable to condemne the accused,
but only manifest apprehensions in the fact. A murther
being committed, these Judges tooke vpon them to be
intercessours to reconcyle the murtherer with the frendes
of the murthered, by a /30/ guift vulgarly called
Iuriesh.123 They did extorte unreasonable rewardes for
their Judgment, as the eleuenth part of every 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
Judges, because he could not bring witneseses 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 ffty yeares. Among other their barbarous lawes, or rather Customes and traditions, I haue formerly spoken of their tenure of land, vulgarly called Themistry, or Tanistry, whereby not the eldest sonne but the elder vnkle, or the most valliant (by which they understand the most dissipate swordman) of the Family, succeeded the diseased by the election of the people, whereof came many murthers & parricides /50/ and Rebelions, besides great wronges done to the State, as in this particular case. If the predecessor of free will or constrained by armes had surrendred his inheritance to the king, and had taken it backe from the kings grant 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 /

fol 278 Booke II The Commonwealth of Ireland Chap.V
but for life. By these Judges and by these and like lawes were the meere Irish Judged 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 Judges and lawes, and this particular 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.\textsuperscript{124} And from the first Conquest to that tyme and long after, the States of Ireland were called to the Parlament 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 approved were sent backe to the lord Deputy, who accordingly confirmed them for acts of that Parlament, & 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 dissolueed the Parliaments, But if the worthy Progenitors of our late kings should reuieue, and see the face of these Parliaments 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 themselves, and freeing them from constrainyt in that kynde. Att first this government was fatherly to subjectes 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 subjectes, 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 theire in Parlament, and would

\textsuperscript{124} Poyning's Law, 1494.
quickly have taught them what difference ever was betweene the Spanish and English yoke. But if /40/ this course might in vs seeme tyrannicall, the Statesmen of that tyme judged it easy by a fayer meanes to bring them to conformity in a Parlament. 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 Sherifffes 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 Judges 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 beeene more feared and

125 Events had overtaken Morison'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
teritoryes, yet nether themselues had answerable\textsuperscript{126} 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 \textit{/10/} the lordes to Ciuill
obedience, to inrich them by orderly Rents, and to fill the
kings Cofers out of theire aboundance. 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 Iudges\textsuperscript{127} began to ryde theire
Circuites through all the partes of Ireland, and those who
had passed through all Vlster to keepe assisses there, made
hopefull relation of theire proceeding to the Earle of
Deuonshyre lord lefteriant of Ireland residing in the
English Courte, advertising him, that in those \textit{/20/}
sessions they had perswaded the lords to graunt theire
Tennants theire land, by freehoolds, Coppihoolds, and
leases, that the might builde houses, and cleare the
paces\textsuperscript{128} of theire 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,

\textsuperscript{126} "3. Corresponding..." \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{127} "Itinerant" because they travel to the assizes.

\textsuperscript{128} "Narrow passes through mountains or rocks." Myers,
p. 238.
to establish their yearly Revenues by certaine Rents, which would be more profitable to them. That the lords seemed gladly to yealde to these persuasions, and to establish /30/ certaine Rents to themselves, so they might be permitted after the old manner to make only one Cutting upon their tenants for the payment of their debts. That they the Judges had taught the inferior gentlemen and all the Common people, that they were not slaves but free men, owing only Rents to their lords, without other subjection, since their lords as themselves were subject to a just and powerful king, whose sacred Majestie at his great charg mantayned them his Judges to give equal Justice to them both, with equal respect /40/ to the lordes and to them for matters of right. That a great lord of Vlster named O Cane, having imprisoned a tenant without legall course, they had not only rebuked him for usurping that power over the kings subjectes, but howsoever he confessed is error publiquely, and desired pardon for it, yet for example they had also imposed a fyne upon him for the same. And that the inferior gentlemen and all the Common people, gladly embraced this liberty from the yoke of [the] great lords, and much applauded this act of Justice upon O Cane, /50/ promising with joyfull acclamations a large Composition of Rents and services to the king, so this Justice 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. 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 complaints, as they could not be contented without singular patience. And that from the lords to the inferior sort, they had a ridiculous fashion, never to be content with the magistrates hand under their petitions, and therewith to be content were it never so delatory yealt contrary to their request, which hand they used to sign tho they knew the ill and crafty uses the Irish made of it, /10/

who comming home would shewe this hand to their tenants and adversaries, without reading the words to which it was sett, and so pretending the magistrates consent to their request, many times 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 Judges, 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 either 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 wont 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 their old superstition in
Religion, they returned to practise the lawe in Ireland,

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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

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where they indeuored nothin ge 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 Ciuant
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 private
determinations, whome the State excluded from publike
pleading at our barrs.

Booke II The Commonwealth of Ireland Chap V fol 281
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 refractory, by which examples
and the strict eye and hand of our magistrates seene to
hang over them, this mischief might in time either be taken away, or be made less general. These lawyers taught the proud and barbarous lords of Ireland, how they might keep the people of their Countryes in absolute subjection and make them not only obey for fear of their power daily hanging over their heads, but also to think that their lords by right of law or equivalent Custome, had absolute Command of their goods and bodies. By which and like means they not only gave strength to rebellious affections, but also made open resistance to all intended reformations to their utmost power seeking to root out the wise foundations to that end carefully laid by former ages, or at least to shake them and still keep them from any firm establishment. In this time I will only give one instance. When Rory Odonnell at the end of the Rebellion, was come over into England with the lord Mountjoy (after created Earl of Devonshire), there to obtain the Confirmation from the kinges Majestie, of that Pardon and grant of his brothers land (the second ArchRebell) which the said lord had promised him at his submission, while he was yet in England, and all that depended formerly on his brother, hovered between hope and fear, 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 employed there by the said Rory, persuaded Mac Swyne, and O Boyle, and other gentlemen of old Freeholders in Tirconnell under the ODonnells, that they had no other right in their lands, but only the mere pleasure and will of ODonnell. This the said gentle men, though rude, and in truth barbarous, and altogether ignorant in our lawes, [but] [that] only denied, but offered to produce old writings to prove the Contrary. When that Fox perceived their Confidence, and after heard that the said Rory had his Pardon, and lands confirmed in England, and was moreover created Earle of Tirconnell, he assayed these gentlemen an other way, telling them, that the king having granted pardon, and all his brothers land to this new Earle of Tirconnell 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 soever, and so could have no dependendancy but on the Earles favour. Herein he told a triple lye, First that he denied their right of Freehold, which was held to be most certaine, though it had bene abolished by long tyranny of the cheife lord, and perhaps at first ought him some limited services, 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 Paramount. Secondly that he affirmed the whole Province to be giuen to the Earle by the king, whereas it was graunted //

fol 282 Booke II The Commonwealth of Ireland Chap V in these expresse words, to hold of his Maiesties 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 not away the firmer right of Freehold or other that any Subject 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 obeyed the vniust end he sought, to the great preiidice of the kings Majesties seruice, and of his Subjects in Tirconnell. For these gentlemen and the rest of the people in that Province being ignorant of the lawe, and afraid of euery rumor, vpon a guilty conscience of deserued punishment in their Rebellion, and the new chaunge of the State in England 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 Morison'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 prejudic to themselfes and ignominy to the Iustice of the State) and to receive their lands by new graunts from the Earle, as of his meere grace and fauour. And howsoever the Itinerant Judges did after make knowne their error to them, and gaue them hope this act would be reuersed vppon their Complaint, yet they chose rather to enjoy 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 services 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 preseruation whereof 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 servants of former lords Deputyes, who haue obtained any such guifts of w<ard>es, Intrusions Alienations and Confiscations, for they well know, what tedious 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. 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 live in Spayne, in Rome, and in their very Seminaryes, 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 superstitionous 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 Provinces 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 withs in steed of Ropes vpon their first apprehention. In cases of Treason, the great lordes of the kingdome were of old judged by the Assembly [the kingdome] of the three States in Parliament, but since Henry the seuenths 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 judged. 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] will 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 Joyncture\textsuperscript{142} giuen her before marriage, 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 howsoever the Irish lorde 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

\textsuperscript{142} Joyncture, in this passage an inheritance to support her in viduity. See \textit{OED} 4. a. and b. Hughes spells "Joyncture", p. 233.
their barbarous manner (/40/ (importing the cheife of that Sept or name), as Oneale O Donnell, mac Carthy, and the like. And these names they used to resume when they would lead the people into Rebellion. The title of knights Barronetts, was not then knowne in Ireland. They have no order of knighthood like that of the order of the Garter in England, and the like in other kingdoms, but only as in England, such knights as are made by the sword of the king, or of the lord Deputy there, who always had the power by his Commission from the king to make any man knight, whom he judgeth worthy of that dignity. /50/ The poorest of any great Sept, or name,roupe themselves //

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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, using 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
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Corke, and they of Galloway in Connaght, upon the lawe
forbidding mariage with the meere Irish, and especially to
keepe the wealth of the Cittyes within the walles thereof,
haue of old Custome used to marrye with their owne
Cittisens, whereby most of the Familyes and private
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/ sirnames, whereas
the English leesing then utterly, doe all take the sirnames
of their husbandes. The men hold it disgracefull to walke
with their owne wiuues abroade, or to ryde with their
wiuues behinde them. The meere Irish diuorced wiuues and with
their consent tooke them agayne frequently, and for small
yea ridiculous causes, allwayses paying a bribe of Cowes to
the Brehowe Judges, 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 have /30/
putt away his wife of a good Family and beautiull145 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.
The more Civil sort were not ashamed, and the mere Irish much less, to own their bastards, and to give them legacies by that name. Insomuch as they have pleasant fables, of a mother who upon her death bed (according to their above mentioned Custom) giving true Fathers to her children, and finding her husband offended therewith, bad him hold /40/ his peace, or else she would give away all his Children. As also of a boy, who seeing his mother give base Fathers to some of his brethren, prayed her with tears to give him a good father. The Children of the English Irish, and much more of the mere Irish, are brought up with small or no austerity, rather with great liberty yea licentiousnes. And when you read of the fore said frequent divorces, and generally of the womans immoderate drinking, you may well judge that incontinency is not rare among them, yet even in that licentiousnes they hold the /50/ general ill affection to the English, sooner yealding those ill fruites of love to an Irish horsboy, than to any English of better


147 Ascham deplored the severity of the English methods. "...love is fitter than fear, gentleness 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.

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


{ m.n. 1 - 3. Of their military affayres. }

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. 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 stirropps, which they neither vse nor haue, as like wise they vse no bootes nor spurres. They carry waightye speares not with points vpward 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 defensiue 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. They are more fitt to make a bravado, and to offer light skirmishes then for a sound incounter. Neither did I euer see them performe any thing with bold resolution. They assaile not in a ioynt body but scattered, and are cruell Executioners vpon flying enemies, but otherwise, howsoever, they make a good noyse, and Clamor, [in the assa<u>u</u>lt, yet when they come neere] they sodenly and ridiculously wheele about, neuer daring to abide the shock. So as howsoever the troopes of English horse by their strong second giue Courage and strength to their Foote Companyes, 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, but always fight vpon 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 vpon the deformity and strength of their bodyes, or barbarous Cryes they make in the assault, or vpon 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

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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 incouraged 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 themselves to a hill distant from the Foote, as if they intended rather to behold the battell then to fight themselves, by this forsaking of their Foote, they might iustly be said to be the cheife Cause of their ouerthowre. 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 vpon boggs, and soft ground, are tender houed and soone grow lame, vsed vpon hard ground. //

fol:286. Booke.ii. The comon wealth of Ireland Chap:V.

So as our English horsemen having deepe warr sadles and vsing pistolls aswell as Speares and swords, and many of them having Corsletts,\textsuperscript{152} and like defensive 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.

\textsuperscript{152} Defensive body armour. See OED 1 and 2. a.
Touching their Foote, he that had seeen 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 amyed it at the marke, and a third gave fyre, and [that] not without feare and trembling, /10/ would have wondered in short tyme after to see them most bold and ready in the vs of their pceces, and would have sayd that the Spartaynes, had great reason who made a lawe, never to make long warr with any of their neighbors, but after they had giuen them one or two foyles\(^{153}\) for strengthening of their subjection, 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 Rebell, 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 victuals for their reward.\textsuperscript{155} And surely howsoever some of /30/ the English State, lightly reguarded the frequent Rebellions of the Irish, thincking them rather profitable to exercise the English in Armes, then dangerous to disturbe the State; yet woffull 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 desyrous 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 vpon Boggs, and difficult paces or passages of woods, and not to stand and fight in a firme body vpon 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 bodys, vpon the playne, they were easily defeated). And because /50/ they are not

\textsuperscript{155} Sess is an Irish word still in use, and an aphetic form of assess or assessment. \textit{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,\textsuperscript{156} Secondly the Kerne, and some of their Footemen, are armed with waignty Iron males, and Iacks,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 afrayd therewith, as also with their nakednes, and barbarous lookes, in which case they insist violently, being terrible

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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{158} Under kern 1. \textit{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 heads, or els 3 dartes."
Executioners by their swiftness of Foot upon flying
Enemies, never sparing any that yield to mercy, yea being
most bloody and cruel towards their /10/ Captives upon
[cold blood, contrary to the practice of all noble]
enemies, and not only mangling the bodies of their dead
Enemies, but never believing them to be fully dead till
they have cut of their heads. 159 But after the English had
learned to abide their first assault firmly, and without
fear, notwithstanding their boldness, and activity, they
found them faintly to assayle, and easily to give ground,
when they were assayled, yet never could do any great
execution, on them upon the Boggs and [in] woods where
they were nimble to fly, and skilful in all passages,
especially our horse there not being able to serve upon
them. 160 To conclude, as they /20/ begin to fight with
barbarous Cries, so it is ridiculous and most true, that
when they begin to retire from the skirmish, some run out
to braule and scowlde like women with the next Enemies,
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 fourer trading for Spaine, and Fraunce, carryed a fewe Iron peces for defence against Pyratts in our Channell, that might assayle them in boates, and they were all under /30/ one hundreth Tonnes burthen. The rest of their Shipps were all of much less burthen seruing only to transport passengers to and fro, and horses and marchandize out of England little, or nothing being carryed out of Ireland in tyme of the Rebellion. And these were not many in numbell, the English shipps, most commonly seruing for those purposes. So as little 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 navigation, 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 reieected by the Queenes Commissioners.

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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 they 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 receive 200th, some 300th, some 400th great Shipps, and only two or three, are barred and shallowe, besides diuerse large and Commodious Hauens in Mounster. //

*fol:288. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V.*

{ 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 observed 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 without taking any constant Course to preuent future dangers in that kinde. In this last Rebellion, I am afryd to remember how litle that kingdome wanted of being

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16 Hughes corrects to "the", p. 240.

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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 kingdom, were shaken and fearfully tottered, and were preserved from ruine more by the providence of God out of his great mercy, (as may appeare by the particular affayres at the seige of *Kinsale*) then by our Counsells 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 use of the peece, the sword and other Armes, and very active and valiant in light skirmishes, had likewise attayned the discipline of warr to marche orderly, and fight uppon the playne to assault and keepe Fortes, and to manage great Ordinance, (which they neither had nor knew to use). If the barbarous lordes, as they were full of pride, some vaunting themselves to bee descended from the old kings of *Ireland* so had not nourished factions among themselves, 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 overcome, but knowest
not to make use of thy victory). Not to speak of the providence of God even miraculously protecting our Religion against the Papists. No doubt in humane wisdom, that Rebellion would have had an other end then by the grace of God it had. And it was justly feared, that if constant serious remedies were not used to prevent future eruptions, the next Rebellion might prove fatal to the English State.

Now that I may not seem forward to reprove others, but negligent in observing our own errors, give me leave to say boldly, and to shew particularly, that the following and no other causes brought upon us all the mischiefs to which the last rebellion, made us subject. When any Rebell troubled the State, our Custom was, for saving of Charges, not to suppress him with our own Armes, but to raise up some of his Neighbors against him, supporting him with means to annoy him, and promoting him to greater dignities and possessions of land, and if he were of his own blood, then making him chief of the name,

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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 vnnder one head). And these /50/ Neighbor lordes thus raysed neuer fayled to proue more pernitious Rebells, then th<e>y against whome they were supported by vs. One instance shall serue for prooфе of the Earl of Tyrone raysed by our State from the lowest degree, against his kinsman Tirlogh Linnaghe, whome the Queene too long supported, euven till his men were expert in Armes, and too highly exalted, euven till he had all his opposites power in his hand, which he vsed Farr worse then the other, or any of the Oneales [before him]. In our State parcatur sumptui; lett cost be spared, were euere two most fatall wordes to our gouernment in Ireland, as by this and that which followes, shall playnely appeare. /60//


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 to save charges not only
used the Irish one against the other, but long forbore to
levye English Soldiers vainly thincking to reduce them by
Treatyes,. When the Rebellion was increased, wee to save
charge in transporting English Soldiers, rais'd whole
Companyes of the English Irish, and as our Captaynes had
trayned Tyrones men while he pretended service to the
State, so [now] we trayned in our Army all the English
Irish giving them free use of Armes, which should be kept
only in the hands of faithfull Subjects. This raising of
whole Companyes of Foote and Troopes of horse among them,
was a great error, /10/ For they once having gotten the use
of Armes, wee durst not Cast them, lest they should fall to
the Rebells party. Perhapps their sociall Armes might haue
bene usefull, if wee had mixed them in our Companyes, and
that in small limitted numbers, but wee not only rais'd
whole bands of them, and all of one Sept, or name, (easily
conspiring in mischeife,) and vsed their service at home,
(where they would not drawe bloud vpon any Neighbor Sept,
and liued idly vpon their own prousions, putting all the
Queenes pay into their purses, which might haue beene
preuented by imploying them in remote places), but
sometimees trusted them with /20/ keeping of Forts, for
which service they are most vnfit, though we doubted not
of their faithfulness, justly then suspected, yea further
weakned all our owne bands and troopes by intertayning
them. For an English Troope of horse sent out of England

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commonly in a yeares space, was turned halfe into Irish (having worse horses and Armes and no sadles, besides the losse of the English horsemen) only because the Irish would serve 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 used the English Irish for horseboyes, who were slothfull in our service, and little loued vs, but having learned our use of Armes, and growing of ripe yeares often proved stout Rebells. 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 prevented at first, though in the end for necessity we made the best use we could of the /40/ worst.

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 have shamed to see compared with
those of the Spaniards brought to Kinsale. Our Powder and all munitions were daily sold to the Rebells by diverse practises. For sometymes the vnnder officers of the Ordinance there would sell some proportions of diverse kindes of munition to Citizens or ill affected Subjects, and /50/ sometymes the Cast Captaynes commonly vsing to appropriate to themselves 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 vnnderhand conveyed to the Rebells, who would give more for them then they were woorth. In like sort the Contractors serving the Army with victualls, having obtayned from the Counsell in England liberty to sell to the Citizens and poore Subjects such /60/ //

fol:290. Booke ii. The common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. victualls as were like to grow mowldye, their servants in Ireland many tymes, whiles they served 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,\textsuperscript{168} did vnderhand sell the best to such Citizens and Subjects by whome it was conveyed to the Rebells. For reforming of which abuses, Commaund was giuen out of England, that some offendours 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 Subjects, 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 overseers 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 Remidyes too late prescribed, were neuer putt in execution.

Againe one great mischeife did great prejudice 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

\textsuperscript{168} Hughes has "cheefe", p. 244, which makes scant sense.
wynde turned presently to the west, and blew no more out of England till the Spaniards had yeilded vpon Composition.\\textsuperscript{169}

Agayne our Prouant masters\\textsuperscript{170} 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 neere\\textsuperscript{171} so good, as the allowed price required. The Prouant Masters thus compounding with the Captaymes, they contented the Soldiers, with a little drinking 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

\textsuperscript{169} Terms of agreement. \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{170} Quartermasters. Myers, p. 239.

\textsuperscript{171} Hughes omits "which were content" to here almost certainly in error.
soldiers, so as they dyed vpon a small Colde taken, or a prick of the finger, for want of Convenient releife for fewe dayes till they might /40/ recover.

Thus howsoever 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 little 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 have suffered want, /50/ but deputies and Generalls though honourable and Charitable persons, cannot goe much beyond their tether.\172\ To conclude, nothing hath more preserued the Army of the vnited Netherlanders, then such publique houses, where great numbers have bene recovered, that without them must needs have 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

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\172\ Myers modernizes to "tether", p. 222.
of the lowe Countryes, and with Armyes where the Prince is in person. 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, never exceeded 120 by Pole at the taking of the Feilde, vppon pretence of ten dead payes allowed the Captayne for his servants waiting on him, and for extraordinary payes, he might giue some gentlemen of his Company, as also for sick soldiers left in his Garrison, bysides that many tymes the strongest bands were much weaker, by wanting of supplyes of English men to fill them. But they were farre /10/ more weake at the Coming out of the Feilde and retyring to Garrisons vppon pretence of men dead in the sommer service. 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 pitty 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'Doughtery, 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 vppon any deceite, whose
punishment the Soldier would not only well indure, but
joyfully applaud.¹¹¹ Others thought the Pay should still
be made to the Captaynes as honourable persons, so their
deceipt were punished by note of infamy, and Cashering 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 largly 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 Mountjoy (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 ever 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 subject to relapse, except his

¹¹¹ 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 laid the foundation, and should polish the stones, which he had only rough hewed. And finding every Rebellion in Ireland to have been more dangerous than the former, and the last to have wanted little of casting the English out of that kingdom, was most careful to prevent all future mischiefs. To which end (howsoever his designs were diverted) I dare boldly say, both from his discourse with nearest friends, and from the papers he left, that he projected many good points of Reformation, whereof these few that follow are worthy to be remembered.

First to establish the maintenance of some necessary Forts planted within land remote from Seas & Rivers, the warders whereof might clear all places (or passages of Boages and woods) and might not only keep the Irish in awe, but be to the State as it were spies to advertise all mutinous and seditious inclinations. Also to plant like Garrysons upon such havens, as be easy and commodious for the descent of forpayne enemies. And because the Cittyes (especially of munster) having large priviledges granted to the first English inhabitants (as namely the Profit of Fynes and penall Statutes) had many ways abused them in

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180 Hughes corrects to "Bogges", p. 247.
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 &
improting Iesuites and Priests and prohibeted wares) and
also because these Cittyes in the Rebellion had nourished
the same by secret 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 of
many exorbitant priuilegges 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 denyed 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 Ulster, and that they would much strengthen the State, so great Caution were had that only English soldyers should 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 servuing for lesse [pay], or by wanting their full number of warders, and that, as the garrisons were to have land allotted and many priviledges graunted to them so constant care were taken to kepe them from //

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

spoiling the Countrye by seuer Severe 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 servants as Content with small or no wages, whereby the Fortes could not but be subject to betraying, as likewise for that the Captaynes were likely in tyme by letters Pattens from the State to apropriate to themselves the land allotted to each Forte for the pub/10/like vse of the garrisons, and for divers 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 releueed 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, giving them greater proportions of ground, to make them better content with this exchange. Some advised in this exchange, to give /30/ the Irish also those spirituall liuings which the\textsuperscript{183} helde by Custody as vacant at that tyme, but this course was thought to overthowe 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 liuings.\textsuperscript{184} But because the Irish and English Irish were obstinate in

\textsuperscript{183} Hughes corrects to "they", p. 249.

\textsuperscript{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 especially 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 theeeues and malefactors might more easily be apprehended, and all Catle, being not otherwise to be solde or bough then in publike marketts of Cittyes, All theftes and Rapines might
easily detected, and the barbarous people seeing the Cittizens to live plentifully under good government, and to growe rich by trades and traffique, might in tyme be allured to imbrace their civil manners and profitable industry. That the gentlemen inhabiting the adjoyning Countryes, should dwell in Castles of stone, and not keepe there husbandmen under absolute Commaund[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 joyned with them, then his lordship judged the Netherlanders most fitt to be drawne to this worke, as a people most industrious, peaceable, and subject to just commaund, and abounding with inhabitants, but streightend by not having large territoryes. 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 "strei .tend 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 servile manner of Ireland, which dependancye makes them apt to followe theire 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 Ciuitie. That they should be planted in remote /40/ places [...] theire native home, lest in seditions they might easily drawe theire 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 endeavours would be in vayne, if Ciuitall 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 kinldomes must be preserued by the meanes by which they were first gayned, and the Irish espetially being by theire nature plyable to a harde hand, and Iadish when vpon the least pricking of
prouender the bridle is lett loose unto them\(^{187}\). 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 Subjects) but should also haue all private Armes taken from them, till by Parliament it might be agreed, what use of swordes or Peeces //


were fitt to be graunted some men by priuiledge for grace & ornament, or for necessary use, as for fowling and like uses. 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 vpon any his Subjects 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 treate 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 Commodityes to export, and desyring not to haue more imported then wynes 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, yea 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 Countryes. 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 1200 Foote, and some 400 horse, yet the Charge of these small forces, and the Stipends of Magistrates and Judges, /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. 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 froward 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

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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 Rebells 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 deserved thankes and reward for that [poore] Supply. 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 Judges, 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 Vlster 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 Shipps, 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 Subjectes would delight in the Arts of

191 Moryson may be referring to Florence Mac Carty who "had great power in Carbry and Desmond.../...That Florence had levied of the Provincials and Bonnaghts (so they call waged soldiers) 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 \(1/20/\) from the reflection of the sunne vppon the earth, is abated by the frequent Boggs and lakes, (which together with rawe or little rosted meates, cause the Country diseases, of Fluxes and Agues fatall to the English) but this defect might be helped by the industry of Husbandmen drayning the grounds, and may hinder the ripening of some fruites, but no way hurteth the Corne, though perhapps it may cause a later Harvest then England hath.\(^2\) Againe in winter by the humidite of Sea and land, Ireland is lesse subject 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 \(1/30/\) 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.\(^3\) The Hauens from Galloway to Calebeg\(^4\) a third part of the kingdome, are fouerteene in number, whereof some will

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\(^2\) 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.

\(^3\) Myers suggests the River Bann, p. 240.

\(^4\) Galway to the Killybegs. Myers, p. 240.
receive 200th, some 300th, some 400th great shipps, and only two or three of them are barred, and shallow, 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 Customs [in tyme] by unsensible degrees, /40/ it was thought the Irish were not likely to repyne much thereat, since that burthen greiueth none that are content with native Commodityes, and affect not forayne luxuryes, but they haue bene litle vsed to taxes and Tributes vpon 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. Howsoever the question is not how willingly they will yeilde profitt to the king, but how it may be most commodiously rased. /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

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

English forces, extracting old Soldiers from thence vpon occasion of service, 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 proffitt of Sessing soldiers. By sessing I meane, the allotting of Certayne numbers to each Citty and shire to be mantayyned 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 service required. Provided alwayes, that this Sessing should be to the kings proffitt only, not (as it was in the last Rebellion for the Captaynes proffitt, who tooke all the proffitt thereof without taking a penny lesse pay from the State, or making any satisfaction to the Subjectes, 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 yeild), so was this kinde of Charge most easy for the Irish abounding in victualls. Provided that the Soldiers were restrayned

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from extorting by violence more then should be due to them, and the due provision 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. Provided also, that the Soldiers travelling for any service, 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 setled, 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 raysed great Tributes, increasing them vpon new burthens of warr, and so making the most seditious to abhorr troubles, and loue peace.195

Then it was projected that Commissioners should be sent ouer out of England. To veiwe such lands, for which small or no rent had long /40/ bene payd to the king, vpon 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.
granted 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 raysed as much profit in one yeare as payd the Purchase, [and that by breaking] [and they having broken] all their Covenants with the Queene, not peopling the land with English Tenants, nor having English servants, but usin the Irish for both, as seruing vpon 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 vpon 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 vpon breach of Covenants, yet at least they deserved to be charged with greater rents,. To tye them strictly to the observing hereafter of all Covenants for the publike good, vpon payne to forfeite their grants,. To dispose for the kings best profit 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 profit, 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 deserving 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 Commissioners 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 setling 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 commeyne 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 servants 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 raisyng 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 affeccons 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 envye not to the English Irish any wealth liberty or prerogatiue they may Iustly Challenge, nor yet [to] the meere Irish a

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gentle and moderatt gouve-rment, soe the English Irish had
the noble and faithfull hartes of their progenitors
towards the Kings 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 bryn bould to say
that thinges soe standinge England ought to vse power where
reason availeth not, nothinge is soe //

\{ c.w. proper as to rule \}

Booke.\textit{ii}. The \textit{common wealth of Ireland. Chap:V. fol:299.}

proper as to rule by force, whome force hath subjicted. To
keepe the \textit{Irish} in obedience by o<ath>es\textsuperscript{131} who were first
conquered by Armes, and to vse the like br<id>le towards
the \textit{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 \textit{English Irish}, but the meere \textit{Irish} are more
plyable, to feare, and such of the other as by habitt haue

\textsuperscript{131} "Armes", Hughes, p. 258.

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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.\textsuperscript{198} It remayned that by Constant Counsell and all honest meanes, we should take from such Subjects all power to wreake their malice. For to vse remidyes 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 Counsells, which \textit{England} of old too much practised in \textit{Ireland}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Irish}. If \textit{Orpheus} himselfe could not make those stones and trees daunce after his Harpe, then \textit{Hercules} and \textit{Theseus} must make them follow their Clubbs.\textsuperscript{200} The marshalls must make them

\textsuperscript{198} Note yet again how the image is of unruly and dangerous horses.

\textsuperscript{199} This anticipates Strafford's "thorough" policy in Ireland in the 1630s.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Itinerary A}, II, 138 - 139. Virgil in \textit{Georgic IV}, line 464 calls Orpheus’s instrument a lyre, or more literally \textit{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 \textit{Faerie Queen}, Book V Canto 1, verse 2,
feele punishment, whome Philosophers, and lawgiuers finde without all feeling of their publique /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.\textsuperscript{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 Gouernors /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 Gouernor of the Prouince of Connaght, who with a handfull [of] Soldiers, and a heauy hand of Iustice,

\begin{quote}
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.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{201} Compare two proverbs recorded by Tilley. B 239. Set a \textit{BEGGAR} on horseback and he will ride to the devil. V 57. Set a \textit{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. But I know not uppon what grounds of policye the Counsellors 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 Judges, they being alwayes Clamorous, but in aduersity as abiect Suppliants, as proude enemyes in prosperity) I say their Complaynts founde such pitty in the Royall (may I with leave 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. (perhaps desyring the present, rather then durable peace of that kingdome) as these late Rebells were sent back comforted for their losses with fayre promises, and the Magistrates recalled into England, reaped heauy reprooфе for their merited reward. So as their Successors either terrifyed by that ill successe, or ambitious to gayne the hartes of the Irish, (at which the Counsell [themselves]

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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 aim203) or upon vayne hope to reduce that nation to obedience by lenity, did in all judicall causes so much respect the Irish, as to that end they spared not to lay unequall burthens some/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 severe, 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 prejudice 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 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 points of Religion, but only to sett downe the mayne differences in the diversity 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\(<\nu\)>erall] States Prouinces and Cheefe Cittyes mantayned at the tyme whereof I write, and such observations in the poynets 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 breefely 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 diuere Interpretations. In like sort they gathered Prophecyes from the Intrailes of beasts, and the neighing of their horses. Cesar 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 diviine service and sacrifices, as to doe the duty of Sargeants in apprehending, binding, and whipping Malefactors.³ In the beginning of any woorke they observerd the full and new moone, and thincking women to haue some divinity in them, admitted them to all Counsells 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 understanding. It is manifest that the Sweitzers, the most Southerny 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 Caesar 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) 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.

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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.
They were first converted to Christianity about the tyme of the 30th French Emperor Charles the great, not all at one tyme, but those bordering upon the Alpes on the South syde of the Danowe, 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 Waldenses, and the Albigenses in Fraunce, and wickleffe with his disciples in England, and Iohn /40/ Hus with Hierome of Prage, and their followers in Bohemia, had for the space of some 200th yeares in the greatest pride of the Popes, preached against the Errors of

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*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.*

*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 cryed out for reformation, though daily prosecuted by fyre and sworde, some hundreth yeares of darknes passed without any opposition to the Popes tyranny till Luther a German, and an Augustine fryer borne at Isleben in Saxony, hearing that Pope Leo the tenth had sent abundance of Pardons and Indulgences into Germany, the sale whereof was advanced by Tecelius and other ministers of the Pope, with blasphemous sermons to magnify them in the yeare 1517, he then being a Professor of diuinity in the university of Witteberge, and being much offended therewith publiquely preached against their wicked doctrines in the uttering 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 poyns 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. 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 Ioyned himselfe with luther to advance the Reformation of Religion.\textsuperscript{11} In the yeare 1519 Luther by humble letters to the Pope renewed the conditionall promise of silence formerly made to the Cardinall, and Eccius came to Leipzig (yet professing Poperye) to dispute with luther.\textsuperscript{12} And howsoever Erasmus Roterodamus, not disallowing the Reformation of Religion, yet in his affections desyred moderation therein, no doubt he ment of the points questioned, not of the manner in proceeding, wherein luther did nothinge with sedition or tumult,\textsuperscript{13} The Popes Chamberlen brought from his master to the Elector of Saxony

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

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Locí Communes} in 1521, the first "systematic theologian" of Protestantism. Koenigsberger, pp. 134, 164, 166.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{Itinerary A}, I, 100 - 101.
an hallowed Rose for a present,\(^{14}\) and when he perceaved he could not obtaine that luther should be sent to Rome, he exhorted both partyes to peace, \(^{/20/}\) and so bitterly reproved Tecelius, as [he] shortly he dyed upon 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 doctrine at Geneua, the Reformed church began to be deuided into two Rules, differing in some points that shall hereafter be shewed, the one called Lutheran, the other Caluinist.\(^{16}\) In the yeare 1520 Pope Leo having excommunicated Luther by a published Bull, commanded Frederick Elector of Saxony, either 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, called asked his Iudgment of Luther, who confessed his doctryne to be true, only requiring moderation, and jestingly 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, upon 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. 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. This yeare the Priests began to marye, and the Monkes and Nunnes left theire Cloysters, and the Rents thereof were converted to other uses, of the Church, the universities and Scholes. In the yeare 1523 the fyue bookes of Moses, and the next yeare the Psalmes were published in the German tongue. 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. In the yeare 1528, the Cityyes 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 theire protestations exhibited in the Imperiall Chamber at Spira. In the yeare 1530, the Confession of Augsburg (so called vpon the exhibiting thereof at the Dyett or

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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. In the yeare 1532 the Archbishop of Mentz 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, the whole Byble being translated into the German Tounge, brought greater light to the Gospell. In the yeare 1539 the Prouinces of Misnia and Marchia 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

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22 Known as the Tetropolitan 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 Emperor 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 prejudice 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 observed 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 Cityyes 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.

(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, Nurenbung Strassburg, Augsburg, (for almost all the Citizens were Lutherans, though some Marchants trading in Spaine and Italy remayned Papists) wormes, Spire, Regensburg, Francfort, vpon the Mame, Vlm, Costnetz, lindawe, Ach, Fryburg, Esslingen, Reutlingen, Nortlingen, Rotenberge Erfort, Rotomilla, Memmingen, Gosslar, Dortmund, Wetzlar Haylbrun, Dunckelspiel, Stetine, Dantzke, Konigsburg, Rostock Meckelberg, and Breme. Yea the Archbishopp Elector of Colen 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 Emperor and Pope.

But since I cannot name all reformed places, and some of these follow the rule of Luther, others of Caluin, I think it better to explane 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

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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,\textsuperscript{31} the second Carinthia, having no Citty of moment,\textsuperscript{32} and the third Tyrol, whose cheefe Citty is /30/ Inspruck, all lye within the highest Alpes,\textsuperscript{33} and are subject to the house of Austria, then diuided into three bramches, 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 even to the Frontyers of Italy, yea many Italians there, and likewise in Lombardy vppon the Frontyers of Sweizterland, were Lutherans in hart, though they durst not professe it.

The fourth Austria, subject to the Emperor, whereof the cheife /40/ Citty is wien,\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{35} (as of the other Cittyes towards Germany)

\textsuperscript{31} Graz in Styria in the south east of the Empire. See the map in Koenigsberg, p. 509.

\textsuperscript{32} Carinthia was south of Styria, comprising parts of modern Slovenia and Hungary. See Koenigsberger, p. 509.

\textsuperscript{33} Innsbruck is now in Austria, and the Tyrol is now the Italo-Austrian border. Koenigsberger, p. 509.

\textsuperscript{34} Vienna.

\textsuperscript{35} Morison 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, and the sixth Helvetia both belong to Switzerland, whereof I shall speake in his due place.

The seauenth Vindelicia was all of the Lutheran Religion excepting Ingolstatt, and the Territory thereof, subject to the Duke of Bauaria, who compelled all his Subjects to be Papists. The free Cityes Regensburg and Passaw were Lutherans, 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.

The Eight Bauaria subject to the Duke of Bauaria and the //

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 Vindelicorum. 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 Suevia\textsuperscript{40} subject to the Emperor the greater part of the Inhabitants was Lutherans, part Papists. The Citizens of Vilme and of the free Citty Bubery,\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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 Archbishop of Collen /20/ marryed a wife, and professed Luthers religion, For which Causes the Emperor and Pope

\textsuperscript{40} Swabia. Moryson is using the classical spelling of the Germanic tribe the Suevi or Suebi.

\textsuperscript{41} Biberach.

\textsuperscript{42} Alisatia, OL, Alsace, OED.

\textsuperscript{43} Canons.
deposed him by Armes), and a yonger sonne of the Marquis of Brandenburg, and two Earles maried, 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 vpon the the Frontiers of Lorayne, the Papist Bishopp with the full number of 24 Channons had fortifyed that Citty against the Strassburgers lordes thereof having the Duke of Lorayne for their Protector, and receiuing the greatest part of the Bishopps 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 Brandenburgs sonne for their Bishopp[s], whereupon warr was raysed 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 they had two Bishopp[s], one at Strassburg Lutheran, an other at Sauern Papist, and a double number of Channons, among whom the Rents of the Bishopprick were

"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.

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 Riuere, 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 Subjects of Bishopps /50/ were Papists, and others subject to diverse lorde[s], some Papists some Lutherans, those subject to the Palatine of the Rheine were Caluenists, others subject 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 wirtenberg48 and all his Subjects 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 Morison 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 besieging Collen on the behalf of the Archbishop 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 Cassimire followed the rule of Caluins reformation, and carefully instructed his Nephewe therein, and in all good precepts of piety and policye. The Citizens of Heidelburg 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 denied their request, and advisd 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 incouraged the people to perseuer in it, professing that howsoever 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 raysed in Amberg 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 uncle was an earnest Lutheran and of Fiue brothers Dukes of zweybruck &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, and Manheime a litle Citty, and subject to the Palatine of Newberg, one of the Electors Family, both seated in those parts, did professe /40/ Luthers religion. 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 subject to the Elector Marquis of Brandenburg; the rest to Bishopps, 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 Subjectes were Lutherans, as also the Marquis of Anspach (a Prince of his Family) with his Subjectes, only the Bishop of Ashtyde with his Subjectes were Papists. In the Territory of the Elector Archbishop of Metz the people were Lutherans, and Papists, but in the City of Metz the great part being Papists, the Lutherans went into the Subvrs to receiue the lords supper [to receave the lords super]. In the territories of the Bishops of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, many were lutherans though they did indevauor to banish them. In the free Citty Nurenberg the Senators were sayd to be Caluinists, but only the lutheran Religion was professed publiquely. In the free Citty of

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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 "Subvrs"?

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

56 Bamberg, Würzburg.

57 This is midway between the English Nuremberg, and the German Nürnberg.
Francford vpon the [mayne] Famne] 58 famous for the yearely martts, all were lutherans, but in the free Citty Freydeburg 59 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, Contayes 60 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 subject to the Duke of Saxony lately made Elector by the Emperor Charles the Fyth. 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 whom also is subject the seventh Misnia, with the title of Marquis, being very fertile, having many fair cities. Misnia (vulgarly Misen), Torg, Leipzig, and Wittenberg (two last universities). Freiburg (the fields whereof have rich mines of silver) Dresden (the seat of the Saxon Elector) /30/ Remnitz and Sincania, all these are Luther's first preaching of Reformation with full consent embraced his doctrine. But at the time of my being there the Elector Christian embracing Calvines Reformation, had for many years labored to establish the same, yet not so much by authority and force, as by art, appointing Calvinists Preachers, to persuade and teach the people, and hoping that they being instructed would themselves desire that Reformation, which he thought not safe to impose upon them by his /40/ command. While I lived at Leipzig, a preacher was cast into prison, and for a month fed with bread and water, and after banished, for having preached that the Elector was forsworn in seeking to change that Religion which at his entrance he was bound by oath to maintain. The Elector appointed a disputation at Leipzig, but the Lutherans broke it off by Immodest hissing at the Calvinists. At Wittenberg a Deacon Baptising a Child

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 leeesing theire Fees. Att this meeting the Marquis of Brandeburg Elector, whose daughter Christian the Elector of Saxony /10/ had marryed, stoode 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 weekes 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 Nicholaus Crellius].66 And in like sorte he dismissed out of his intertaynment Melius

66 The Elector of Saxony, Christian I (1586 - 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.
Superintendent of Witteberg and Policarpus both Professors of Diuinity and Arch-lutherans, and putt Pierius a Caluinist Superin/20/tendant and Professor 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). But now when very many Students and Cittises of Leipzig and Wittenberg, and many in other Cityyes, 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 Leipzig) 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 viuat 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 vpon the

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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, or 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.

Licken 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

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11 Hughes amends to "on", p. 263.
12 Hughes amends to "Lieben", p. 263.
him, no not his wife, his //


Barber his Cooke, or any that might doe him service, 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 Seaunty 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 inlarged, 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 vpon 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 between two lutheran Ministers suing for Gundelrmans place for one of them perceiving 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 Repentance\textsuperscript{13}), but that the infamous hangman putting their bodyes on a sledge, should bury them in the ditches of the highway.\textsuperscript{14} 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.\textsuperscript{15} But howsoever

\textsuperscript{13} Repentance was needed for the sin of despair.

\textsuperscript{14} 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.

\textsuperscript{15} 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 once he had been strappadoed by the hangman, fol. 585.
this Custome is not to be reproued, yet in [a] Case so lamentable, so deserving /40/ pity 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. At which, while I seemed to wonder, a Student of that vniversity, 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 unburyed, 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 behauiour towards the dead Corps.

Thuringia the eight Prouince of lower Germany was subject to the Duke of Coburg, and the Duke of wineberg sonnes to the Elector of Saxony, Iohn Frederick deposed by the
Emperor Charles the Fifth in his war against the Protestants, both which with all their subjects were Lutherans." The Metropolitan City Erford (being great and one of the free Cityes 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 used /10/ for divine services, the two Cathedrall Churches, and six others by the Papists (which were not frequented, because the number of them besides the Clergy were not above 300th), and the other eight by the Lutherans. 78

The nine Province, Marchia the old and the newe, were both subject to the Elector Margraue (or Marquis) of Brandenburg a Lutheran, and the [old] inhabitants of the olde Marchia, and of the cheefe City Francford upon the Odern, as likewise the Inhabitants of the newe Marchia, and of the two cheefe Cityes Berlin (the seate of the Elector) and /20/ Brandenburg (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 City upon 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 City Brunswick giues the tytle and name to the Duke residing at wolfenbeiten, and to the whole Province, and the Cathedrall Church thereof had fiftye Channons, yet being all Lutherans, as all the /30/ Inhabitants were. In this Province must be reckned the Dukedome of Luneburg subject to the Duke thereof, who with all his subjects were Lutherans. The Imperiall free City Luneburg giueth name to the Duke, and Dukedome, and all the Inhabitants were Lutherans. Without the City remained a faire Close Nunnery, where young virgins were brought vpp yet being Lutherans, and free to marry, and within the City was a Monastery, whereof the Abbott and the five moncks must be gentlemen of Eight degrees by fathers and mothers syde, but they were lutherans as the rest, neither /40/ having name nor habitt of Moncks, and they were putt out for vnchastity or marriage. Likewise to this Province must be added the large Bishopprick of Magdeberg gouerned by the eldest sonne of the Elector Brandenburg, as Administrator thereof, and all the Inhabitants were

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

829
The Eleuenth Meckelburg is subject to the Duke thereof, who with all the Inhabitants of the Dukedome, and of the two Cittyes Wismar, and Rostoch\(^1\) (an university) were all Lutherans.

The twelueth Pomerania with the Cheife Citty Stetin, & Gripwalt (an old university)\(^2\) and other fayre Townes were all subject to /50/ the Duke of Pomerania, who himselfe and all the Inhabitants were Lutherans.

The thirteenth westphalia a large Prouince, was subject to diverse lords, and all the Inhabitants thereof were Lutherans. //

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

It contaynes the Bishopprick of Breame, the Inhabitants whereof were Lutherans, only the Citizens of the free Citty Breame were Caluinists.\(^3\) It contaynes the free Citty 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 Dukedom of

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\(^1\) Rostock.

\(^2\) The University of Greifswald was founded in 1456. PS

\(^3\) "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\textsuperscript{84} part of Denmarke yet being free and unted 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 subject 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.

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

\textsuperscript{84} Holstein.
\textsuperscript{85} Hesse.
\textsuperscript{86} Kassel.
\textsuperscript{87} Marburg an der Lahn.
\textsuperscript{88}
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 alltered nothinige in Religion for feare that his brothers should invaide 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 abolish luthers Reformation, because his vnclle of marpurg being old and hauing no Childred, threatened in that case to giue his Patrimony to his brother of Dormstat hauing many Childred 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 vnclle of ma[.]pur]urg 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 Nassawe89

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88 Darmstadt.
89 Nassau.

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subject to the Earles thereof, and professing Luthers reformation. And likewise the small Territory of the Elector /50/ Archbishopp of Collen, having most of his Revenues 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 seuenteenth Prouinces are the two Dukedomes of Iulock and Cleue\textsuperscript{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 Subjects were Caluinists.

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

\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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;\footnote{2} 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,\footnote{3} by the same Composition presently subjected to the kingdome of Poland, the Common people were part Lutherans, part Papists.

The nineteenth Prouince Liuonia [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 subject, especially on that syde towards Moscouy,\footnote{4} and vpon 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 Subjects 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

\footnote{2} "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.

\footnote{3} Marienburg, Elbing and Thorn (Torun).

\footnote{4} Muscovy is the old name of the Russian state. OED
the Bishopps of the second Ranck being also absolute
Princes, namely the Bishopps of Augsburg, of wirtzburg, of
worms of Ashtide /30/ of Spire, of Bamberg, and diverse
others, were themselfes Papists, but forced to permitt the
lutheran religion to their Subiects. And these Bishopps 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 ecclipsed, as the power of the Popes (God be
praysed) daily diminisheth. In the reformed Prouinces the
secular Princes had appropriated to themselfes 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/
poor 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

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Mersburg, and of Naumburg,⁵ and out of confiscated Revenues of the Church //

Booke iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:I. fol:3i3

the Elector, <ga>ue yearely one hundred thousand Guldens⁶ to mantayne the Orphans of deceased Preachers, and the widowes so long as they remayned widowes. And besides he mantayned fyfty poore schollers in his Universityes with food Apparell Bookes and all necessaries out of the Confiscated rents of some monasteryes, yet in many places the monasteryes still enioyed their 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 Monastereye, in which kynde /10/ some Nunneryes were also vsed to bring vp the young virginnnes, with liberty to goe out and marry. Thus Stoade⁷ had a monastereye of lutheran monckes. And in some places the monckes and nunnes remayned Papists, as the Administrator of Breame was chosen by a Popish monastereye, taking his Oath to [most] permitt them liberty of their Religion. But in most places these Rents were Imployed to bring vp boyes and virgins, in some places proper only to the gentrye, allwayes with liberty to leaue the Cloysters. Thus in /20/ Lubeck the Channons of

⁵ Meissen, Merseburg, and Naumburg.

⁶ "...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.

⁷ Stade.
the Cathedriall Church being lutherans, still Injoyed theire old pruiyledges, 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 married. 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 themselves 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 vnmarried, 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 historicaull 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 far 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. And the Empire, //

fol:3i4. Booke iii. Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:i. the ArchDukes of Austria, and the Cheife Bishopps remayning Papists, because most of their Subjectts 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 kingdom of Bohemia, as I haue already shewed the like Confusion to be Emden the Cheife City of East Friseland part of the Empire. But the Duke of Bauaria a Papist permitts no Subject 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 observation of my owne, which

98 "The main provisions of the Peace of Augsburg were later summarized as the principle cuius regio eius religo - 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.

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to me seemes wonderfull, howsoever it may appeare to others. Namely that not without the great providence 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 themselves liued in Caues and Corners. And this little flock being to be preserved from the iawes of innumerable enemieys, I thinck this could not possibly have bene done without the use 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 whom they will neither be ledd nor drawne. And indeed they only are the men with whom a Prophet 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. For in their universities I have observed the students more willingly to read the printed bookes of their own Countrymen and their own professors, then any other foreigne booke whatsoever, and so great was the estimation of Luther as his word was insteade of a thousand witnesses, and like ἄνω τού ἐφή. (he said it) to the disciples of Pithagoras. In all Germany, but especially in the lower his owne native Country, all professed his doctrine with obstinacy, yea seemed to worship or vnfitly to reverence 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. 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 approve the same, as contayning many ridiculous things, namely that Luther had such power over 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, commannded the diuell to gather vpp euery moate thereof. To omitt many follyes of this kinde, it is certayne that the Students did so much reverence 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. And howsoever 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 and action, and obseruing a young scholler at his table to write his wordes, (w[h]lyth reverence 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. Moreover the Germans not only of the Comon sort, but of them that are not vnlearned, giue too much Creditt to predictions (which they call Prophesyes) of their owne Countrymen. They told me that one Paul Grobner of Schneberg in lower Germany, not many yeares dead, left a Prophesye, 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 Cityyes that should be destroyed, some by Earthquakes, others by warr. 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, roade

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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 service, so as in many Lutheran Cittyes, I haue obserued Shopps to be open & wares shewed and sold vpon Sundayes, 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 vpon 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, yea\(^{108}\) daily and hourely 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 //


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 vpon the wheele, goe to execution, because the torment is greate, the Preachers having rectifyed 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 Proverbs, 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, somefewewith 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 weekly 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 service. In particular, I commend the mariners of Germany, who /30/ putting to Sea, continually sing Psalms, and impose penalties vpon 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 vpon land.

Among the great varietyes of opinions about Religion in
Germany, where not only diverse sects of Christians live together, but the very Iewes are permitted to live (as at Franckford vpon the Moene\[3\] in Germany, where they have 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 friendly together, only the Iewes howsoever they live in safety, yet are subject there to all indignities and reproches, being reviled by all that meete them in the Streets. yet in this point I speake only of upper Germany, and the Emperors Court at Prage, where this Confusion is only found, and where the Subjects of the Emperor of the other ArchDukes of Austria, and of the Popish Bishopps, are forced to this patience in regard the greatest number are Lutherans, and where the Subjects of diverse Princes meete together at Marts, and likewise publike assemblyes, whom I never /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 have shewed in the particular Electorship of Saxony so generally in upper Germany, and especially in the lower, it

\[3\] Moryson uses the classical name for the Main, Moenus.
is incredible, with what [bitter] frowardnes yea malicious

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, 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 leave may preach though he have not taken the orders of a minister or of a deacon, which orders they /20/ give to none, but to such as have a lawful calling (as they term 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 ordaining of ministers is done by the hands of all that have 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 ordained, is first examined, then he preacheth publicly at which time before all the Congregation prayers are made for him, then handes are layd upon his head and power is giuen [him] to preach the Gospell, and to administer the Sacraments. /30/ At Wittenburg I did see Bohemian ministers ordained, (because they had no Bishopp in Bohemia), who could neither [neither] speake dutch nor latin, yet were admitted upon 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 minister to be ordained 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.

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and Deacons laid their hands on his head at the ordination. These Deacons vsed to preach, which liberty by leaue was also giuen to them that had no orders, but their peculiar charge is for ease of the ministers to Celebrate marriages, 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 alltogether 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 Superintendent is like to that of a Bishop, and howsoever they have not the trayne nor habitt of Bishopps, 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 //

fol.3i8 Booke iii Of Germany touching Religion. Chap:I. Authority with the Princes or Senates, especially in matters concerning the Care of the Church committe to their charge, nether they nor any minister had any tythes nor Arable or pasture groundes, lest they should thereby [be] be diverted from their booke, but aswell in the territoryes of Princes as in free Cittyes, they had a

 Hughes supplies the missing 'd', p. 272.
Competent stipend of mony, for small acates\textsuperscript{116}, apprarell, and bookes, and a like proportion of greater proovisions necessary to mantayne theire Family. In some places the Superindentants had not much aboue. 150. guldens /10/ yearely in mony, besydes convenient proovisions of Corne, beefe, and wood for theire Familyes, and such yearely guiftes as theire Parishioners volentarily and freely bestooed 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 twise 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 distribuited 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/\textsuperscript{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 proovisions" needed for the sustenance of the large families of the ministers.
Catechising sermon, for Cookes and such servants as were to attend housshould buisinesse. Then from eight of the Clooke forward they had prayers and a Sermon for the Cittizens their Children and the other servants that had no buisinesse 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 Cityyes they did not buyrie the dead in Churchyeardes, but in a walled fielde without the City, 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 pounde, 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 reparations\textsuperscript{117} and all necessities of the Church were most Carefully supplyed.

Touching the lithurgy or forme of Diuine service vsed. The ministers lutherans wore Su\textsuperscript{r}plies and somtymes Coapes (as when the Sacrament was administred) only in the tyme of prayer and singing; not in the pulpitt.\textsuperscript{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 service 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.\textsuperscript{119} And by the way note that these musitians, together with trumpeters mantayned in most Cittyes of Germany, vsed

\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{117} Repairs. \textit{OED}
\item\textsuperscript{118} An ecclesiastical cope is like a long cloak made of semicircular cloth usually worn on special occasions. \textit{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, \textit{The Stuart Constitution} (Cambridge, 1966), p. 142.
\item\textsuperscript{119} A sackbut was a cross between a bass trumpet and trombone. \textit{OED}
\end{enumerate}

852
to sounde in the Steeples of the Cheefe Church at noonne on
the /20/ Sabboth day, and such dayes of the weeke as the
Senators did meete in Counsell. 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; 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] a song in lattin. These and all their
songes were printed /30/ together in a booke vulgarly
called Geistlich Leyder, that is spirituall songes whereof
only some fewe are Dauids Psalmes translated into Dutch
verse by luther, but most of them are songes which wee
reade in the Gospell (as that of the blessed virgin and
of Zachary or others taken out of the Gospell, about
Christ's birth, his Passion, & his Resurrection and the like
subiectes, all composed by luther in verse and the Dutch
language, At Leipzig, these songes 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.


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. After the had songe the Creede, 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 Chauncell. During the Sermon two officers went about the Church to gather Almes, each having an open purse at the end of a sticke, and a little bell at the bottome of the purse, which being gently sounded they that were next prepared mony to give, and if any man did sleepe they used gently to passe the bell by his eares, that he might awake to hear the Sermon.

By the way give mee leave to note, that the Germans being very industrious, haue fewe beggers in the streets, or in

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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 Cathed-ral 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.
{ c.w. the highwayes, }

foll 320 Booke III of Germany touching Religion Chapt. I
the high wayes, excepting lepers, which especially in upper
Germany, frequently begg by the high wayes with Clappers
standing farr off, as also at the Doores of theire
hospitalls, hauing a box sett vp into which the passengers
cast theire Almes. And ingenerral the Germans even 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 divine seruice. The
Sermon ended, if any desyred the prayers of the
Congre/gation, the Preacher did reade there 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,
understand that the foresayd wind instruments continuallly
sounded, [hile] while the boyes song the Psalms with all
the Congregation, during all Divine 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
Palm 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 basin of heated water giving 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 theire knees, while the Cheefe minister reades the Gospell of our lords eating his last Supper with his Disciples. Then all the Congregation singes the lorde's prayer, which ended a litle /40/ Bell is sounded that all may rise on theire feete, and be attentiue 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] rancke, with much gravity walke vp
to the right syde of the Alter, where kneeling downe two by two the first minister giues them the body of our lord vnder which the two boyes holde a Cleane napkin lest any Crumm should fall to the ground, and so they passe behinde the Alter to the left syde, where vpon theire knees and with the same ceremony they receave[d] the Cupp, and so walke downe to theire seates, where they vse privite

{ 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 returnned 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 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 Priest, yet only ingenerall tearmes that they are
miserable sinners, amplifying the same by general breaches of God's Commandments, in thought, word, and deed, but they /20/ are neither bounde nor use to confess particular sinnes and Circumstances, as the Papists are bounde, without any the least Omission. After this general confession made and Repentance professed, the minister sayth, upon 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 have Images for ornament not for Adoration, and beautifull Pulpitts and Fvnts and Alters, but for ornament only. And as they use the /30/ Crosse in Baptisme publikely, so likewise privately they signe their mouths with a Crosse when they Iawne or sneze, with wordes of benediction, and signe their foreheads upon other occasions, as thundering and lightning, which they seemed much to fear, especially in Saxony, and also upon naming the Deuill, for howsoever in Cursing upon passion they often name the Deuill, yet in Common speech they abhorr 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,
boyes, of all ages, stand rounde about the table, & lifting vp their Ioyned 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 little 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 weekly //

Mauritz Elector of Saxony in the yeare 1543, among other Constitutions for Reformation of that Church, restored /10/
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], upplikely
excommunicate a man, and deliever 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, howsoever 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 remayning 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. But luther in his Confession made alittle before his death in the yeare 1544, expressly sayth that he had rather be torne in peces 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 marburg 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[.]cepted, /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 every Christian, and in a word all with free Consent granted 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, especially consisting in this one point, in which notwithstanding if they shall aske, what is the materiall substance of the Sacrament apprehended by the senses, 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 answell\(^{128}\) 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?
Jusification, and differ generally in no materiall point. Only for Predestination the 129 rigid Calvinists holde with Calvin, 130 that God did elect and Reprobate men because he would, without any foresight of their fall in Adam. The other Calvinists 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 things, which the Calvinists for the former abuse utterly reiect, for the Calvinists [\text{\textemdash}] [only] song only Psalmses 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 Calvinists 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 use no surplice, much lesse Coapes, or burning tappers. They allowe no auricular Confession to the Priest, but only the generall confession of the whole Congregation to God in the begining of Diuine service. They allowe no exorcisme nor [singing]
signing with the Crosse at Baptisme, nor use of the Crosse otherwise. They have no Monasteryes 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 use their Presbitteries, and Consistoryes for making eclesiasticall lawes, and for discipline, as the Episcopall Jurisdiction doth, only their the power is diffused into many, but the Episcopall power is in one. And for the [Common] [Cannon] lawe, they esteeme it in their writings //

{ 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 their Courtes, neither doe wee.

For the Presbittarye of the Caluinists, I observed at Heydelberg, that the Superintendant, and the ministers, with two Professors for the university, and two gentlemen for the Court, and a Citizen for every streete, held a spirituall Courte to Judge 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/ Civill lawe, and three cheefe Diuines, with some other ministers and Professors of the university, chosen for that purpose. There I observed that all did pray standing not
kneeling, the minister Preached and not only he but all the people sung [the] Psalms of Dauid with theires heades Covered.
Chapter II.

Of Bohemia touching Religion.

The Bohemians were first Converted to Christian Religion about the yeare 816. or little after, and when the Popes 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.\footnote{The Albigensians and Wycliffe are favourite characters in Moryson's scheme of Protestant history. See fols 98, 195, 301.} 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 sharply & 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 theire followers made some
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 zelious 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,¹ two brothers Dukes zu Brieg,⁴

¹ 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 Lubschats 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 Cityes 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 freedom throughout all the kingdom. Yea the same confusion was in all villages, and even in most of the private families, among those who lived at one table, and rested in one bed together. For I have often seen servants wait upon their masters to the church door, and there leave them to go to another church. Yea I have seen some of the Emperors Guard stand before his face laughing to see him creep on his knees to kiss the Crucifix and other relics. For the Emperors Trabantoos (or Guard of Foot) were for the most part of his German Subjects, whereof I formerly said the greatest part to be lutherans, yet having general freedom of conscience, so as not long before my being in those partes, the Emperor Rodulphus publish[ed][ing] an edict against Calvinists and all other Religions but only the Papists /30/ and lutherans of the Augustan Confession, his subjects in Austria raised a tumult, which he was forced to repress by restoring freedom of conscience, they boldly denying to do homage without that Caution, and protesting they would rather be subject to the Turk permitting that freedom, than be vexed by a Christian Prince for their conscience. In which respect, as I said of the Emperors subjects in Germany, 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 subjectes in Bohemia more differing in opinions of Religion, yet to converse in strang amity and peace together, without which patience a turbulent spirit could not live in those partes. As the byldings of Garmany generally, so the Churches and Monnasteryes particularly are much fayrer and more sumptously built then those of Bohemia, wherein I observed little Carued worke, excepting that of the Emperors Courte, and the insydes to haue little 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 some like necessaryes out of the publike Treasure, besydes his owne oblations and profitts, by Funeralls, mariages, and Christnings, together with a house, an Orcharde, a garden, and two vinyardes. The yearely Reuennewes 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.

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 Archbishoppps 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 university, 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 superstitious, surely the Hussites (according to theire ignorant zeale) are rediculous. Since the tyme of Hus, the Bohemians hauing nether Bishop nor university, the Pastors cannot take orders at home, but the Papists seeke them of neighbour Bishops, the reformed from Superintendants and universityes 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 drincke almost in as great excesse as the men, wherein the wemen of Germany are most temporate. The Hussites Pristes may not marry. Vpon the outsyde of the dore of 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. But still they beleue with the Papists the Corporall eateing of the body and blood of our lord with the mouth by stransubstation. 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 sprinkle men in the Church, and leaue it in a kynde of Funt at the dore, that they which enter may sprinkle

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.
themselves 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 beleuued they or acknowledged the fyer of Purgatory. They agreed with the Papists for the number of Sacraments, and /50/ the doctryne of Predestination. They sung no masses for the dead, but vsed rediculous Ceremonyes in buyrriall, 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 servuants 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 Divine service.

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 Childred, 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 superio<u>rs & 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

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Instruments to hurte other men. And I haue seene some of these men in theire Iornyes appareled with a long Coate of Course home spunne Cloth, (which all vse without difference) hauing a staffe in theire 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 observe the Feast of the Natiuity of our lord.⁶

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 opurtunity 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, 


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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 wjth blacke Cloath, and all the Priests wore Mourning Robes. Then they carryed the Crucifix wjth great Poompe to the high Alter, whether the Emperor, his Courtyers, and all the people, in order crept on theire 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 pompe 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.\textsuperscript{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 ascend, vpon each whereof were sett tenne Candles of wax in silver Candlestickes, and here (as in the foresayde Chappel) mournefull 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 fiftene wax tapers before the high Alter, first putt out one to signifie 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

\textsuperscript{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 little Citty proper to them within the walls of Prage, durst not stirr out of theire gates for any buisinesse what soever 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 }
fol 330 Booke III. of [Germany][Bohemia] touching Religion
Cap.II
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 Coronation satten, like ayong Phaeton, or litle
Cuped. For the Papists vse to adornne their Images with
silke Robbs, 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 Ascession day to sett it
forth shadowed with Clowdes, and vpon Christmas /10/ day
swadled with Cloutes, and vpon Palme sunday 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 fyth Chapter of St Iohns Gospell and a Crucifix to be kissed. This done, they began a solemne procession, with white banners (as before that day they had used red) wherein they carryed the Image of Christ richly adorned from Chappell to Chappell, and continually sprinkled 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 solemn masse was sung aloud, with a full quire, at the high Alter, in which tyme also many masses were mumbled at other Alters, and in divers 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 Christ's blood, whereof they are [not] so carefull, as the very Priests haung druncke the Cupp off, doe rense it twise with water, which they also drincke 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 thinke 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 little Bell) the litle reguard to heare the Sermons or the rest /50/ of Diuine service on the very Sabboth day, thincking themselves 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 // Booke III. of [Germany] [Bohemia] touching Religion Chapt.II. fol 33i. Childe into the Church, till first by exorcisme & sprinkling 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. 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 Magdelen, 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 Psalms, 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. 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

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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 Jesuits carried the Image of Christ from the Sepulcher to the high Altar, and they placed it in glorious Attire. It is incredible to relate what Concourse the Citizens and strangers made to this Church all that night before Easter day, and with what superstitious Devotion they worshiped, as well the Crucifix upon /40/ the Sepulcher till it was removed from thence, as the Statua of Christ risen from the dead, [which was] which was set upon the high Altar. After which time masses were Continually mumbled at divers Altars till eight of the Clocke in the morning, when a solemn masse was sung aloud with exquisite Musicke, the Polonians (among the rest) in all these devotions casting themselves prostrate on their faces to pray, and when they did rise up, crossing all their bodies, not only before, but the very hinder partes. /50/

This Colledge of the Jesuits in Prague was founded by the Emperor Ferdinand brother to the Emperor Charles the Fifth. These Jesuits neither baptized, nor married, nor buried any, but affecting singular holiness, in Imitation of our Lord Jesus, gave themselves only to Preaching, yet among them were Priests with //

fol 332. Booke III. of [Germany] [Bohemia] touching Religion Capt.II.

shauen Crowns 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 Jesuites was then extremely hated, not only by all sortes of the reformed Religion (more espetially in England, where vnder the shape of Angles they practised Deuilish treasons\(^\text{25}\)) 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 things in the teritoryes of Papists, to theire great prejudice. yet they were expelled out of Fraunce by king Henry the fourth, with full Consent of this Counsell and of his lorde 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.\(^\text{26}\) 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 comming forth out of the Colledge. And likewise the Duke of Florence had then only admitted one College of them, and that of the Theatine Iesuites, who liue more priuately in a Contemplativue profession. 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, 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 penance 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 soundning, 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 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 Cardinallls 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
Cardinallls, 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 secretees of the Court and cheefe
Familyes, and like spies weekly to //
Booke III. of [Germany] [Bohemia] touching Religion
Capt.II. fol 333.
advertise theire Provinciall governor of all perticular
accidents, the same hauing likewise in Charge to send the
most <i>important newes weekly 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 instructers of yong Princes and gentlemen in
their schooles. And lastly as the Pope writting himselfe
servant of servants, 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 & servants in the house.31 The Seminaryes, and in some cases the very professed Iesuites, might be dismissed out of the society, allwayes paying for theire former dyett, All early in the morning vsed to heare a masse, and then the young schollers went to theire schooles, where certayne Professors taught them the liberall sciences, and diuers tounges, especially 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 theire Chappell, each sayd or mumbled theire 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 Jesuites 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 General of theire Order abiding at Rome, hath the names of all the societye in all the Colleges of the wyde world, and he was advertised when any had sufficiently studied, that he might giue order so to send them abrode, to labor in the Vineyard (as they term me it) indeede to suffer all thinges yea death it selfe for the Roman Church, some being sent to the Indyes, and many /50/ into theire owne Countryes of the reformed Religion, espetialy into England, where theire 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 theire Superiors

32 From Medieval Latin, pietantia, a pious donation.
The Jesuites frequently complained, that they had no greater enemies in the world, then some who having been Convictors and Seminaryes with them, had obtained 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 having beene many yeares brought vp in the Jesuites Colledge at Vienna, had of late with great difficulty after long suite obtained his demission. He spake much ill of the Jesuites, 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 subjecteth their bodies to pollutions, only had favor in recreations and supply of all necessaries. That one Jesuite of that Colledge had gotten a Childe of a base queane, another used nightly to slyde out of the windowes by a rope to dance and reuell in the City, and a third being an Italian had

\[\text{\footnotesize 33 Only those who took at the least a passive part in homosexual acts, were favored in food and necessities.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize 34 Another seventeenth century word for harlot.} \]
lately defloured a gentlenians daughter. That it was usuall with the Jesuites to reuale confessions. That they neuer answered /20/ to the mynde of [t]hem 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.\footnote{As this passage makes clear, the "grosse collusions" are tricks, ambiguities in words and reasoning, equivocations. \textit{OED} This supposed Jesuit trait is alluded to by the Porter in \textit{Macbeth}, II. 3. 7 - 11.} He tolde me that the very professed Jesuites might be dismissed, and freed of all theire vowes made, excepting that of Chastitie, which they must still keepe, being bound to enter into some other religious order, but that no\textless{}\textgreater{}e of them could out of his owne will leaue the societye. 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 penance for every small fault, as publikely to sett alone at a litle table, or to sett vpon the ground in the middest 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 obtained, lest the [practi]facility in graunting should invite petitioners for it. That they forced many tymes theire schollers by whipping to tell the secretes of theire Familyes. 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 Jesuites,
yet purposed to enter some other religious order, and seemed vnremoueable from the Roman Religion. 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. The first order is of the Professed, the Coadiutors and Schollers Probate or approued: The 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 whethersoeuer the // Booke III of [Germany] [Bohemia] touching religion Capt II. fol 335. 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 "Hec minima Congregatio, quae à sede Apostolica prima sui institutione Societas IESV nominata est, primum fuit approbata per felicis memoriam 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 absolved 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,\(^3\) in which State they must remayne two yeares, and therein meditate vpon the Statutes. An Hereticke, 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 servaunt, 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 theire humility, they must serue in Almeshouses, /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 theire

\(^3\) This is Morison's translation of the Latin *indeterminatê*, sig. A4v. They candidates are neither fully within the Order, nor outside of it at this stage.
ability or gifts fit for that employment. The spiritual
Coadiutors are to help the society in hearing
Confessions. The lay or temporal Iesuites must serve /30/
in the house for Cookes, Bakers, Caters, and like offices,
being thereby made partners of the good works done by the
professed Iesuites and spiritual Coadiutors, so they do
the offices willingly and cheerfully. These lay or
temporal Coadiutors, only make [the] three first vows,
which are called simple, not soleme vows. The scolastickes
(or schollers) for two yeares are called indifferent, which
tyme ended, they make the three first simple vows, and.promise to profess after they have finished their Studyes.
Notwithstanding a learned man may extraordinary be
admitted to the second or third order, without undergoing
the former duties. When any come to the College, a note is
to be taken of the goods they bring, that they may be
restored, if after they be rejected or themselves shall
claim demission. Demission or expulsion must not easily be
granted or inflicted, wherein the Rector of each College
hath power for the [E] Schollers called Indifferent, but
after the vows made only the Provincial Governor 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 spiritual or temporal. The
very professed Iesuites may be dismissed or expelled in
some cases, as for incurable infirmities, of the mynde as
madness, or of the body as any Continuall disease, and for
being unprofitable in //
{ c.w. the Vinyarde }

fol.336. Booke III of [Germany] [Bohemia] [to] touching Religion Capt.II.

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 have 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 have weopens, Musicall 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 priuyately, 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 studyes be not hindred, 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 briefe of Cases reserved, that are not in his power to obsolue, and must like wise have the forme of extraordinary absolutions. When they have finished the study of the Artes, and have spent four 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 imperfect which they are writting. They must not assume to themselves any judgment in [the] Ciuill or ecclesasticall causes. The [Common] [Cannon] lawe, or Phisicke, must not be taught in their Colledges, at least not by Iesuites, because these studyes tend not to their end.\textsuperscript{39} The Rector of the Colledg shall remove the schollars from one forme to another, and shall give them an hower of recreation after dinner. And when any have studdyed three yeares and a halfe in Phelosophy, or /50/ sooner if they have studdyed in other places, they

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{Religio Medici}. 894
shall Commence Masters of Arts, but without any priority of place, or any expences, because they must be //
Booke III. of [Germany] [Bohemia] touching Religion Capt II. fol.337
humble and poore. when they have hard Diuinity foure yeares, and have made repetition two yeares, and after finished theire disputationes, they shall commence Doctors of Diuinity. They are forbidden to perswade men to giue any perpetuall Almes to the Colledg, whiche 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
months, and if they be commaunded to stay longer, they may make light incursions, so they retorne to theire place of resedency. Those that are sent forth must write all newes weekly, or if they be in other kingdomes monthely, to the Generall 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 Eclesiastcall benifice. The Rector must appoynt to every man his Confessor. Touching the generall of their Order at Rome, every 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 Provincial Governor hath two voyces in his election. All are bounde vpon payne of Excommunication, to make knowne any that 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 Conclaue or Chamber, with bread and water, till the Election be made. The sayd Generall hath power to dismisse, remoue, or expell any of that order, to limitt the power, of Rectors in Colleges, and provincial Governors, to bestowe those places for three yeares, and to buy, sell, or Alienate the vn mouable or mouable goods of the Colledges. He may be deposed from being Generall, for fornication, for apropriating to himselfe the goods of the society, or heresy. And if by reason of old age, he cannot discharge the dutyes of

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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, // fol.338. Booke III. of Bohemia touching Religion Capt.II. 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 theire 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 things 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 have beene and to be rather morally honest then superstitiously devout, 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 themselves if they doe not looke bigg, so they are no missing swearers by deminitiue oathes. And as their building of houses is not stately, most commonly of timber and plaster, or lowely built of unpolished stone, so their 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 unpolished 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 duey payd, and when their service was most profitable to the Pope in his warr against the
French king leuis the twelfth\(^1\) (for which service the Pope gaue them a Banner, with the title of defenders of the Church) the /40/ history of Guicciardine witnesseth, that they did this service 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] \(\text{and}\) 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 priviledges of Collages to the Citty 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 themselves..." 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 advise 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 their Concubynes out of their howses, that they offended therewith drew 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 fricndship & 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, retorned 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 proscrib'd 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

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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 drove the rest out /20/ of their territory. He writes, that six Cantons, Zurech, lucerna, Vria, Suitia, Vnderualdia and Tugium; made a decree in the year 1370, that Priests dwelling with them, should use no foreign judgment civil or ecclesiastical against any man, and that any so doing, should not be received into the public protection, or to dwell with them, till they should renounce all foreign judgments, and should restore all damages to those they had troubled in that kind. And that the xiii Cantons by Common consent made a decree in the year /30/ 1520 against Roman Courtiers selling ecclesiastical Benefices, who troubled Priests for offences, and invaded vacant benefices by virtue 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 bubbles might be washed away with bubbles.

About the time of my being in those parts, the Cantons of Switzerland, though differing in religion [of] /40/ [S] yet by great unanimity by mutual love, and by inviolable observation of their leagues, constantly governed their

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5 Zurich, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug.

6 An obsolete form of "damage". OED
Commonwealth in the old viger, and it seemed to me a wonderfull effect, ether of theire wise government or theire 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 theire Religion, one staying till the other had finished theire seruice, and so left the Church to theire 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 //

fol.340. Booke of Sweitzers touching Religion Chapt III that Reformation, differing from the other of Luther in some poynsts, 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

\[ OED \text{ uses this passage to illustrate Sense 5 of "vigour", "Strong and energetic action, esp. in administration and government...Freq. implying some degree of severity or rigour." From the Latin noun vigor, meaning energy or strength, it can also imply the sense of florishing, so I would interpret this phrase as "...the Swiss still governed their state in its customary rigour, strength and success."} \]
worshipped) the abolishing all Roman Ceremony, and the Crosse and exorcisme in Baptisme, with divers other differences of doctrines, all which I have 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 doctrine. 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 themselves 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 doctrine and ceremonyes /30/ of the Roman Church, and are more strictly combined in private frendship (perhaps league allso) and since the Cantons according to theire seuerall and generall

⁸ Glarus, Soluthurn, Basle, Fribourg and Schaffhausen, Appenzell.
leagues, have general and private meetings, these five meet more frequently than the rest, and have a peculiar Senate by themselves.\textsuperscript{9} Also the two Cantons of Friburg and Solothurn, being Cities \textit{within} their territories, are of the same Roman Religion and sometimes are called to the meetings of the said five Cantons, and these seven are commonly \textit{/40/} called the Catholike Cantons since in our age the Papists will only be called Catholikes. And Roman Catholikes let them be (tying universality to one private place, as they still work wonders).\textsuperscript{10} Four principal Cantons Zurech Bern, Basill, and Schafhouse, rich Cities with large territories, forsook the Roman Church, and embraced the reformed Religion at the first preaching of reformation, and these sometimes have their peculiar meetings, besides the public, but not so frequently as the former. There \textit{/50/} remain two Cantons Glaronna and Abbaticella, whereof many at the first and since all have embraced the reformed Religion, which also hath many wellwillers in the Catholike Cantons, since in all Sweitzerland, there is great liberty of Conscience, and incredible unanimity even among those of different Religion.\textit{//}

Booke III of Sweitzers touching Religion Capt.III. fol 341.

\textsuperscript{9} Their own Senate, peculiar or restricted to them.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 towards 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 matrimonial Causes, and other formerly belonging to the Bishoppes /10/ Iurisdiction, are handled, they not thincking fitt to subiect the people to the Courtes of Bishoppes [re]remayning Papists, and esteeming them heritikes. The Judges 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 matrimonial and like causes, but exercised discipline for manners and life, as the punishing of fornication and all licentious Actions, /20/ At Zurech they had a Treasurer for the Reueneues of the Church, more spatially of the Monnasteryes, who yearely payed the ministers stipendes, repayred the Churches, and distributed large [l] releefe to the poore, and layd vp the rest for publike necessityes, whereby in tymes of famyne the poore haue often beene releueued with Corne, bought before hand and layd vp by the Treasurer for that purpose. And indeede
the Sweitzers in generall, haue speciall care for the well ordering, of Almes, of Schooles, of Monasteryes Rents, and of Hospitalls, /30/ chusing magistrates yearely to governe these Reueuenues, and to haue speciall 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 Cityyes 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 judged matrimoniall causes, censured manners and liues, and exercised Ecclesiasticall disciplyne, and this Court had eight Judges, 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 Judges were changed twice in the yeare, and they did sett in Judgment thrise every weeke. The Cantons of Lucerna Friburg and Solothurne /50/ being Papists, haue no Consistoryes, but subject themselues to the Iurisdiction of theire Bishops, and pleade theire causes of that nature in theire Consistoryes. These three Ioyne, with Bern of the reformed Religion, to Celebrate twice in the yeare soleme Procession //

906
through the streets of the City, with thanksgiving for
the victoryes their ancestors obtained against Charles
Duke of Burgundy. ¹¹ The four cantons, Vria, Suitia,
Vndervalidia, 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 town, yet the government of the Canton is not in
the hands of the townsmen, but of the Country people)
these have no Consistoryes, for the Papists pleade Causes
of that nature in the Court of their Bishops, and
the two reformed cantons used the Consistory of Zurech.
Generally in Switzerland, Adulteries are punished by the
Senate at home, and sometimes matrimonial Causes are
determined in the public assembly of the whole Country,
wherein of late, since the difference of Religion grew
among them, they have made a public decree, that
spiritual kindred, which the Cannonists say is contracted
in baptism, shall be no Impediment to marriage. For a
Controversy in this point arising among them, the
people understanding that the Pope for many used to give
such persons licences 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 licences to marry", p.
280.
were lawfull to rich men for mony, it should also be lawfull to the poore without mony. whereby appeares 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 keepeing festiuall dayes, and walking with soleme Procession, ouer the places /30/ wherein theire Ancestors haue fought battayles, wherein the Papists Priests goe first singing after theire 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 theire knees, and at the sixt sone the history of the fight is recited, the /40/ Papists giuing thanckes aswell to the Virgin Mary and to theire tutelar 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.
Booke III of Sweitzers touching Religion Capt. III fol. 343
dinner retorno 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
Judges, namely four 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 Judgment
thereof, and in difculte Controversyes, and in
matrimoniall cases which haue relation to the policy of the
State, the cause is referred to the Senate, or these Judges
aduise with the Senate and with learned men about the
determination thereof. The Rætians¹⁵ a populous nation
inhabiting large territoryes vpon the higest 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 Civill 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 their owne ministers or [persons] [pastors], may despose them, and pay them their stipends, which in most places are very smalle, for ingenerall the Ratiens (whome the Italians call Grisons) pay no small tythes, and pay the great tythes not in the field 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 subject to the Bishop of Basill, but the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction belonged to the Diocese of lausanna.17 Now it hath cast off the Papall yoke and spirituall command of the Bishop, and hath the Church Reformed by the example of Bern and zurech, after the doctrine 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,

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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 under 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 theire learned Pastors Iohn Calvin and his successor Theodore Beza (of happe memory)\(^{19}\) To conclude, the preaching of the Gospell hath now for many yeares entred into the very Italian praefectures\(^{20}\) vnder the Sweitzers Command, 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 Locarna\(^{21}\) 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 praefectura. 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 wives, some wives without their husbands, some Fathers without their Children, some Children Leauing /20/ theire Parents behynde them, and many of these were gently receaued into the Citty of Zurech, and Charitably releueued, 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 releueued 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. He shewes they had stately Churches, beautified with rich orniments, 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

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22 The author to whom Moryson refers is Jacobus Marchantius of Furnes, and in particular his J. Marchantii Flandria commentarioirium Lib. IIII. descripta, in quibus de Flandriae 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 holiness, but had not yet built their hierarchie of spiritual 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 helde 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 Provinces, 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

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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 doctrine 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 Sectaryes 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 masses, but without publike authority and in priuate houses. For if any were apprehended at masse theire upper garments were taken from them, or some like but no heauy punishment inflicted on them. There was no speech of Jesuites 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 the warr against Spayne rather for liberty then Religion, these Priests judged their practises lesse necessary in those Countryes, or ells because Commonwealthes haue 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. Middelburg\textsuperscript{25} a great Citty had but two churches, and other great Cittyes had \textsuperscript{40} but one or two churches, which of old perhaps might suffice, but now since the decay of Antwerp \textsuperscript{[the people]} are infinitely increased by straugers 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 preferring gayne to the dutyes of Religion, seldome came to Church, so as in Leyden a populous Citty, I often obserued at tymes of diuine service, much more people to be in the markett place then in the Church. In theire shipps \textsuperscript{50} at home, (what soeuer they doe in long Iorneyes) I often obserued in those passages frequent euen vpon Sundayes, that they often sung Psalmes, but neuer sayd publike prayers. In theire 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,\textsuperscript{26} at which tyme many resorted to the Church rather for // fol.346. Booke III. of [Sweitzers]\textsuperscript{[Netherland]} touching Religion. Capt III.

\textsuperscript{25} Middelburg.

\textsuperscript{26} Anthems.
recreation, then Deuotion, and then I obserued many with wax Candles mumbling theire 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, 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 theire 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 theire 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 Regenspurug,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 Morison 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 apriopriate the rents therof to the Common Treasure. 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 Reuenue against all doubtfull euents of the warr, for the maintenace of the Professors and poore schollers in the university of leyden. Likewise I obserued at Bergenapzone, the rents of a Nonnery to be confiscaded, 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 theire stipends. Each reformed Church vsed to send, a Superintendant chosen of purpose, to the Synods of Provinces or Cittyes. In marryages, the Flemings, after the reformation of Caluin, did pledge theire mutuall Fayth by shaking /40/ of handes, as the English doe by giuing of a Ringe, At Baptisme, the minister did reade in the Pulpitt, and the Deacon standing belowe, did sprinkle the Infant with water, and gaue the benidiction to it. Assoone

31 Morison writes that a Gulden of the Low Countries was worth "two shillings English", Itinerary A, I, xxiv. Thus the abbess 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 observed 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 approched 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 delivery thereof, the upper 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 divers Ilandes together with the German Provinces of Holsatia and Ditmartia thereunto annexed, did imbrace the reformed Religion within fewe yeares after luther began to preach, namely a litle after the yeare 1534., vnder the Rainges of king Fredericke the first and Christierne the third. As they are not hott/spirited in causes of Religion, so they hold to one publike professor thereof, without any diuision into sects and opinions, and though they drincke 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 doctrine of luther, and vsed /40/ the same 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 divine service the Gospell and all the prayers and most of the songes were in the vulgar toungue, 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 giviing place to others, returning to their seates, //

{ c.w. the Organs }


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 guilded sawcer, and another minister gaue the Cupp with [white] Rhenish wyne, (perhaps

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36 Same?
because they had no red wyne) After the Communion a short benediction was sung in vulgar prose, and so the service 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, gave 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 releue 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 gave the Custody of the Bishopps 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 deserving 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 guift, but otherwise they liued after the manner and in the habitt of gentlemen.

37 Roskilde.
{ m.n. 29. Of Poland }

Touching the kingdom of Poland, it was first converted to Christianity in the year 965. (others write 975.) when Luther first preached the reformation of Religion some of the great men in Poland (for the Palatines and gentlemen though subject to a king yet are absolute lords having power of life and death within their territories) did join with the Princes of Germany in their protestations for reformation of Religion, but it was more fully reformed in Poland the year of our Lord 1567. The nation is reputed very superstitious in their devotions, and I have seen the Papist among them adore the Crucifix with their bodies prostrate /40/ on the earth, and when they rose up not only to sign their faces and breasts but their very hinder parts with the sign of the Cross. At Cracovia (vulgarly Crakaw) the chief city of Poland, they permitted the Stewes as it is permitted in the Cities of Italy, and each hour paid weekly eight Grosch to the high marshall of the kingdom. They are great drinkers, and

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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 groschen 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 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. Generally the Iewes swarme in all 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 their 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 Rawa /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 City of

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41 This proverb is not in Tilley.
42 Rawa. See the list of the Polish Senate in session in Zamoyski, p. 97.
Crakow, which Church notwithstanding some six months before my passing that way, was burned and pulled downe by the Papists in the drunkken tyme of Shroftide, and then did lye wast, but they were confident to haue the Church and all Domages restored at the next generall assembly of the States. In Prussen, the free Citties Dantzke and Melvin with theire /20/ territories were parte lutherans, part Calvinists 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 subject 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

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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. "Vpon the confines of Moscovy towards the North, bydes all the fore named Religions, [as vpon] many imbraced theire doctrine of the Greeke Church, as vpon the Confines of Tartarye towards the East, many were infected with divers superstitions of theire neighbors.

"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. III.

Of the Turkes Religion.

In the Commonwealth of Turkey I have written of their Civil laws, the Judges thereof and the Courts of Justice (vulgarly called Diuan) the chief Court being at Constantinople, (where the seven Viziers live as the Counsell of State, the chief Priest called Mofty being as the President, whose oracle sways all causes) the other Courts of Justice being in the several houses of the Bashaes and Gouernors /50/ of Provinces and Cities. And I have shewed that the Civil laws were given by Mahomett, for the most part drawn out of the maximes of his Religion, whereof one is, not to do any thing to another which a man would not have done to himself. In like sorte they have their Religion from Mahomett, whose base begining, and growing to such reputation as he had power to plant his laws of policy and Religion among them. I thinke necessary breefely //

fol.350. of Turkey touching Religion Chapt. III to sett downe Mahomett an Arabian was borne some say in the yeare 597, some say 551, (but neither well agrees to the tyme of the Alcorans diuuling. 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 persuawed 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 imploied him in his traffique, and so goning² from /10/ Citty to Citty with his laden Camells, and convrsing with Iewes and Christians, he learned of them divers 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 especially 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,¹ at last gayned the reputation of a Prophett among

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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"?

¹ 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, 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 a bout the Bulls necke, was vpon these Miracles saluted king by the people, and after reputed Gods Prophet. 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.

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 under the pay of Heraclius Emperor of the Christians in the East, and being discontented for want of pay, and some reproches used towards them, ioyned themselves to Mahomett, and withall embraced his Religion, which they did after spreade through the East, great parte whereof and all Egipt they after conquered, but Mahomett himselfe haung raigned king foure yeares, dyed, after he had conquered Arabia and Syria, with variable fortune of victoryes and overthrowes, being poysoned by his dead wivies kinsmen. Before his death he made a Chest of Iron wherein he would be buyred, and to illude his promise to ascend to heaven 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 Pilgrimages. 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 IIIII. 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 Moselem 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.

"To trick, impose upon, deceive with false hopes." 2. *OED.*

929
the comming of theire Messiah is still deferred for theire
sinnes, notwithstanding the Prophecyes of his comming long
agoe. The king of Persia in his warr with the Sarecens
first drewe the Turkes into Assia for his ayde, out of
theire Country Turquemania lying beyond Parthia, but the
Saracens shortly after subdued Persia abut the yeare. 640
and made the Turkes receave mahometts Religion and become
tributarye to them. Then the Caliph of Persia and the
Sultayne of /10/ Egipt, both Saracins swayed all the East,
but vnder them Mahometts Religion grewe into many sects,
which haue continued and increased to this day, so as some
now recorde more then threescore of them in Turky, and this
diuisiion a mong the Saracins weakned theire Empire, by the
fall whereof the Turkes daily grewe greater, so as the
Turkes in Persia chose themselues a king about the yeare
1040 [A] And the Saracens of Persia wholy became subject to
them about the yeare 1080, both being of Mahometts
Religion\(^1\) about the yeare 1258 the Tarters being Christians
droue the /20/ Turkes and Saracines out of Persia, and
the\[^{re}[n]\] planted Christian Religion, and the Turkes
seated themselues in Asia the lesse, governed by foure
Familyes, till Ottaman about the yeare 1300 subieued\(^2\) 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 Tarters 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, Tamberlan /30/ with his Scythians, droue the Parthians out of Persia about the yeare 1400. 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, utterly extinguishing them both in the yeare 1517, Thus I have briefly 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 betweenes 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 Christianiye and Judaisme, and many rediculous fictions of mahometts drunken brayne. It consists most in observation of outward things, 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 theire heads laying hand on theire Tulbent, and that they call the Parsians redd heads /10/ in reproch, because theire 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 Mahomet had the falling sickness which is increased by meates breeding grosse humors, so as he forbadd that flesh to his people, lest he alone abstaining from it should seeme to confess that disease, which he pretended to proceede from his visions or because that flesh is generally unholsome 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 eigth yeare. The Emperors eldest sonne vseth not to be circumcised till he be of ripe age about sixt<e>ne 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 returnes to visit his parents, or to the City 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 solemn feast, where they vse to be present and to offer large guifts. The Children of Turkes often dye vncircumcised, they not thincking the want thereof to barr them out of Paradise, and they all norishe the hayre vpon their heads till their circumcison, after which tyme it is shauen all but a locke on the Crowne, and the abhorr euer after from vnshauen heads, which perhaps at first being vsed in Arabia for heate of the clime, is [more]
[now] grown into custom, if not into a lawe, for all Mahomeatans what Clyme soever they inhabit. /40/ Many say that the Turkes little esteeme Circumcision but only for clenlynesse of that parte, as indeede they place great part of their Religion [in] bathings and keeping cleane their 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 use it to this day, but in the private houses of their 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 Neither is it done (as with the Iewes) vpon the eigth day after the birth, but when the Male chylde is seuen or eight yeares old, so as he may distincty pronounce these wordes, with his Thumbe held vp to heauen (as their 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. GIV.

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Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt IIII fol 353

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, always 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 surgion fayning to deferr the Ceremonye 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

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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 buryed after in the Churchyearde."

13 "Cotton fibre dressed for stuffing or padding garments; cotton-wool, cotton wadding." OED, Bombace, 2.
Catholike with vs.\textsuperscript{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 hobyues (which use to playe or sounde before all great gouernors, when they enter [towards] townes in passage to theire gouernments), and litle kitts\textsuperscript{15} giving 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 qualitye 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, affermes that Christ called to judgment, vanished and ascended into heauen, and that Iudas taken for

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{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, fayingne as thoughe some thynge were omitted or forgotten, whiche necessare 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 little salte and soft silke thense fourth he shalbe called Musulman, which is circumcised..." Georgievits, sig. Dir. A similar description appears in Munster, sig. G2v.
\item \textsuperscript{15} "A small fiddle", n. 2. OED.
\end{enumerate}
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 reverence 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 beleeeue not. Insomuch as about the tyme of my being at Hierusalem a great Turkish Gouernor retournning that way to Constantinople, haung 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 whom 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 deliuyrye. So as it is a vulgar speech with the Turkes Issa Berember that is in theire 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 Judgment some yeares before the ende of the world, and he that blasphemes Christ is punished with blowes of a Cudgell and payment of mony, yet howsoever they confesse mahomett to haue beene 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 things preferre him to Christ, whereof I could understand 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 Dauid, the monument 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 discipels 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]ere 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 approching neere the monuments of the prophets Dauid 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 shoos and to creepe on theire bare knees (as also the Turkes doe) to kisse the printe of Christs feete in the marble pauement. And howsoeuer for gayne they //

{ c.w. permitted }

16 A corruption of sainte homme, a holy man. RM.

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Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt. IIII fol 355. permitted the Christians to keepe the monuments of the nativitye of Christ at Bethlem, yet themselves in their pilgrimages used to creepe to that monument with no lesse or greater reverence upon their bare hands and knees. I neuer observed among them any monument of Christian Sayntes, but only that of St George in the gate of haleppo, where a lampe continually burneth. 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 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, 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 gris 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 n estoit 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 Constantinopole 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 endroit, 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 servir 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 private Chambers. 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 tribuities, which are great, and especially 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 glue him larg guifts, provided that his convers[at]tion be voluntary, and not // fol.356. Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capt.III. to escape death, for such haue only theire life, but no honor [and and gu] or guifts. For many offences punishable by death as the wounding of a Turke, the lying with a Turkish woman, and blaspheming Mahomett, and some like offences, are only pardonable to men of Contrary Religions

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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, towards
Christians being in the place where they pray, my selfe &
our Ambassadors servaunts 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 theire 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 indignityes. They take from the Christians theire
churches, and convert them to Moschees, & likewise take
from them the Bells and musicall instruments /20/ of theire
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 theire houses any Armes for theire
owne defence. In familliar salutations and when they speake
fayrest to a Christian, they call him Caoar,\(^1\) that is
Infidell, The Christian Subjectes may not haue any meetings
of daunsing /30/ and mirth. And if a Turke speake anytinge
blasphemously, in denying the Trenitye, or the Diuinity or

\(^1\) Gavur, a term of absolute contempt.
passion of Christ, to any Christian in generall, he must heare it with silence, or without replye. 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 thereire tributary Children, to turne Turkes, but in the foresayd cases, yet if a Turke forsake Mahometts lawe he dyes without redemption, and if a Christian teach [the] ignorant, he dyes or turnes Turke. To conclude, The Christians subject to the Turkes, haue their Religion free, but are vsed in all things as slaues, hauing for distinction party Collered Chasses on their heads, like our Barbars 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 subjectes. And in like sorte I haue formerly 944
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 subjectes 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 professse.

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 devotion. 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 understand 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 written hand, nether haue they Schooles of learning, nor universities, 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 there bodies to militarye dutyes. 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 stoode 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 Morison specifically mentions, Takiyyuddin 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 şeyhülislâm, the chief doctor of Moslem law, to get it razed.

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mattes are spread on the ground, upon which the men promiscuously kneel and set cross-legged, the priests standing in a pulpit as high and more large than ours, who is known from the rest by the fouling of his turbant, and he reads the Alcoran with great reverence, and other legends, to which the people give ear with great gravity and silence.  

fol. 358. Booke III of Turkey touching Religion. Chapt. III
The mosques are built of a round form, with some round globes on the top, and one high steeple of little compass, and the globes are commonly covered with brass, and because they have no bells, divers priests at the times of prayer ascend the said steeples, and in a gallery about the top thereof putting their fingers under their ears, hallow like falconers crying with a loud voice Allach huclher, that is one only true God, and with that cry calling men to prayer, as well those that are in the Moschees as those in private houses and in the streets. For the congregation is not ordinarily great in the Moschees, whether only rich and idle men ordinarily resort. And howsoever (as I have said) they permit Christians to be present at their private prayers, yet they will not endure them in the Moschees, nor in the places of Sepulchers in the field, especially in Asia and Africa, where they are more superstitious thincking the places to be defiled by unwashed Christians, yea my selfe at constantinople entred the cheefe Moschee (called St.
Sophya when it was a Christian Temple) no Turke resisting me because I had a Janizary for my guide, whome they dare not offend, yet he made me leave my shoes at the door. And with him I entered the chief Sepulcher of a Turkish Emperor, but when I passed by the Comon Sepulchers in the field without a Janizary to protect me, the Turks did cast stones at me. They call Christians, unwashed, because themselves frequent bathing with hot water, and never go to prayer without washing, for which purpose each Moschee hath waters where the wash the whole body or at least the private parts, as after all ejections they either wash them with water, or wanting water in high ways cleanse them with dust and stones. Their frequent sweating in Bathes makes them free from rhume, so as they seldom spitt, and take it for a reproach if any man spitt before them, much more if he spitt in a Moschee. And they are much offended if they see dugges or any filthines in a Christian Church. They wear their shirts out of their breeches, and place Religion in keeping them white, and all that they wore clean, for which cause both men and women

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.²² 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 scene 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 reguard the waters beate backward and forwarde, to see them wash their lipps and teeth together with other lesse clenly partes. Then the sprinckled water thrisce vpon their heads, [they] then they layd a whit napkin or peece of lynnen 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.III. 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<i>neona,

²² "The act...of...cleansing..." OED

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and especially the Persians, where the Ambassador of Greece, not to offend the Persians, and yet to keep the liberty of his Country, did let his Ring fall, and taking it up, seemed so to adore the king, lying prostrate they often kissed the earth. The Turkes pray in the Arabian tongue not vulgarly understood, in which tongue the Alcoran is written, the vulgar translation whereof they holde unlawful. Some of them number their prayers with beads. They pray with their faces towards the South, that is towards the Sepulcher of Mahomet 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 seven times in the day, in what place soever they be, namely two hours before day, at the breake of day, at nine of the Clocke, at noonne, at three of the Clocke, at Sunne setting, and some two hours within night being the time when they use to goe to bed. At any time of which times if they goe to the Moschee, they wash themselves, & leaving their shoes at the door enter bare footed, and if they be in other places they pray as I have formerly shewed. Somtimes, as in their Ramadan or lent, and upon feastfall 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

27 I have not found this incident.

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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 (which is the Turkes Sabboth in memory as they say of Mahomett that day chosen king) (as the Iewes sabboth 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, and 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 accknowledge foure Prophetts, Moses, Dauid, 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 Zodiakte, 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 Cyprus upon the 22. of 
Maye, one of [the] Fastes was ended, and the said 
feast was Celebrated, with good cheare, inviting of 
Neighbours, kissing one another's 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. // 

And at this Feast enemies use to be reconciled, without 
which they thinke the Feast profiteth 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 divine misteryes revealed to 
mankynde. But these Fastes and Feasts are movable, falling 
divers yeares in divers monethes 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 Armyes 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 drinke, so as he is punished that 
drincketh somuch as water. Mahomett for his owne

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28 1596, see Itinerary A, I, p.459.
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infirmityes did generally forbidd wyne, yet the Ianzizaryes commonly drincke 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 sackes were cast into the Sea at Constan/tinople. They eate little fish all the yeare, perhaps for the unholsonnenes, 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 wemen 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 Fasts. For howsoever 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 theire 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 theire 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, to make the fayre and rich harlotts bring bribes, which commonly amount to a great summe of mony. The Turkes haue not only divers 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

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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 grants the Che Bine [breefe] or letter of Dowry, which the men glue to their wyues, and whereby they are called wyues and distinguished from concubynes. And the Cadie likewise is the Judge of [C.] Divorces which are permitted for Barrennesse, for growing defectes of the body, and for scolding Conditions. As I have sayd that the Emperor himselfe Religiously respectes his dead Fathers testament and surviving mothers advise, so all the Turkes in generall reverence their parents, and thinke it a great sinne /10/ to disobay them living, or breake in any pointe their last testament when they are dead. They beleeeue 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 beleeeue that a Stoicall destanye governs all humane affayres, so as a man is not more safe in a strong Citty then in a wildernes, 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 obsolete 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 Turks "...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 theire strougest enemys, 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 beleeuues to be saued by good workes and the keepeing of theire lawe, some thincke only the grace of God sufficient, and there wants not of them who beleeue that men of all Religions if they liue well shalbe saued, comming to judgement at the last day vnder the three banners of Moses Christ /30/ and Mahomett. They who thincke to deserre Paradise by good workes, are carefull to doe them in life, and in theire 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 theire 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 releeue those that are in debt (of theire 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, especielly Pilgrimes to Mecha, may haue for

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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 little piece 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. Theire Charity extendes to beasts and birdes, as in providing kennells for dogs, which they keepe not in theire 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. III.

of them will cast bread into waters to feede the fish, and as they visite the Sepulchers of theire frendes, weekly vpon Thursday the euen of theire Sabboth, and many also

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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. İnalcık, 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 devougerd 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 weekly visitations, of the Sepulchers (most frequented by wemen) and more spetially in theire Armyes they pray for them that dye in the defence of theire /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 theire Sepulchers, and to pray for theire soules. They prayse and magnify theire 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. They thincke it a worke of merritt by Pillgrimages to visite such monumments as they repute holy, and espetially for these Pillgrim<s>[ages] sake the foresayd /20/ Almsehouses and Caues are built, and founded with Revennues. 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 beene slowe in the service, continually mourned, till it was

35 "Neyther are they bound to performe the vow, if they hauue not bene deliuered from the possessed disease or peril." Georgievits, sig. E2r.
comforted by Mahomett, who drew a fountayne of bitter water out of the rocke thereof, by washing in which fountayne they thincke their sinnes purged, and theirin also they wash linnen Cloathes and keepe them to wrapp their bodyes when they shall dye. This donne, /30/ they kisse the Image of Mahomett paynted on the wall of the Moschee, and so retorne home with confidence that their sinnes are remitted. They are great bearers of false wittnes, especialy against Christians, as if it were a good worke, yet I haue also knowne them bribed to forsweare themselues to saue a Christians life, whereof I could giue a cleare example falling 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 their 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[t]h of their lawe, but in all cases, any one of the kindred or cursed race of Mahomett, hath his testimony squall 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 their death

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38 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 wherein the dead carcass shalbe wrapped are sprinkled with that water, in remissyon 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 their last testaments [and] if they be not able to make restitution to the liuing, they send frendes to confesse the wronges, and to crave their acquittances, which in Charity they deny not, and these acquittances are buyred vnder their heads. For they beleeue 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 their life, by good workes or producing the sayd acquittances, then the one at the head strikes // Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Capter III. fol 363 their bodyes into the grounde, the other at the feete beats them vp, and so afflicteth them to the day of Judgment, but if they make a good accoounte, 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 their Religion, and by the severity of the lawe inflicting great punishments vpon a Turke wounding or striking another Turke, manslaughters and murthers are wonderfullly rare among them, and never done but [most] secretelye my selfe haue heard them scolde like butter

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hores both common Turkes and Ianzaryes, but I neuer sawe 
/10/ a Common Turke strikke another, and howsoever the 
Ianzaryes 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, espetially the Arabians, the 
Mores, and all Affricans. They glue great trust to dreames, 
and diuinations, and to Religious persons who like 
Prophetts fortell fortunes, and in prayers and all actions 
haue gestures and behauiors 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 toung, 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 fugitive 
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. 
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".

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Syria I have seen some monuments of enchantments, as at Tripoly certaine Posts or wooden Pillers, where they say that Froges swarming in multitudes, and sandes beginning to stopp the haven were in chaunted no more to trouble them, & likewise a Cave neere Aleppo, where our English merchants tolde me, much treasure was buried, and kept by enchantment. To which I will add one instance of their singular superstition observed in the same City of Aleppo, where in a garden our Englishmen shewed me a Serpent which was generally held to be incredibly aged, whose male and young ones being of old killed by the boys of that City, this shee Serpent for revenge poysoned the waters, so as many dyed by drinking them, where upon the people comming out to kill her, did superstitiously interpret the manner of her lying, for her of her innocency and just revenge, so as they forbore to hurt her, and as shee never since did them any hurt, so the people to this day touched with a kind of Religion obstayned from offending her.

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 thinke

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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 dysentry germ than with a snake. Henry Moryson probably caught his fatal illness here.
therevpon wee call Turkey Co[u]llor) and that there
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 velvett. 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 Vizers at
Constantinople, [himselfe] may be called the [President
thereof.] Emperors priuie Counsell, himselfe being more
then President thereof. For he may reverse the Emperors or
theire sentence if it swarue from Mahometts lawe, but his
standes without Controle, aswell in Ciuill as martiall
affayres. In all great doubtes 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 tiranny of theire 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 Judges, called
Cadelischieri, in like sorte chosen by the Emperor, whereof
one is resident with the Armye in Europe, the other with

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the forces of Asia. And these two chuse the Cadies, hauing a kynde of Episcopall Jurisdiction, but they are approved by the Emperor. They haue many inferiour orders of Priests, some to innterprett the lawe, some for diuine service, 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 toung, and he is agreat Clarke who can interprett it, that is in a kynde of preaching turne it into the vulgar toung, and many of them are Mechanicall Artisens & tradsmen, and all inoye the pluralitye of wemen. They are called by diuers names in diuerse places, and according to theire diuers quallityes, as Talismani, and commonly in Asia Zaintones. Generally they are much esteemed, and theire l[o]okes and /30/ behauiour promise inward sanctitie, and they professe more strict abstinence from wyne then other Turkes. likewise many 39 told me, that agreat punishment vseth to be inflicted on those who strike them, or offer any vi[ö]lence to theire 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 extingueshed 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 owner nether forbides nor reproves them, but seemes willingly to permitt it, and as theire Prophett Mahomett being outrageous 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. especiially turninge about till for gidines they fall to the ground, at which tyme the superstitious people thincke them to be in transes, 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 sences, but after (as they thincke) refresheth the tyred spiritts, aswell of themselues as theire Dromedaryes to any newe labour. By discourse I vnder stoode that they /10/ haue a
third kynde of monkes more frequent in Africk, who going naked and having vowed chastity, have a ring of Iron passed through their genital parts, which makes them chaste by force, and they said that women disdained not to kiss the Iron in reverence to Chastitye. And that they have diverse other orders of monkes, who like Hermits fly the Company of men, and live in desert woodes. But I thinke these orders or most of them are not imposed by the Alcoran, nor have any prescribed rules of life, as ours haue, but rather are taken vp voluntarily by the most superstitious. Lastly the Turkes have a race of men, whom they repute kinsmen of mahomett, and call Hemer (and I haue [heard] others call them Serifz. These only have the privilege to weare the greene Couler, which they say mahomett commonly vseed, of which Couler some haue all their garments, some only their Tulbents, and some only a piece of greene sett vpon some open parte, whereby they may be know[...][ne], which piece also the women 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 having passed through Asia, and comming to

40 "I saw an other secte which forebidden carnal copulation with women, goe, the fore parte of their yarde, or the secrete parte it selfe perced through, and therin enclosed an iron ringe of the weight of three poundes to obserue chastitye." Georgievits, p. D4r.

41 Serif.
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 Cudgells by the Turkes, and heardly escaped death, because he wore greene shooe stringes. But in my former Iorney I commonly passed in the Shipps of Christians, and vpon land I slept betweene quiltes with lynnem 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 holmes, 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 thinges 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 agreat Prophet, but denying him to be God, and holding the holy ghost to be only a property in God. They beleewe the Creation of the world, made of dust of all coulers 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 advices 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 equal to him in strength. Touching the fall of man, they holde that there is ablake Core in the hearte of every man and woman, fitt to receive 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 fruites grewe. By the waye, giue me leave 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 a great Venecian Shipp named the great Lyon, 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 disciples the manner of the flood in his dayes, and that the Arke being burthened with excrements, the swyne (produced from

41 Presumably named after the symbol of Venice, the winged lion.

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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 signifyes 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 preuilege 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 Judgment 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 shall be tortured in all their members till each member have confessed all the sins it hath committed. In other places of the Alcoran they are more particularly taught, that in the day of Judgment by God's command the Devils shall kill all creatures and themselves also, which done all things shall be burnt with fire, and the world shall remain void /50/ forty years, which expired the first trumpet shall sound at Hierusalem, and after forty years more the second trumpet, and lastly after forty years more the third trumpet, by which all the souls being assembled shall expect the day of Judgment; intreating first on one another //

Booke III of Turkey touching Religion Chapt III fol 367

Prophet then Christ to hasten it, who all refusing with excuses, at last after forty years Mahomet shall obtain it. Then that a Bridge shall be built over hell, upon which the Scales shall hang to weigh all men's sins, (the work of I know not how many thousand yeares)1. That death shall be placed between Paradise and hell, and that the blessed souls shall attempt to kill death for fear of dying again, and the damned souls shall defend death in hope to die again; but at last the blessed shall prevail. They are taught that the glory of all the Saints is equal, and likewise /10/ their happiness is

1 These descriptions of heaven and hell may have come from Geuffroy, sig. mir.
equall without any least difference. That each Saynt shall have 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 frui tes 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 perfect age, and the excrements of the body shall resolue into sweete odors, for which they give the example of Children in the mothers wombe, [and] not subject to those polutions. That the gates of Paradise are of gold, the pauement of pretious stonnes, abounding with all things 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
sinners on the left hand into Purgatorye, whence they shall in shorte tyme be deliuered, and shall there haue liberty sometymes to refresh themselves in stinking waters. That the Pauement of hell is of /40/ brimstone, hauing rivers of boyling Pich, and flames blacke with brimstone and Pich, and trees with bitter fruites, the cheife and greatest tree bearing a fruite that shalbe in theire mouthes like melted leade, with all other thinges that Paradise hath, but most contrary to them. That the damned after some thousands of yeares shalbe freed, if they suffer patiently, but otherwise they shalbe tormented eternnally, 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 Relgion Chapt IIII Seaes, 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 Chimeraes of Mahometts brayne, he writes a large discourse of his with the Angell

45 Chimera.
of Death, whom he found writing the particular sinnes of all particular 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.\footnote{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 poynets of the Roman Religion, and of the Iesuites, and the printed Statutes by which that Societye 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 over the westerne Church of Christians. Now it remaynes more particularly to shewe howe the Roman Religion is taught and practised in Italy, and more particularly to treate of the plenitude of power, which the Pope Challengeth over 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 Penance.

{ m.n. 34. Idolatry }

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
Jupiter for supreme god, and a rable of inferior Gods, and
those appropriated to all sortes and Conditions of men, as
Mars for Soldyers, Mercurye for Travellers, and Venus for
louers, and besydes the Gods Common to both Sexes, the
wemen had also 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 druien away with scorne),¹ and
the Godesse Fortune, Palenes, Feare, Pouerty, old age, and
the terrible Gods of hell, Minos with his fellowe
Judges, and Reuenge with other furyes. 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.
In like sorte the Roman Papists at this day acknowledge[d] the Creator of heaven and earth for chief God, but by divine worship they make an infinite number of other Gods, even all the glorious Angels and blessed Saints departed, yea some styled Saints, though indeed nothing less than Saints, yea very stocks and stones of Images. They give not only to every condition of men, but to every trade, proper Saints /10/ to trust in and to worship, as St Cathrine to Seamen, St. Georg to Soldiers, and to Barbers, Smyths, and to all trades of Artizans peculiar Saints, whome they invoke in the peculiar dangers & necessities [of their trades, but neglect as unprofitable in other] [in their] occasions of life, and these Saints the continually invoke, seldom calling upon God as taken vp with higher affayres. yea to women they have [given] women Saints, whome as acquainted and more neerely touched with their infirmities, that sex most willingly and most frequently invoketh & worshipeth.² And they are taught from some Saints to expect peculiar /20/ graces, and from others to hope for delivery 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 their Godes, but they have 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 glue divine worship to Angells and to Saynts departed, if this be divine worship, to build Temples to their honor, to offer unto them incense and prayers, and to trust in their help, yea to make vows of Pilgrimages and gifts unto them, in all their necessityes: then which nothing can be more grosse Idolatry, giving to the Saynts the honor due only to God, and attributing to them their health, wealth all preservations and benefitts, which truely come only from God. And howsoever some tymes they wantonly breake in prosperity, vows rashly made upon feare of iminent dangers, (as is sayd of him, who in danger of shipwracke vowed to St Caterine a wax Candle as bigg as Saynt Christophers Image, upon condition shee would deliuer him, but after he came to land, being reproofed by his frende for that vow 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 vow). Yet most Commonly these vows are so benificiall to the Fryers and Priestes, 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 vows, and no lesse
cureiously to performe them. For if a man haue a sore legg or Arme, if he undertake 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 successse, which the poore make of wood or stonnes 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 howsoever 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 equally 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/ Conjunction.¹ But more Commonly they call vpon our lady alone, as sole author of theire 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

¹ "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 & especially wemen fast more devotely 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. Twice 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 guiftes, 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 concurse of people espetially wemen, then to any church vpon the Sabboth 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
to that Church, and every one dips rods bombasted at the ends for the purpose, into a water which that Saynt is said to have blessed, and therewith washeth his eyes his mouth, and his beades on which he numbers his prayers. And in like sorte they doe on the festivall day of St Catherine, each one taking from the Priest a piece of her hallowed bread for a great and holy gift. Then the Image of the Saynt is carryed, with flaggs and Banners, under a rich Canopie, about that parish in procession, the Church being hung with gilded leaves and other ornaments and the Image being adorned with silke garments & Jewells, and having 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 //

Booke III of Italy touching Religion Capt V. fol.371 vpon an asse, and vpon Easter day gorgiously clothed in Robes of Carnation Satten, with gold lace and rich Jewells, 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

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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.

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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 seldom 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 Bishopps [or][of] Priests with great
Ceremony & reverence, but in a place above the people, so
as they cannot playnely see any thinge that he sheweth
them, but happy he who beleuves 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, seems most
strang and Impious. The greatest Tyrants, scoffing at the
Reformation and affecting to take away the beleefe thereof,
or (if it were in their power) to hinder or prevent it,
could give no more bitter sentence, against the holy
martyres placing all their comfort in hope thereof, then
to commaund their 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 ells doe the Papists in generall,
when under pretext of honoring and worshiping the dead
Saynts, they teare in pieces 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 Provinces and kingdomes can permitt. And howsoever they seeme to recompence this inhumanity with the adoration of these Reliques, yet it cannot be denied, that they rend in pieces the members of the 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 theire Remedy is worse then theire offence. The Prophett Isaiah tearmeth the bedd agraue, and comforts the Saynts dying that they shall rest in those beds. 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 bodyes vpon it, yet fynding the bones of the man of God, who had long be/fore 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. //

{ c.w. The Papists }
fol.372 of Turkey touching Religion Chapt.V.
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.
their Images, but it is most manifest they yeald them to the Images in as high degree as to them. The divine 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 pertainicular Image of hers, indowed with pertainicular power for pertainicular workes. And howsoever 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 howsoever all Saynts are all wayes the same in heauen, /20/ yet they attribute to their pertainicular Images the power to cure this or that disease, and to releeue 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 Bellamine (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<rt> inflamed to newe devotions and oblations. For inderede oblations are the true ende /30/ of these inventions, 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 allledged 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. 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 their 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*. 984
disposall, he doth inrich the Church and indeede /50/
himselfe 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, //
Booke III. of Italy touching Religion Capt.V. 373.
(as euery Church or monasterye hath one or other), to which
the people flooke as to a great Fayre or markett, to buye
Pardons and spirituall graces. For the Priests and Fryers
nourishe this Concourse and these frequent oblations of the
people, and their 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 their 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 wjth 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.¶

¶ 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. 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 beleueed, (wherof some are so ridiculous as the more modest Papists are ashamed to iustifie ye them) partly donne yet not by God but by Sathan, (to be discerned by theire end, a tryall prescribed by the scriptures, which end being to iustifie thinges forbidden by God, as the adoration of Saynts and theire 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.'"


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partly done by natural causes, and attributed to supernatural (as health recovered by /30/ baths or physicke, attributed to vows made to saynts, as having blessed those waters, or having 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 job cries, hath God neede of your lyes to mantayne his truth, and the Apostle sayth wee must not doe euill that good may come of it. 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 most grosse poynets 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 forhead, 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 needes be beleuued 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 beleuues 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 beleuued by any who are not Romish /10/ Catholiques, who will beleuue 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 posessed by Saracens and Turkes more then a thousand yeares. They must beleue that the Apostles made this

¹⁴ Sclaue 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 conjured 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] poynlte, 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 ladys 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, praying, vowing, gifts, adoring with garments and jewellos, (yea I dare say no Crucifix hath so [rich jewellos as our lady of loreto) the same Clothing, incensing and /50/ the same lamps burn'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 equivocate in these mentall reservations 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 leave out the second commandment expressly forbidding Idolatry, and to make the number of tenn compleate, make two Commandments of the truth, but rather [am] confident, [they] they would as gladly raze it out of theire hearts, whereof /10/ they cannot thincke without trembling and horror of Conscience.

But the most abominable Idole of this whore of Babilon, is the adoration of the bread in the Sacrament, grounded vpon the moster of Transubstation, 16 first made an Article of beleefe some 200th yeares past or little more, in

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16 "Monster of Transubstantiation", i.e. the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation.
the Councell of Costnetz (called in latin Constantia) The Papists themselves give 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 injoyed 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 things 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 understand, [w]how the faythfull shoulde Communicate the body and blood of Christ for the spirituall foode of their soules, except they eate his fleshly body in their mouthes. But it is not [my] purpose to dispute or defyne any Controverted poynct of Diunity, 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 refelld.18 Therefore as formerly so henceforward, I will content my selfe with the observations of practise. And for this poyn, I say it is the Custome, that when the Pope is present at any masse, the Priest hauing Consecrated the Hostia, brings 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 layed\[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 consecreated the Hostia, the Pope

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would have descended to the Alter, and first himselfe adored on his knees the Hostia, (which he would have men beleeeue to be very Christ in body and blood), and then would [have] carried it [to the people] vp to his throne, and there haue lifted it vp to the people /10/ But I woundred 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 beleeeue 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<ant>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 Nombres, yet no doubt the Iewes when they see them to adore Angells, & dead Saynts, by prayers, vowes, 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 [heads] 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 especially the leving of the second Commandment out of the C[h]atechismes, by which all Idolatry is expressly forbiden 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 itselze 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 brefely, 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 embrace it, to kiss it, to wepe 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 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
Companyes, 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 theire owne browes, and were maryed, and had Children,
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 inhabitt 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 vpon 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, 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 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; 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.

21 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 Students, Bacchilors, Masters, and Doctors, generally receiued abowte the yeare 1151, but will only handle the /30/ sacred and military Orders of Religionn. Fower sacred Orders are accounted Cheeffe; the Benedictynes, the Basilianes, the Augustinianes & the Franciscanes from whom sprange the rest distinguished by seuerall habbittes and Rules of life, namely the Cannons Regular instituted abowte the yeare 1076, the austere and strict Order of the Carthusianes instituted at Colleyng in the yeare 1088: (which 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 privatt 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.) The Cestertianes weare instituted in Burgondy abowte the yeare 1098, 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 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 Citeaux. Moryson's date is correct.

997
which order reuereund St Bernard entred in the yeare iii3,
from whom sprange the Bernardynes havinge the same Rule,
only differinge in habbitt: The Premonstratianes instituted
in the yeare iii6: The Friers humiliate Confermed in the
yeare 1200: 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. The Dominicans, called
Predicant of theire bond to preach, were instituted by St
Dominick, and confirmed by the Pope in the yeare i216.,
wearing a blake gowne and over it a white wollen Coate,
with a Coole hanging from he head to the shoulders, and
they were deuided into Conventualls, liuing of Common and

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23 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 commissioned 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 predicatio, 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, and obseruants, only eating Radishes, Onyons, Turnops, Coleworte, milke and eggs: and this order so increased as at one tyme it had 4143 Monasteryes, and about fourescore thousand /10/ Fryers. 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, and about that tyme the order of St Trenity begann by two Anachorites begging Almes for Christian Captiues. The mendicant Monkes of St mary begann in the yeare 1292. 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

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35 Conventuals lived in the conventual schools which taught theology, and were attached to many European universities. There were two such schools at Paris. \textit{CE}

36 Presumably these observed special rules on diet. Colewarts are cabbages, or greens. \textit{OED}

37 This is the exaggeration of a defensive Protestant mind. \textit{CE} admits to about 30,000 to 40,000 in the seventeenth century, half of Moryson's number of 80,000.

38 Isabella in \textit{Measure for Measure} wishes to be a member of the "sisterhood,\textit{/} The votarists of St. Clare." I. 4. 5, though the Duke has other plans for her. The Poor Clares embraced poverty, penance and seclusion. \textit{CE}

39 Also known as the Trinitarians. The Order was founded in 1198. \textit{CE}

40 Also known as Servites, as they are servants of the Virgin Mary. The order was founded in 1233, under the Augustine Rule. \textit{CE}
thought good to suppress the order. Pope Celestine did institute the order of the Celestines 1294. The Capellanes Instituted 1283 and the Stellati. 1351. The order of St Brigitt Common to both the Sexes (the women lying in the upper Rooms, the men in the lower, where they have a Chappell, to which a gallery answereth from the women's Chambers above) was instituted 1363 and is governed by an Abbatesse, and a Confessor called the Prior of the Fryers. The sect of the Iesuites, so called of the name of Iesus, which they had frequent[...]ly in their mouths, had their beginning from John Columban and Frances Vincent in the year 1368, Clothed in a single habit, and they lived by their labours, not taking holy orders, but only attending prayers, and these suspected of a detestable superstition were called to Rome by Pope Urban the fifth,

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

1000
who confirmed the order, after they had given him account of their life, and gave them a white habit with a four Cornard Capp from the necke to the shoulders.\footnote{Giovanni Colombini (1304 - 1367) was exiled from Siena in 1363 for his outspoken criticisms. Twenty-five 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 Gugliemo 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 \textit{Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630}, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1992), p. 253, BP.} /40/ The order of the Nunns of St Catherine began 1372\footnote{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} The sect of the Abbati began 1399. But a Priest of them coming to Rome with a great multitude following him, by reason of a Crucifix he carried and made them believe it did weep, the Pope feareing his ambition, Condemned him to be burnt, and so the order vanished. The Society of the Jesuites was confirmed in the year 1540 by the practise of Ignatius loiola, a gentle man of Spayne, who maymed in both his legs, left the warr when he was 26. yeares old, and being altogether vnlearned, went on /50/ pilgrimage to Ierusalem, whence returning, & preaching to the people without lycense, he was cast into prison as an //
Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Capt V fol.379.

heritike, but escaping went to Parice, and there studied 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 thru[ugh] out Italy preached for a tyme in great povery; 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, 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/dantly taught, that they ver[y]e 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 wornne out or forsaken by sinne, cast themselues into Cloysters there to doe pennaunce for theire sinnes. 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..."


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 Templiaryes 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 ny nth, 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 suspicion of Pagon Religion, or of Sodomiticall lust, or [for] [of] conspiring with the Turkes, or rather /50/ for Covetousnes of their riches, and feare of their 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 Urspurg), produced a chronicle in the thirteenth century which was published under the title, Chronicon abbatis Vrsprungen. 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 Melanchthon. 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 Vandalie et Saxonia A. Cranzi 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.
The king of Jerusalem 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 Ave Maria upon their beades so many tymes over, 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 whom and the king of Spayne, they espetially depend, yet haue good Revenues in Fraunce, to which French gentlemen succeede their Fathers and kinsmen, and become knights of that order, not allwayes living in Malta, but bound to come thether when they are called, and of old gentlemen only were /20/ admitted to this Or<de>r, 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, whence being after druen out, they planted their chief seat or college at Venice, and after removed it into Prussia, where at last the master of the Order deuiding that Province betwene himselfe and the king of Poland, was by the king Created Duke of Prussen, hauing his seat 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 under 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 Compostellian knights in Spayne Conteyneth most part of the 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 under the king of spayne as heyre to the Duke of Burgundy, and he bestowes it as a marke of great honor. The French

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[^2] Acre. CE

1006
king Henry the third abolished the old order of the
knightes of St Michaeell, or rather bringing it into
Contempt by making it vulgar, did by the advise 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 divers orders obserue most austere
and strict rules of life, as the Carthusians, and the
obseruant Franciscans. Others live 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 theire Order, as the Conventuall Franciscans
going through Cittyes and Prouinces beging Contrary to the
rule of theire order. For they are tyed to live within
theire Covent, where they heare Confessions in theire
Chappells, in which they haue Cheests continually
replenished with Pyes, Roasted meate, and like provisions,
brought them by theire devoute Disciples, without begging
a broade, though another sorte of Franciscans is allowed to
[g] begg, and called Mendicant, who stragle\textsuperscript{53} 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 abstaying /30/ from flesh in the publike Refectorye, will not spare to eate it in theire private Cells, and the Hermits professing to liue in desertes, Commonly so dwell vpon solitarye rockes, as they are not vnfruitefull, besydes that they are seated in firtill Countryes, and neere to rich townes and Cityyes. And generally besydes the Corruption in the first foundation of monasteryes for [\textit{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 rust\textsuperscript{54} hath defyled these Cloysters during the securitye and aboundance /40/ wherein the Church of Rome hath wallowed for many

\textsuperscript{53} "1. a. intr. To wander or stray from the proper road...Often with adv., as about..." OED

\textsuperscript{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 sharply observing there faults, dare the Popes reforme the Monasteryes, as perhaps they would, fearing lest any small rigor of Disciplyn 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,\textsuperscript{55} the truth, [of] is, the Nunneryes of Italy are much Reformed, yet withall I will boldly say, that, the Jealous Italyans are not /50/ more Commonly [...] [or] easily by any meanes abused in the Chastitye of their wives and Concubynes, then upon pretence of their devotion by plotts made in these Cloysters. But let these contentments which all sortes of humors 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 as\textsuperscript{56} for this cause and many pryuate respectes concurring, the<se> daily come by troopes to vndertake these professions. It is an old saying, desperation makes a Monke,\textsuperscript{57} and indeede as old historyes

\textsuperscript{55} Hence the force of Hamlet's "Get thee to a nunnery. Why wouldst thou be a breeder of sinners?" III. 1. 23, 24.

\textsuperscript{56} "So as".

\textsuperscript{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 reserved to it selfe, did commonly impose no further punishmement on Clarkes though murtherers, then to shutt them vp in a close monastery. Nether can it be denyed that monasteryes of old lay open as Sanctuaryes to all Malefactors, even lay men as Clarkes, and so are vsed to this day, hereof to omitt many instances abundantly offering themselfes 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 Jerusalem, who hauing committed many murtheres 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 howsoever the king proclaimed 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 theire 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 Frends, and be loath to make his fortune by paynefull industrye, chusing rather with ease to liue upon the sweate of other mens browes, if any haue beene vnfortunate, and Crossed in Trades or other courses of life, if any be in danger of the Justice. 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 worldly comforts. And all these innumerable Fryrs are bound to mantayne the Roman Religion, by wjch they subsist, and after all these dispayres, vnfortunate or distastfull Courses, haue new hopes of preferment, by degrees to the greatest dignityes of the Church, euen to become Popes, which many Fryrs haue obtained. For a Fryer may hope to be Pryor of all the Covents of his Order in any Province or kingdome, then to be a Cardinall, and why not a Pope. But howsoever men of yeares and discretion enter these orders, and make the vowes to which they are oblidged, it is lamentable to see infinite Numbers of young youthes and
tender virgins, drawn by persuasions and allurements of Parents and Religious persons, yea many times by threatninges, to enter these orders, and make the perpetuall vowes there of, when as yet they can have no experience

*Quid portare queant humeri, quid ferre reçusent.* /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 subjects they take from kings by making them vassalls to the Pope, but they playnely see with theire eyes that the common wealth is by them disburchened 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|inne to these Cloysters, may complayne with [h] Homer (according to the old saying) that he must
goe forth if he come with empty hands. For they cannot be admitted 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 undonne,

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. 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 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 subjection to secular power, and indowed with reputation of singular holines, and with great priviledges (as in cases of Felony to be saved by theire booke, and for spirituall preheminence aboue the layetie to receave the holy supper in both kyndes), and they giue an oath of absolute obedience to the Roman Church, all which bynde them to mantayne that Church by which they haue theirie 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 Civill 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 subiection, 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 glorye and Reuenues. [whereby the are made potent to sway the kingdoms where of they are, and to support the Popes greatnes euen against theire kinges.] The Archbishopps and Bishops and cheefe secular Priests are in all kingdoms eminent persons, and commonly of great Famylies, at least gentlemen, and such are likewise the Abbotts. And the Roman Bishopps 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 injoyed these dignityes and
Revenues. 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 early pensions. But in my opinion the Religious Orders, above all other vassals of the Pope, most support his monstrous greatness. They vent [his][of] Indulgences & spirituall graces, and whatsoever they gett by their holy Acts, all is at the Popes disposall, who seth them as spunges 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 innumerable, for I have formerly shewed that of old, the Dominicans numbred fourescore thousand, haung 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

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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 private perswasion, all by hostentation of holynes, but spetially creeping into weomens houses and leading the[m] Captieue (as the Apostle sayth62) who seldom fayle to drawe the men after them. Not one Fryer but actes some parte in this worke, some by austerity, some by good fellowshipp, 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 Consciences 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 captieue 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 Combhnrs of their partie, as there is small hope to reform Religion where they swarm. And had not Fryers themselues in Germany beene the /10/ Authors of Reformation, had not the Monasteryes beene destroyed and these Fryers Companyes 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 prises. For if a College of them can be planted in any Province, they fynde it as powerfull to root out the Reformed Religion by practises, as a strong Garrison of Soldyers can be to keepe Rebellious subjectes 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, having 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 deuelish

64 Compare, "The Carmelitanes [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.

1017
blast of gunnpouder, and often the killing of kings, yea to kill them with their own hands in that quarrell. They are commonly young, able bodies, many of them gentlemen, and most of them men of the best spirit, they are used to watching, fasting, poor clothing, ill lodging, and to cold. No dispatches pass more swiftly then those sent from a Prior of a Covent to the Provincial Prior, and from him to the general of the Order at Rome, they profess by vow absolute obedience, they have riches a boundantly to raise and feed themselves, and their persons are numberless. Would not this be a powerful Army in strength, in discipline and heads of men, to be raised without Charge, where nothing wants, but the Popes Command, to assemble them. And why should it be doubted that extremity may produce this effect, since already without any extremity the French League hath been known to make like use of them both in field and in Garrisons. The importance is, that these numberless 

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 unfit 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.

1018
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 poynpts) 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 Conversion 70 (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 abhor, 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 unsociable life to be against nature, never commaundd by God, nor practis'd by theire Ancestors vnder the lawe. Yet I must confesse, that besydes the Phisitians retayning theire 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 Citty, 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 with some fewe of the poorest sorte.

And thus I come to my purpose, namely to Monasticall Vowes, which hauing beene never practis'd 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.  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 feeede others with
hopes of foretold fortunes, so these Fryers only cladd in
rough garments for ostentation of holines, by theire
diligence in preaching and heareing Confessions, haue
plentifull dyett, and all fauors (some more then are fitt
to be told). In theire Churches they haue a publike great
Chest to receave the Almes of those who haue made theire
Confessions, /50/ into which myselfe haue seene them putt
baked pyes, and choyse Rosted meates, for none corn empty

Booke [387. Booke] III of Italy touching Religion Cap V fol

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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. 0d. OED There is also
a glancing reference to the Parable of the Talents, Matthew
handed to them, who measure their repentance by their offerings. Some of each monastery of Mendicants go about the Country preaching, and some daily go about the next villages or towns, to beg food for them that stay in the monastery. And these no sooner tingle a little bell in their hands, but the doors are opened, and good portions of the best meats are brought in to them, for they will not feed on scraps, and [are] impatient at any small stay at the doors, so as a man would say they rather commanded then begged Almes. I doubt St Paule would not have well /10/ allowed of this profession, living on other mens sweate not their own. If in these, or other monasteries in general a lay 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, desiring him to lay it asyde, which donne, ether he leads 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 amy equall iuide tell me, how any private men may [be] truely esteeme poore, for whome a rich Community takes Care to make plentifull pro/20/visions, yea

13 A minim missing? "small".

14 "And because he [Paul] was of the same craft, he abode with them and wrought (for their craft was to make tents.)" Acts 18. 3.

15 "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 their Conditions, and spared not to reprove them and other higher abuses of his dayes even in the very Popes) Humes esse volunt, sed sine despect[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 mankynde /30/ threatening that Poverty and want shall sease on the slothfull like an Armed man, and forbidding him to eate who will not labor. My selfe in Italy sometymes haue had Dominican Fryers for Consorts of my Iourney, who feeding at the publike charge of theire monasterye, dyned largly, 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

18 "...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.

1023
among themselves 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
towards 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. 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 Revennuess 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 liueing on
Almes intertayne the Pilgrames as it were of Charity, but
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1024
if they voluntarily give them not more than would satisfy a greedy host, they will be ill contented, and ready to expose them to others' extortions. Thus the Mendicant Fryers want nothing, the austere Orders have rich Revenues, and especially the Dominicans /20/ live in great ease and plenty. In their Monasteries at Bologna myself did see in the hall great quantity of wine left after their dinner in a brason vessel for the poor which myself tasted and found to be much better than anything publicly sold, and we saw their large Cellars full of rich wines, to which all their other provisions were answerable." Yea the very Jesuits who will be reputed more holy than any other, and profess strict poverty, are attired though plainly and gravely yet in the best linen Cloth and stuffes. And for their diet, they /30/ all sit on the bench side of the Table the other side being vacant, and each one is served by himself with little portions but choice meats of three kinds at least, besides fruit. And no man can deny that their Colleges are endowed with great Revenues. But their hypocrisy in this profession of poverty is singular above all others. The profess not to know many nor the value of several coins. Their Statutes expressly forbid them to persuade any man to give them stable Almes of inheritance, yet the same Statutes injoyne them yearly to

"3. Corresponding, correspondent, accordant, agreeable." OED Moryson means "of a similarly high standard".

1025
offer a wax /40/ candle to the next kinsman of each benefactor, and decree that all benefactors shall be pertakers of the good workes done by the professed Iesuites of their Colleges, above the proportion which in their scales may serve for their own salvation. And are not these vehement persuasions to become their Benefactors. whereas I have said the poor Franciscans have Chests in their Churches, into which cold pyes and Rostmeates are cast for Almes, these holy Iesuites are forbidden by Statute to have any such Chest, I know not why, except it be because they had /50/ rather have shining gold than cold meate given them for Almes. They may take no mony with them in journeys, and good reason for they command all purses where they goe. In the mean time these modest poor men, are not only //

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol.389.

indowed with great yearly revenues, but are knowne to heape vp great Masses of treasure. The relations of Venice name a Theatine Iesuite that carryed. 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 against them. And the judicious Author of the short discourse concerning the west Church (whose concealing of his worthy name forbids me to conjecture) it) writes that Pope Sixtus Quintus take at one clapp /10/ from the Iesuites (as being to rich for men vowing poverty) aboute 20000 Crownes rent,
and bestowed it on St Peter.18

{ 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 proove, I thincke rather the accused will pleade guilty. Yet because the Order of the discourse forsethe 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 haung beene not many monethes before at Rome, related to me many [monethes 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[.]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

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18 The Jesuits "...being too riche, for vows 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 gone 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 abroade, brought with them a young Curtizan into their Cells, where having 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 their Company, they expected till the Procter should oven the gate, 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 having 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 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 replyed: Tu hai del Balordo, habbiamo vna anche noi: Thou hast of the //

fol 390. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Capt V

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 Guar[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/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 vowes 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 scandeled therwith. These Fryers are sett ouer Nunneryes, as Confessors and Superintendents, and to them those gates are open, which by theire rules are shutt against all others (for as for secrett faults, the Church judgeth not of them) Of this poynte I speake spareingly, and omit many perticulars
related to me by Italian gentlemen, only give me leave to
mention one thing, which I have harde them confidently
avow, /30/ that the Jealous Italians are no way so safely
and frequently cornuted[81] and deceived by their wives and
[Curtiz] Concubynes, as when upon pretence of Religion they
gett their leave to goe to these Nonneryes, with an old
woman (a dangerous keeper of Chastity) to wayte on then. To
this purpose Hieronymus Turlerus in his description of the
mount Pausilippo neere Naples, writes of the blessed
virgins Chappell there seated, that many Matrons under
pretence of Religion comming thereto 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
Clergy 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 upon
this occasion, bycause the staires therby folkes use to
go 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." Hieronymus Turler, The Traveller of Jerome
Hand Two is rushed, turning "thickets" into "thickest".

1030
tho God calls marriage holy and chast,83 And St Austin
durst not preferr the most holy Virginity, to the chast
marriage 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/ Chastitye, by which single life is ment, and for it
imposed. Yet the Papists will boldly say that the Pope
forbidds not marryage, but only decrees that marryed men
shall not //
Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt V fol.391
be of Religious Orders, nor haue benefices and dignities of
the Church. Why may one of them marry if he will leave
these Orders and promotions, no that will not serue his
turne, but he must be burnt as an heritike, doe they
thinke that these monasteryes, promotians and dignityes
wilbe left vacant, which none but single men can enter. No
doubt they would haue these places supplyed, 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
thinke 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

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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.

1031
Prophecyed he shall doe[84] 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 beleeue 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 theire foresayd pretence of converting the Iewes. The lawe of God sayth, to avoyde fornication lett the incontinent marry,[85] the Pope sayth to avoyde 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 evidentely, 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 receive this thing, saue they to whome it is giuen." Matthew 19. 11. Morysan 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. 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 subject to breake it, St Paules Rule is firme. Better to marry then to burne, better with harty contrition to breake it once by lawfull marriage, 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.

{ m.n. 50, 51. Vowe of obedience }

Touching the third vowe of Obedience, whereby they submitt themselves to be ruled by their superiors or governnors,

77 "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 pennisance Imposed by them, and Captiuate theire vnderstandinges to the will of those /

fol.392. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Cap V. superiors, and take theire 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 things be they never so contrary to the lawe of God, or to theire owne Consciences. 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 God’s word. Our Saviour sayeth search the scriptures, the Pope sayeth read them not, and him they obey. God forbids to worship images or to bow before them, the Pope alloweth 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, deny the Conclusion against the rule of Logic, forgetting that it is a most certayne signe of the false Church to mantle doc/tryne Diemirally oposite to the worde of God. Finally this vowe doth so bewitch and stupify their myndes with senselesse Credulity, as they not only swallowe flyes, but very Cammells, and as they breake the forb[mer] vowes with negligence and Carelessnes, so they observe 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 testimie 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 theire Idolatry, which hath diuided the Reformed churches from them. And howsoever 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

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94 An obsolete form of "mysterious".

1036
any advantage this brag can afford them, so they would give the Reformed ministers leave in the newe birth of the Gospell, to stay at home, and rather intend the preserving of their sheep from Jesuited wolves, and keep our houses from the fyer of Incendiary Jesuits, then to put their sickle into strangers harvest, while their own eyes ungathered. For what vayle soever they draw over this vow of Mission, by pretending the Conversion of Pagons, we finde that it is only intended, or at least only used to the subversion of the reformed Churches, we know that they send not one to convert the Turkes their next neighbours, that those fewe sent into the Indies under the Spaniards live there as safe from persecution, as if they were in Italy, and if they brag of any thing done in more remote and unknowne partes, we have just cause to suspect the truth thereof, as shall after be shewed, but we can name multitudes of them employed to trouble the Reformed churches, whereof in our age England above all kingdoms hath had woeful 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 build these holy Seminaryes in Rome and the lowe Countryes, for the education of such young men as should fly from the Reformed Churches, with myndes obstinate in the Roman Religion, and inclined to practise of treason against the Reformed States from whom they
fledd. And as they haue these Seminaryes 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 in grossed the teaching of youthes.\textsuperscript{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 Citizens 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 theire 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.\textsuperscript{96} Thus they trayne vp all theire Schollers // fo 394. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt.V. both Natiue and fugitiue, and the choyse witts of them they perswade and incite (by all possible meanes) to become Iesuites, and when they are entred into that Order, implo

\textsuperscript{95} "Engrossed, ppl. a. b. Collected from various quarters, amassed in large quantity." OED

\textsuperscript{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 perhapps not thincke them vanquished, and
theire partiall frendes will Iudge them Conquerors in
disputation. Theire sublime witts and Statist live 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 private Colleges to the Provinciall 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[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 proceeding, by the Actions in England during the late raigne of Queene Elizabeth, where the English fugitius trayned vp in the foresayd Seminaryes, after the tyme of their Studdyes fullfilled, being founde fitt for that Imploymet, were sent ouer into England, to the vineyard or harvest as they call it, indeede to practise seditions, and expose themselves to death for the Roman Church, which had fedd them a fewe yeares to that purpose. For 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. //

Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt V fol.395
The Apostell St Iohn being exiled to Pathmos by the Emperor, wee reade not that he disobeyed that sentence, much lesse that he came from thence to Rome. But the

"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 deserved death, did ordinarily within fewe dayes retourne disguised into England, yea sometymes in the same Shipps that had transported them, with pretence to preach, but intending only to combye the Popish subjects in some plott against the Queene and State. For it was ever observed 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. wherupon tho their lives were many tymes spared, yet for example upon some enorme practises they were sometymes putt to death, and thus executed for breach of the lawe forbidding their retourne vpon paine of death, or of the law inloyning all subjectes on like penalty to take the oath of Allegiance, and to deny the /20/ Popes supremacy, they would be reputed Martyrs, and so were esteemed by the Papists, though the oath of allegiance had no force to distinguish mens difference in Religion towards God or the Pope, but their loyal or disloyall heartes towards their Soueraigne, and they could not deny the exacting of that oath, and the banishing of any subjects to be in the power of temporall kinges, and well knewe that the cause not the punishment makes true Martyrs.

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 spoken in my discourse of Religion in Bohemia, where I particularly haue related some of theire 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 theire 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 buirying of the dead hath the renowne of a most charitable Christian duty.

Agayne in the debating of the foresayd Controversyes, they will haue theire version or translation of the Bible to be helde most Authentickall. Why then is it inioyned by theire Statutes, that such young students who desyre to learne the Greeke and Hebrewe languages, shall first sweare to defende and mantayne the translation allowed by the Roman Church, before they be admitted to those Studyes. Me thinckes by this alone they confesse, and giue all men Iust cause to suspect, that the Roman translations are many wayes faulty, for otherwise the louers of truth will defend it without any bond of an oath to tye them therevnto. Agayne

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"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 }

Fol. 396. Book III of Italy touching Religion Chapt V.

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 abroade, and such as their frendes sende to them, and they haue a Statute expressly joyning 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 joynes /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 Consciences. 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 perhaps alltogether diuert them from Continuing 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 observed.

{ 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 raigning 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 leave 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

1045
sinnes, and vndergoe the Pennance the pennisance 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
use to Cutt thereire skores sometymes off the yeare with
purpose to haue newe skores with them, ¹⁰⁰ so they
especially at this tyme of the yeare conffesse their
sinnes, and thincke to be reconciled with God by the
Priests absolution, vpon performing the Pennance he
imposeth, but with intent of returning to thereire Vomitt, as
appeares by thereire 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 ordinaryly graunted, or
those bought for the purpose. The Pennance Commonly
Consists in saying Auenaryes 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
iubiles: making account of confession, as drunkards do of
vomitting..." Sandys, sig. A4v.
Pilgrimages to them, or such like trash, but some are enjoyned to whipp their bodies with Iron hookes and with their owne handes, some privately, others (for Austentation of Religion) publikely in the streets. And these men in divers Companies walke many dayes about the streets, with their bodies and faces covered with sackcloth, only having holes Cutt for their mouths 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 backs. (In which mangling of their bodies notwithstanding, the [P.p.est][Priests] of Baall went farr beyonde them) But others of these Penitents masked in sackcloth, deale more gently with themselves, content to give outwarde obedience in performing the Penance, without fetching any blood. And these companies sometymes attend Commandend men to the place of execution, thereby more abundantly to merritt pardon for their sinnes, for it must allwayes be understood that they will not begg but merritt all graces from God. And to the same end, after the Penance of

102 Compare "And for Penance, it consisteth ordinarily but in Ave maries and Paternosters...But were the penance by the Priests enjoyned, 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 themselves as their manner 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
undergoe the rest of their Pennance, by mumbling Auamaryes
and Paternosters before some Saynts Shrine, and offering
mony. For as every Psalme endes with glory to the Father
&c. so every 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 even the Iewes and Turkes
haue their lent or tymes of the yeare for extraordinary
humiliation, and performance of Religious dutyes, and the
Greekes besides the great lent haue three lents in the
yeare of shorter tyme and more remisse observation.\textsuperscript{105} And
some thincke that the present observation 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

\textsuperscript{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 acceptable 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 every 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 preseruationes of Counsell to worke /40/ contrition in his harte, bringing fourth fruities of repentance, in humbling his soule by voluntarye punishment inflicted on him selfe (as abstinence from wyne for a season in reguard 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 secrett passages, and that vpon /50/ayne of making all the rest of the Confession fruutelesse 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 penance or macerating of the body. ¹⁰⁶ And no maruell since the Romans litle respect the spirituall use of both, so they may haue the politike use 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 their hartes, and wherby they drawe all private mens riches to them, /10/ especially at the tyme of death, by perswading to ransom some theire soules by theire goods, at which tyme of distresse, what [will] will not a man give for the peace of his soule, especially since to magnifie this merritt of giving 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 giving 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, especially of
great and rich men. Insomuch as the Roman Church of old
drew to it so much of lay mens Reuenues, 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 persuading 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 laiety, only by this
mistery of Confession, namely the knowing of theire
secretes, and [the] liuing vpon the sweate of theire
browes, and the oportunity to lye with theire 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 remidy, vsing it to purge theire harts, as
men use vomiting to purge theire stomakes, and sining with

107 This was one of the points of dispute in the
most boldnes and liberty (as in the Carnauall or shroftyde) when the tyme of Confession and absolution 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 drinkes, // fol.400. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Cap V when they are in the Company of theire Phisitian. Nether feare or shame they, to reveale theirs 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 give me leave 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 shelfe ouer his head, and played with him double or quitt, wherewith he was much scandeled 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 young offending in that kynde, or by burning his body at a stake, yet by their generall practise it is more then probable, and histories witnesse, yea them selues will confesse, that these secretes haue of old beene many tymes revealed, especially if the revealing thereof 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 beene brought vp in the /30/ Iesuites College at Vienna, and vpon grevances hauing left that College 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 observued, much lament the Iesuites ordinary custome rashly and knauishly to make knowne the Confessions of many persons with whom they hapned to be offended. And among many other testimonies 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. Yet this act had some Iust excuse of Religion and piety in the
Priest for preseruation of his kings' person. But the
practise of all Priests at this day and in the last age, is
farre worse, espetially 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 Countryes, 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 Provinciall
Governor (though all Countryes where they are receaved) and
these Prouincialls likewise to advertise the Generall of
that order at Rome, of the most important matters of
this kynde. Only they profess 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 whatsoever, Contri[mn][u]ed in our

109 I have been unable to find out which history Morison
means. It may have something to do with the great treason
of the Duke of Bourbon who defected to the Imperialists in
1523.

1054
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 prooфе.

{ 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 unversall pastershipp. /30/ For he hath made Peters feede my sheepe, eate vp Dauids feeding Gods people and ruling them prudently wjth all his power, as if kings had nothing to doe in that office.\[110\] Yea he hath expounded feede my sheepe, wjth a strange glosse of Peters vision, Arise Peter kill and eate,\[111\] as if this commission were giuen not only to byulde 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 himselfe expressly reproueth.\textsuperscript{112} This power is partly spiritually, /40/ and common to all Bishopps and ministers, which the Pope appropriates to himselfe, and extendes to boundlesse limitts, and partly temporall, vsurped by the Pope in all dominions but his owne, tho belonging only to kings in their seuerall Dominions. Both founded by the subtile witts of Italy, and mantayned by like strong policye of worldly wisdome, grounded 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 Judge 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 bidds vs //

\textsuperscript{112} "Not as though ye were Lordes ouer Gods heritage, but that yee may bee ensamples to the flocke." I Peter 5, 3.

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 unversall 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
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 granted,
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 howsoever, the Pope by these k<e>yes 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 subjectes to whome theire
Soules are dearer then all other respects, thereby weakning
the loyalty of subjectes to theire kings only lordees of
theire bodyes and goods, while the Pope is Prince of theire
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

1057
Now lett vs see how the Pope vseth these excommunications, Pardons and other straynes of his vsurped power. And first for excommunications, it hath beene agreat and old greevance that by them the Pope hath long tyranized ouer Emperors and kings, but it is manifest that they themselfes for Ambition first vpheled 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 whatsoeuer they would for the dignity and profitt of that Sea, turned these thunderbolts against themselues that formerly vpheled 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 College 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 apparrant 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 howsoever for the present this distastes 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 subject 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 Reuell in spite of them.116 For this a mysticall poynct of the Popes greatnes that heretofore kinges could not subsist, if /20/ the Pope once denovnnced 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 vpon 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 detriment of that Sea, for which cause at this day they spareingly threaten but seldom or never denovnse them. But it is worthe observation, that howsoever excommunication rightly vsed, is indeede a fearefull sentence, yet the Popes themselues thought theire proceedinges in this case meere scarecrows, rather fitt to terrifye, then able to hurt, euene in the tymes when Princes and States strode most in awe of them. For whereas the Apostle[s] Paul, knowing that God by his Iudgments would severely execute this sentence /40/ justly 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, the Popes cleane Contrary, trusting not in Gods executing theire 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 fyre and sworde, as giuen to him, by the

117 "scarecrows".

118 I Corinthians 5. 1 - 5.

1060
The second misticall point of the Popes powerfull greatnes consists in his Indulgences and Pardons //

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 Sabbaths are in Italy the greatest markett 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 dissmeted not from Rome in all pointes touching the Popes greatnes and gayne, peace were easily made betweene them. 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 fyre, asked the Iesuite Cotton,\textsuperscript{120} if the fyer of purgatorye were so hott, and he answering that it was tenne thousand tymes hotter, the king merily replyed, that he did easily beleueued 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 \textit{Fiat quod petitur}, let it be that is C[.].raued, secondly for pardon of his sinnes, to which the Pope subscribed \textit{Fiat f\ae{}lix}, lett him be happy. Is not this the mouth which speaks blasphemy.\textsuperscript{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 understooode that

\textsuperscript{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. \textit{CE}

\textsuperscript{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 private 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. 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 magnifiye 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 theire is no monasterye Church, nor Alter, that hath not dormant pardons graunted by Popes and lasting to

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"The Pope also, whose deuotion had this determination, to appropriate to his sonne Cesar at that time Cardinall, all temporall greatnesse, raised his thought to high things, and sending Embassadours 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 Collection, [being] long to reade, and strang to
heare, but I [am] [w]ill 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 aboundant 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 confess, 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

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. 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 pitty that by negligence wants them. Yet if any man be so foolish as after death to dropp into Purgatory for want of them, he wants not remedyes. 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 intenciton) ransomes his Parents from Purgatorye.

{ m.n. 38. Dispensations. }

Another misterye of these spirituall graces in the Roman Church, is no leesse detestable then the former, I might say farr more abhominable, as more directly opposite to the expresse word of God. And this consists in the Popes dispensations, by vertue of his power to loosen and to bynde, where[he]in he playes fast and loose with marryage, and Oathes, and all the sacred bonds of Religion.

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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".

1065
Gods lawe forbidds marryage within certayne degrees of kindred, the Popes forbidds more degrees, and so byndes where God looseth, moreover adding spirituall affinity (as being Gosopes\textsuperscript{128} at the Christning of a Chylde) to be an impediment to marryage 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 marryages 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 nothinge, 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.\textsuperscript{129} Is not this Vicar of Christ highly presumptious, and can Antichrist more exalt him selfe aboue God, then by dispensing with his lawes. This misticall

\textsuperscript{128} Godparents. \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{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 ever 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, theire legitimatate /20/ birth falls with it. For these kings hauing perchapps gotten most of theire States by marryage, to keepe them still in theire Famyly, they haue no better way then to marrye with the neerer of theire blood, so as the[y] vnkle hath marryed the nyce, which is against the lawe of nature, the vnkle being in steede of the Parents vpon their death, & expressly against the lawe of God, and only made lawfull by the Popes dispensation. Yea and thus one Prince hath beene to another, both brother Cosen, Nephewe, and Sonne. [in particuluer.] 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, disapproved 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 Alexander 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 Brittany, did graunt him this spirituall grace of Diuorce, or rather exchaunge it for larg temporall States giuen by him to the Roman Sea; and [hee] hauing a Daughter heyre of that Dukedome, after marryed to his successor Frances the first, the Pope did thereby as firmely bynde them and their successors, to mantayne the Papall authority, as theire owne 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. 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

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132 "...and so the diuorce confirmed by sentence of the Judges, there rested nothing else expected, for the dispensing and accomplishing of the new mariage, but the comming of Cesar 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 revenue..." 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 subject to seditions easely raysed 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 reguarded her Fa[i]thfull promise, made to her subjectes 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 utterly 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 raysed 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 born of a second venter, without any divorce granted from the Pope of the former marriage, was no lesse bound to mantayne her right by impugning the Popes Authority, besides 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 Commandment 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 theire Father. 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

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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.

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 kingdome 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 kings of the Roman Religion, what confidence may Protestants haue in the Oath of a Papist, haung this Dormmant warrant, that no Fayth is to be kept with heritikes. /50/

For the Reuenques 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 higest 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 theire authority, yet daily falling from them, haue more spareingly then in

137 This is the example used by Sandys, sig. D4v.
former ages, of late not at all, used the spirituall terrors of excommunication against the Princes of their people, and have made the kings of Spayne and Fraunce partners with them in the Reueneues they rayse from 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 that tyme granted at a more easye rate, and all exactions more spareingly used especially in places adjoyning to the reformed churches, or indeede the graces freely giuen, and the exactions altogether forborne, towards the Papists living under the Commaunde of the Reformed Churches for feare to offend them. I have formerly spoken of the Popes Revennues much decayed by Provinces and whole kingdomes falling from his obedience, and of the great Reueneues he still rayseth from those that are under him, by Annats and Tenthes yearely, 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, 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 ot 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 granted to their shrines and Alters, and of the Popes squeasing these Churches and monasteyes to his owne profit, when their spunges growe full. Now I only adde ingenerall, that Spayne yealdes the Pope as great Revenues in this kynde as Italy, so as the worthy Author of the discourse of the Western 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 subject 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 acharge 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

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to the subject of this Chapter, yet because it first grewe from the dreadfull awe of his spirituall power, I will breefely 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 kingdom of Naples, and the Duchey of Milian. That of Venice is the second, in regarde of theire force by Sea, and it Contaynes Histria\textsuperscript{140} and seuerall rich Cittyes with /10/ theire Teretoryes 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 theire Nauall power, and contaynes Romagnna the Dukedome of Spoleto, 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 theire 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

\textsuperscript{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 spirituall and temporall power /30/ in forrayne kingdomes, haue beene and are to this day most intentiue to amplifie their meere temporall State at home. So as the last Duke of [F.] Ferrara dying without lawfull heires males, 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 posession. 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. 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[.]ght 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 "...hauling being poisoned by Spanish practise." Sig. N3r.
Ithel 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 [enceased] home, }
fol.410. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V.
temporall power [increased] 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 theire owne sydes,143 making the Pope richer but Italy poorer, whereas the spirituall power a broade drawes all men into Italy, where by theire 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/ natie 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.
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.

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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 College, 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 dignityes of the Church were not in the Popes guift, and to this day in Venice, some benificies are like dignityes, 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 every 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 Reuenques, 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 Successor wasted foure
in tenne monthes.\textsuperscript{145} But were the Reuenues never so great, they are subject to Continuall wasting, by the great expences, to mantayne his /40/ Nuncioes, Legates, and other ministers, and all other supports of his dignity, but especially by preferring his kinsmen and Nephewes (which commonly are their base Children, so stilled by them,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 rysed high from lowe degree) Commonly most riotous. Besydes the Popes Chosen when they are old, cannot live long, whereby these hauockes of treasure are frequent. And this last point is allso agreat defect in the Papall

\textsuperscript{145} Sandys reports that Sixtus V, not VI, left five millions. Sig. Olv.

\textsuperscript{146} "...so styled by them..."

\textsuperscript{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 divers families and nations, they never weave the webb of their predecessors, but make new frames of their own. Yet let the Popes power be never so vast, it can never be equal to his pride, the excess whereof no man can imagine, that hath not seen it. My self little understooed what Pontificall pompe (called In Pontificalibus) did meane, till I saw the Pope ride from his Pallice to the Church; with foure hundreth gentlemen brauely mounted, besides his Cardinalls and Bishopps, all attending him, who in the middst roade vpon a white Mule, with divers other ledd spare, all richly furnished, having also a rich Canopie, over his head carried by six men with two horsemenn riding by [him] one with a great fann of peacockes feathers held betwene 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 throne in the Church, soe as his feete never touched the ground, and there, with incredible presse, all men and women aspired to the happines to kysse his ymbrodered shoe, and in like sort, after the Masse hee was Caried backe from the Church to his Pallace.

{ m.n. 33, 34. The Power of the Papacye }

Thus much being said of the Pope, give 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 ware Papistes, most of the Bishopps ware Papistes, but some of them forced to giue liberty of the reformed Religion to their Subiectes, the Emperor & his famulye ware Papistes, but most of their Subiectes Protestantes, havinge freedom of Religion, but all the rest of the Princes with their Subiectes, & all the free /40/ Cityyes, and the duke of Konigsburgh with his Subiectes in Prussen, & the free Cityyes of that Prouince ware all Protestantes, some after Luthers, some after Caluins doctrine, soe as hardly the Seauenth ptere of Germany, & Bohemia Silesia & Morauia, ware accounted then of the Popes pertye. only [of] the Papistes had two aduantadges, one to have the Emperor on their side, the other to haue the Protestantes devided into Lutherans & Caluenistes, wheoref the former, are soe eager in Contentionn, as they professd in Print, rather to tourne Papistes then to yeild to the other /50/ // fol 412 Booke iii of Italy Touchinge Religionn Chap: V in the mayne difference of the Sacrament. In Poland Hungary & those pertes, the farr greater perte ware Papistes, the rest ware of diverse Sectes of Religionn. But all these had worke more then enough to defend themselves from the Turkes invasionn. Therefore the strenght of the Papacye Consisted in Italye, Spaine, & Fraunce. For howsoeuer a third perte of the Grisons & the Switzers ware then Papistes, yet the Protestantes beinge double in nomber, &
havinge the ricchest Cittyes & more warlicke people the Papistes there could add no strenght to the Popes pertye.

And how /10/ soeuere 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 profession of the reformed Religion, the rest beinge subject to penall lawes in the excercise of theire 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 Subjectes weare of the reformed Religionn.\n
Touchinge Italye it was thought to haue some hundredes of Protestantes vppon the Confynes of the Grisons besides many favorers of them in Vengice, 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

\footnote{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 approved his temperall power over kings & princes abroad, & besides, all these princes had dependancy or Proteccion pertlie on the kinge of France, pertlye on the kinge of Spaine. But for the kingdom of Spaine having rooted out multitudes of Protestantes in Sivill, by the inquisicion,\textsuperscript{149} it was held the Cheeffe support of the Papall Power. For France (as I shall[e] shew in the followinge Chapter) beinge for the most parte Papistes, yet had then a stronge partye of Protestantes, [that] [not] only scattered, but united in Provinces, & Commandinge strong Townes; Also it had diuerse stronge partie amongst the Papistes dissentinge from the Pope in diuerse pointes, most Concerninge his riches 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 lies in the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Sueeti (or Sueyden) in the Princes of Germany, and in the united States of the lowe Countryes. Now I will

\textsuperscript{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, 1983), 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 heads of figting men and besydes are Commanders of the Sea through the whole worlde, by theire Nauall power. If those of the Papists be close ioyned together, to vnite theire forces, and haue the helps of the Mediterraneonian 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 territoryes 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 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 tyrannously 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/tayning the excessiue charges of his garrysons and like necessarie[s]
disbursements in his many Dominions farr distant one from
the other. Nether doe I deny that Fraunce is rich in
soyle and native Commodities, but it hath small traffique
by Sea. And for the Dominions of the Protestants, it cannot
be denied that they are rich for the most part, in soyle
and necessary Commodities, yea for England I will boldly
say, it hath very rich native Commodities, and is better
able to subsist of it selfe for all necessaryes in peace
and warr, then any kingdome I knowe in the worlde: but
for traffique, England and the United Provinces of the
Iowe Countrie 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, and to mantayne them both:
It is playne that theire 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. //

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 over
them, and are only strengthned by Provinciall Synods, but

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150 "deny" ?

151 "traffique", meaning trade.

152 "2. 1. trans. To make wider or larger..." OED

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the haue truth to vnite them, which is great and evermore prevaileth. For the rest, I hold that the French are better Conquerors then mantaners of Conquest, and all historyes witnesse that Northern people haue made the greatest Conquests, tho perhapps not longest mantayned them. Now give me leave to say, that the sayd Dominions of Protestants haue, No enemy on theirre backe, /10/ but the sayd Dominions of the Roman Religion haue the Turkish Empire at theirre backe, ready to invade them, if they should assaile the Protestants. For which cause, howsoever 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, even because the Turkes aspiring to Conquer Italy, and discouraged from invading it by Sea, since the defeate of theirre Navall power, neere the Gulfe of Lepanto, rather affected /20/ to make theirre passage into Italy through the Alpes, by subduing the Dominions of the house of Austria. And howsoever 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 heads 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

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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 mide of the Pulpitt, more like tragical Poets and Orators declaming at the Roman Rostra155 ([th] with /40/ Artificiall eloquence, now inflaming, then allaying the passions of theire heare[e]rs, and sometymes with a long prosopopia speaking to the Crucifix at one ende, and magnifying it as theire

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.

1086
Redeemer, sometymes with like speeches Converting themselves 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 their chayres. Yet were the Sermons Commonly learned, and the Preachers shewed much outwarde zeale, and perswaded so effectually /50/ <good life and devotion, as the good Conversation and piety of the better sort in Italy was thought especially to be attributed to these Sermons. And indeede only the best affected came to these Sermons, for they accounted it //

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V. fo.415.
a volentary 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 especially 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, especially such pointes /10/ as directly impugned any Roman doctrine. 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

1087
carefull[y] to keepe the scripture from the eares of the people [they] filled them with historyes of Saynts out of theire Legens, and with forced allgoryes 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 Sabboth [day] followed theire owne affayres, [and even] neglecting to heare the rest of the masse or the Sermons, /20/ so as in the very tyme of that servuice, 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 theire oyles, and salues, and like wares, It is a riduculous thinge, to see theire many masses at diuers Alters, in the same Church, at one tyme, by diiverse 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 louunge, fewe or none of the bholders understoode it. All masses are only sung, sayd, or mumbled, in the

157 Jonson gets his creation Volpone to dress as a ciarlatano or montambanco 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 previledge, of old graunted to that Church by the Pope. The Preachers are beleued in Italy by whole sale, and w<рит>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 upon 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. In other parts of the world, since the light of the Gospell and mist of blynding ignorance dispersed, the Roman Docttryne <is> not passable without our Sauiors S[h]earch the scriptures, and the Roman teachers are gladd to be beleved 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. Paules epistles: of a tale in Bocace, than a stori 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 $\Delta u\nu\rho\omicron\varsigma \varepsilon\phi\eta$ (himselfe //
{ c.w. sayd it) }

fol 416. Booke III of Italy touching Religion. Cap V
(himselfe 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 their
heades, 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 keepes, 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 universall
Church, and cannot be arrogated by any particular 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/ doctrine is the
same that was at first planted in Rome being o[.]\[n]\ly
purged of errors): lastly that the scriptures haue their

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 accursed\textsuperscript{161}) 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,\textsuperscript{162} and that the Roman Church standes manifestly convicted of many and grosse errors). And no marvell that the Italyans, alltogether ignorant of the scriptures, sticke so fast to the Roman Church, in the greates of their nation hath greatest interest, 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 ways to supply his wants. Doth any man loue priuate riches, beholde the deuill layes at his feete rich benefitts, yea Cardinalls hatts, and the Popes Miter, saying, all these will I giue thee to worshipp mee.\textsuperscript{163} Doth any man approve the publike majesty and glory of the Church, beholde the Pope more gloryous then Aron in his Robes, more exalted in power, even above Emperors and

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.
kings, giving them his Pantofle to kisse, and his sturrope to holde, [yet] [yea] setting his feete vpon theire neckes.

Doth any man loue humility, behold the [same] Pope styling himselfe the servant of servuents, 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 of 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 themselves for theire sinnes, and all taming theire bodyes by fasting often, and by watching great part of the night,

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V. fol.417.

to spend it, in prayer. Doth any man loue a retyred and chast life, behold Monasteryes and Nuneryes for that purpose. Doth any man loue liberty, behold disguising maskinges 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: 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".

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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
Ceremonynes 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',

go 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/struiments, 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 Ceremonynes
borrowed from the Iewes and Gentiles, as among the rest,
the sprinckling of holy water, not only vnpon those that
enter into the Church (where also they haue a Funtt of holy
water for all persons to sprinckle themselues), but also in
private houses, where the Priests sprinckle euerie Chamber
perswading the people that it hath the power to drue away
all ill, yea very deuills, from theire persons and houses.

165 "Thraso. The bragart 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 Apparel, and diversly set forth upon festival days, the Pax Carryed about to be kissed on festival days, on Candlemas-day hallowed candles, on Easter day hallowed eggs distributed among the people, and upon Palmesunday hallowed Olive branches given to the people, and true pieces of the Palm tree given, to the Pope, the Cardinalls, and great men (being yeallow, and as bigg as short trunchons) and many like Ceremonyes. Touching Meriting by good works, 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 works done by the professed Iesuites, and by the spirituall Coadiutors, of that order. For the Roman Church expressly teacheth, that heaven is not given of grace only, but violently taken by good works, even by merit, first of Congruity, by which the Centuryon praying and doing good works deserved to have the gift of Faith, so as the Apostle saying that whatsoever is not of Faith is sinne,

166 "I. 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 osculatory." OED

167 The Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, 2 February.
what he calls sinne they call Meritt,\textsuperscript{168} secondly /50/ by meritt of Condignity or worthines of the worke,\textsuperscript{169} which they delate\textsuperscript{170} with subtile distinctions, and the superfluities of these workes (called by them workes of super[er]ogation, that is, more then suffice for there owne Salvation) as a treasure of the Church, not only the pope, but (as it appeares) also the Jesuites, conferr vpon others, <v>pon whome they //

\textit{fol.418. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V.} please to bestowe them. Yet the Prophett David 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 servuant, for in thy sight shall no flesh liuing be iustifyed.\textsuperscript{171} The Prophett Isaiah Cryeth, that all our workes are like a

\textsuperscript{168} Congruity was the Schoolmen's doctrine that it was 'congrous' that God should confer the 'first grace' in response to the performance of good works by man. Its antonym is condignity below. \textit{OED} Moryson counters this with St Paul's "For he that doubteth, is condemned if he eate, because he eatheth 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.

\textsuperscript{169} "1. b. spec. in \textit{Scholastic Theol. That worthiness of eternal life which a man may possess through good works performed while in a state of grace.}" \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{170} "2. To tender or offer for acceptance or adoption; Obs." \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{171} "If thou, 0 Lorde, straitly markest iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand ?" Psalms 130. 3; "And enter not into judgement with thy servuant: for in thy sight shall none that liueth, be iustified." Psalms 143. 2.
Menstruous Cloth. 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 Conquors, yea our blessed Sauiour sayth when you haue done all say you are vnprofitable servants, No doubt howsoever the Roman writers in our tyme seeke to Mince this doctrine, 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 magnifie 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 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 menstrous 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 servants: we haue done that was our duty to do." Luke 17. 10.

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in these very wordes, and I agayne dye for Christ, no man hath greater Charity then he that dyes for another.\textsuperscript{115} As if he had done as much for Christ, as he did for him, and so had obtained the highest degree of Charity. [...]one title\textsuperscript{116} 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 Impossibe thinges, and wee reply that the keeping of the Commandments 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.\textsuperscript{117} 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

\textsuperscript{115} 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

\textsuperscript{116} Does "title" mean tittle here? Not one letter, one jot, one tittle of God's Word will perish.

\textsuperscript{117} "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 Christ's 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. 

But while they refuse to acknowledg all Salvation from the precious blood of our lord, it is most ridiculous to 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. perfunctary prayers. 

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, //

Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapter V fol 419 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

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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
upon which wee may builde the Confidence of our Salvation.
And for our practise, it is manifest, and a wise learned
Judge of our tyme avowed in a publike audience to prove it
by /10/ good evidence, that more was giuen to uses 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.  

Touching prayer, the
Roman Preachers teach to pray for the dead, and to the dead
Saynts, and when wee object that sinners (according to Gods
worde) haue [only] one only Mediatour betweene God and them,
the man Christ Iesus,  
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
with Moryson about the explosion in charitable giving.

181 "For there is one God, and one Mediatour betweene
God and man, which is the man Christ Iesus." I Timothy 2.
5.
that wee are Mediators in praying one for another while wee live, not observing that in this case wee are ioynte Petitioners not Mediators, and that for so doing wee have Gods precept (warranting things that may seeme unlawful, as the robbing of the Egyptians, and the Carving of Cheribines /30/ in Gods Temple) which precept they have not. And when wee object that in praying to the Saints they give them the attributes only proper to God, as hearing and seeing of all things in all places at one time, they would stoppe our mouthes with the Saints beatificall vision of all things in God, which if the Saints had for things on earth, the knowledge of them would much disturb their rest in heaven, besides 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 Again /40/ they make the Angels Salutation of the virgin to be a prayer, and in their beads have nyne of them for one Pater Noster, which two are their Common prayers, and every man about Noone and in the evening, upon the ringing of a little Bell, whether he be in the house or in the streets, 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 number their prayers, for while they pray they will keepe

182 "And hee knoweth not if his sonnes shall be honourable, neither shall he understand concerning them, whether they shall be of lowe degree,..." Job. 14. 21.
Company, not only in the house but in the streetes, and mingle with their prayers not only prophyane but Idle and merry speeches, at the same time talking with the by standers and presenty letting fall a beade at the ende of Panoster or Avimarrye, till the have mumbed ouer their beads, once or as often as is imposed vpon them, for they day ordinarily or for sinnes

fol.420. Booke III of Italy touching Religion Chapt.V. extraordinarily from which they are absolued vpon that penance. 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 Rodes (now called of Malta) are bound by oath each day to repeate 409 Auamaryes and [Pater] Paternosters. The Prophett Dauid sayth in the Psalme 119, seuen tymes aday will I praise the lord: from whence the Fryers and Monkes (by the rule of their Order) are bound to sing publike service in there Chappells seuen tymes in twenty foure hovers, first the Mattens presently after midnight, secondly the prime betwene one and three, thirdly betwene three and six, Forthly betwene 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 praise thee, because of thy righteous judgments." 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 Canonicaall 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 prac(<t>ise of the Roman Church I can yealde
no reasen, except it be to Continue that badge of slauery
upon all nations to vse their language, which the conquest
/30/ of the Roman Emperors first made necessary or vsefull
to them, or ells because they thincke some prayers to
Saynts so blasphemous, as the people might abhorr 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
Champions, 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 especially }
Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol 421.
especially 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 theire prayers
to God. Nether could these Fryers excuse themselues that
they were straightned in tyme, to performe that holy duty,
since after theire 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
theire power, the Number and tale of theire /10/ prayers
being exacted of them by their rule, as rigurously as the

186 Easing himself, defacating. OED
1103
Number of brickes by the taskemasters of Pharo\textsuperscript{187}), Thus they are taught to vse perfunctory prayers, which they accordingly practise, litle regarding in them the contrition of the hart for sinne, or cheerfull thanckfullnes for Gods mercyes (which prayer in a tounge vknowne 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 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 dubled her sinne, by that wherewith shee thought to mittigate the same, praying in presumpttition for mercy,

\textsuperscript{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. To which I will only add one strange and true observation, of two Italians, who being for penance to say a certaine number of prayers, played at Cardes which /40/ of them should say so many prayers for the other. The truth is they have many good treatises of Piety and prayer, but herein they differ from us, they thinke in both ignorance to be the mother of devotion, we holde that in both the part of understanding giues life to the worke. Yea to stopp the mouthes of their Reformed adversaryes, they have of late published like treatises in the vulgar tounge, but therein they have tenne prayers to Saynts, for one to God, and these bookees are most vsed by Papists in forrayne kingdoms, 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 their devotion in lent, I have sayd nothinge of their 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 their 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
upon a Feast day, excepting only the feast of the natiuity)
yet the Popes of old haue given 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 weckes 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]ssiuie 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 theire Country, silke to
Italy, wollon Cloth to England, Furres to Moscouye. Agayne
for many other respectes in the divers 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 grossly err in the endes of fasting,] for they use it for meriting of Saluation, and expieting of their owne and other mens sinnes, and for hypocritical 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 magnify 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 justly be offended with his Gouernor, if he permitt them to liue in drunckennesse and all excesse, thereby making them vnfit to keepe watch against the Enemyes approch (as the Italians are permitted, to liue, espetially in the Shroftyde fron Christmas to lent) and hath no lesse /50/ cause of just 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 enemies assault (as the Italians, espetially in lent, so macerate their bodyes, as they are made vnfit
for any good workes) The like is the reason of our Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V fol 423.

Stewardship which God in this life committs to vs wherein wee are made fitt for Gods service by moderate humiliation 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 conclude this point (how the Italyans are taught in divers pointes of Religion) with the terrible doctrine of the Roman Church, that no man can be sure of his Salvation, a doctrine that vents the sayle of masses and the Popes Pardons to men liuing, and fearefully /10/ distractes the Consciences of all, but especially 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 sweare, 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 uttereth 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 have) eternal life. Therefore for my part, if the Devil bidd me doubt of my Salvation, I will Answer thou art al yeer 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 conceit 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 theire teaching lett vs discend to theire practise. The Italyans taught in this Roman schoole, as the haue a Religion like the Pharisees, glorious on the outsyde, but rotten in the insyde, so is theire outwarde 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 theire teachers seduce theire devotion to superstition, and because theire 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 beleueed, 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 theire preposterous devotion in the tyme of lent, and that all men sprinkle theire 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 fraterniuyes 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 theire 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 observered, particularly in Venice, the Aduocates to pleade and the great Councell 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 confess) that the policy 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. Here be the men who haue beene heard to bragg 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, espetially 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 howsoever I confesse they haue seuere lawes agaynst blasphemy in some States well executed, yet are blasphemyes frequent, and those most horrible, euens 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 higest Saynts. In like sort Italy is defamed for bloody and frequent murthers, not vpon /50/ sudden passion, or furye of druckennesse (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
relate a strange accident (which some worthy English gentlemen know to be true) that a Bræuo in Lombardy hired to kill a gentleman, took him alone in his Closett, and telling him for what money he was hired to kill him, the gentleman offered him ten times so much money to kill his enemy that hired him, which he also took, 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 word, only he bad him dye with Comfort that his enemy also should surely be killed by his hand, which also he after performed. Was not this Bræuo an honest man of his word, and these murthers and blasphemyes are most frequent in Carnovall or Shrouetyde, especially towards the end thereof, when lent the time of Confession nearest approacheth. To which purpose give me leave to give one instance in both kinds, happening in Venice at [...] being there, some few days before /20/ lent, Certain young gentlemen of Venice, went forth late in the evening to make merry, which mirth was nothing but a strife or emulation which of them should do the greatest villany, and so parting with appointment of a place to meete, one of them met a boy sent forth about business, and tolde him that he was a Jew, which the boy merrily denied, but he ceased not to threaten him till the boy was forced to shewe [his] his uncircumcised part, which he most wickedly cut off. The second met a Fryer, and reproving him that he was so late out of his Monasterye,
tooke him at aduantage, and placed him into an Arme of the Sea running through the streets. The Third came into the shopp of an Apothecary, and demaunted 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 Nuntio, and vnder his windowe, in the tunne of Church service, 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 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] 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 scaffold cutt of his head, and burning his body with the scaffold, cast the Ashes into the Sea, Condemning the rest that escaped by flight to perpetuall banishment. Againse the invention of Poysons, and

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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 use 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
subjectes, 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
forbeare [it] not for feare of God or mans lawe, but rather
of private revenge, making mirth of it when it succeedes
without tragicall event. 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 contro 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 Archivo 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
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 their 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] Carnoval, from Christmas to Ashwensday, espetially in the [last] three dayes, a Curtizan is not to by hyred on the sudayne, for they are bespoken long before, to walke masked abroade and for continuall conversation at bed and at board. Our English men see with great wonder at Florence a Court of Iustice haung written over the dore in great letters La Corte d’honesta (that is the Court of honesty) where Judges solemnly sett in robes /20/ of scarlett, to giue the Curtisans right for the hyre of their 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<de> 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)\textsuperscript{194} hath such privileges, as if a wife fly from her husband, and gett the\textsuperscript{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 pennye. Yet for all this liberty, all Italy, and this Citty more spetially heareth ill for Sodomye,\textsuperscript{195} the excesse of which sinne[s] manifestly appeares 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 and manifest [vises] Vices of Italy. But for outwarde exercises of Charity, the Italians in some things excell. No nation hath better provisions of hospitalls and like houses, to bring vp Orphants, to succour distressed travelers, to

\textsuperscript{194} Zingarelli defines the second meanings of chiasso as a narrow alley, or brothel.

\textsuperscript{195} "12. a. To be reported or spoken (well or ill) of." A Classical mode of speech. \textit{OED}
releeue the aged, diseased, and men inpouershed, /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 bedes\textsuperscript{196} for poore and sicke persons. They haue in most Cityyes (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\textless s\textgreater of the Iewes, where they lend mony vpon Pawnes, vnder thirteye 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.\textsuperscript{197} /10/ Yet

\textsuperscript{196} "beds".

\textsuperscript{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 usurers, 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 usuerer in England is sayd to have done, who mantayning his sonne at the university till he was a Preacher, and he in his first Sermon before his Father preaching altogethre 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 doubled his exhibition, bidding him continue to preach against vsuarye, 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

1119
necessity, and such as are therewith, and by /30/ diseases oppressed, haue good provisions made for them in the foresayd hospitalls. But these shamefast poore are such, as labour heard for theire liuing, yet hauing many Children, cannot possibly gett meanes to mantayne them, espetially in the yeares of dearth, and withall are by common nature of that nation so proude, or (to vse theire worde) so shamefast, as they would starue, rather then aske Almes, or (perhapps) receave it offered. Now the officers of the Citty or Parishes (espetially in tymes of dearth), inquiere after such needy Familyes, and once or twise in the weeke, /40/ at theire 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 theire necessity requireth, which they receave as sent from God, not fearing the exprobration of the giuer by worde or looke. Theire seco<nd> 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, expressing /50/ the generall [quallity] quantity and quality of theire losses, so farre as may stirr men to Charity, but not the perticule<r>s nor the

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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 bodyes 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
streates, or stand with them at the most frequented places,
where all sortes of men give them large Almes, according to
theire losse, which faire [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, Bishopps, and like
great men, Commonly no true frendes to [prove] [pure]
virginity, but howsoever, 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
excessive Rents /20/ to be imployed for other good vses,
but in a worde whatsoever remaynes of these Rents at the
yeares end is disposed by the Pope for other good vses, and
espetially 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 vale, come to kisse the Popes feete, of whom each receaved 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/ contayned, 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 [lie gloriously and haue great revenues] being also Archbishopps and Bishopps, not only in Italy, but also in forayne partes, where the Reuenues of Bishopps are excessiue great (as some in Spayne, and most of them in Germany, where they haue Principalities, and are absolute Princes in their territoryes aswell for temporall as spirituall power) besydes that many Cardinalls haue rich offices in Rome. The Rents of Bishoprickes are from /40/ three hundreth to six hundreth powndes yearely. The Parish Priestes 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 poritians of fruited, allotted [to] them, yealding to some [them] twenty fyue powndes, to others diversely to fyfty powndes by the yeare, besydes the profitt the make by extraordinary private Masses. And considering the great Multitude of the Clergy in Italy, (where so many Bishopps are made, to sway generall Councells by /50/ voyces, each small towne being the seate

1122
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 little Cittyes are not of any sumptious building, and in great Cittyes rather neate and well adorned than spacios 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 Turky, Histria, and other places, And many Alters in these Churches, vnder which Familyes of cheefe gentle/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, 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 Porphyry, and many rare stones in the walls. The Chappell of Pope Sixtus the fyfth at Rome in St Maryes Church, is very rich,

200 San Vitale.
and so is the Chappell of Pope Gregorye in St Peters Church, but the Church itselfe hath no [b..tye.] beauty. The seuen 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 theire burning of lampes and candles of wax at Noone seeme more comlye and requisite, or the better to sett forth the Ceremonyes of theire Masses and Processions, as Comedians desyre to present theire playes, and all Coseners /40/ to shewe theire Counterfeite wares, by the candle, or other shadowed false lights.201

{ m.n. 43 - 45. Theire practise towards Protestantes. }
Lett vs a litle consider of the practise of the Roman

201 Plays and counterfeit wares are synononymous to Moryson.
Church as it stands in relation with the reformed. In all which we shall fynde theire proceedings manifestly injurious against the reformed Churches, and the members thereof Commonly called Protestants. First all Physians,\textsuperscript{202} Surgions, Apothecaryes, and such persons as lett out lodgings to strangers are charged vpon great penaltyes not to glue any Medicinall or kichen Phi/sicke\textsuperscript{203} 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 helps, if by confession of theire Religion they giue ill satisfaction to the Priest, for they denye not these helps to knowe, Grectans,\textsuperscript{204} Iewes, and Turkes, liuing among them. Whereas the Protestants on the Contrary in theire dominions freely allowe these helps and all comfortes to the [Priests][Papists] aswell as to themselues. Agayne the Protestants in Italy, vpon these cases of ne/10/cessity confessing theire Religion, if for

\textsuperscript{202} "Physicians".

\textsuperscript{203} "Kitchen physic" meaning home remedies? OED lists only one use in the late eighteenth century.

\textsuperscript{204} Orthodox Greeks.
mony they get sec r i che helpe and so recover (as sometymes
it falls out) then are they drawne into the bloody
Inquisition, if they dye, theire dead bodyes are dragged
out (as those of men killing themselues) and cast into
ditches or at [the] best there buyr ed. 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 buyr yall in theire Churches
& churchyeardes. /20/ For if any be otherwise buyr ied (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 buyr ed in the place of execution, as commonly other
malefactors are, or such as rep[.]uting our Churches
vnholy, desyre theire frendes to buyre them neere the sayde
Traytors, whome they esteeme Saynts and Martyers. Agayne
the proceeding of the Papists against the Protestants, not
only by exposing theire 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 theire goodes, and burning
theire bodyes, and by seditions massacres, and secreete
murthers, is so manifest as it needes noe proofe. whereas
the Protestants only inflicted vpon Papists Mulctis of mony
for not Comming to Church, and they can only blame them
selues 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 multes\textsuperscript{205} 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 Injuriy (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 justifyes 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

\textsuperscript{205} "mulcts"
imbraced, then it agrees with that of the Primitiue Church. Agayne the Papists /10/ themselues hauing Corrupted the scriptures, the olde authors of Antiquity, the Fathers, and Moderne writers doe the Protestants foule injury, to cast aspersion on them. For the Protestants only relying vpon the scriptures, as the touchstones of saving truth, haue imployed all possible endeours, to haue them purely translated into vulgar tounges. But the Papists, fynding the scriptures Contrary to theire mayne doctrynes, as worshipping Angells, Saynts, Images, and praying to them, praying in a touunge 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 flatly to denye them, permitted some vulgar Coppyes 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 their own Countreys as much as ever, only the Iesuities haue published a vulgar English Coppye, whose translation Doctor Fulke well observed 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)\textsuperscript{207} And at this tyme, though they Alter /40/ not the Bible which they keepe from the layety, yet in the vulgar Cattechismes the leauie out the second Commandment 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 aprobation 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

\textsuperscript{207} William Fulke (1538 - 1589), was a prolific Puritan controversialist, divine, astrologer and theologian. Hyamson. One of his books is entitled \textit{A defense of the sincere and true translations of the holy 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 shall observe between me and you, and thy seede after thee: All the malekind of you shall be circumcised: and you shall 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 \textit{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. In like sorte the Protestants submitt their Doctrines to be tryed by the first generall Councells and the Consent of the old Fathers, and besydes allege against the Papists many of their owne old and Moderne writthers. Now the Roman Church of olde // fol.432 Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V. while the tyrannicall power thereof flourished, so as no[w]ne 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, pla[cing] 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 aledged against 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 their 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.

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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, appearing by many evidences out of the old and newe /20/ Copyes 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 Cauger, 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. I graunt that in England some bookes are forbidden (as that of Sanders and other English Papists yet are they not forbidden

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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 scandulous 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. They say our Bibles are corruptly translated. Thus like rancke scoldes, being guilty, they seeke to cleare themselues by calling Hore first, and care not with what falshood and malice they doe it, so they may be beleeued of theire owne Followers. To which purpose I remember that in Ireland, after the Composition made as kinsale with the Spaniards, My deicased 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 replyed that Gods worde taught him to make no difference of meates, which he not beleeing, 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 accompaned a small invasion force in Ireland in 1579. Despite the large price on his head, he was never captured. See Berleth, passim.

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 happened the lord Mountjoy had a booke printed at Rome, and allowed by Pope Pius the fifth, at the sight wherof Don Iean stooode at first sight somewhat amazed, but presently, Crossing himselfe, sayd that he woundred howe the protestant ministers could gett those first leaues Printed at Rome, to sett before 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. The Iesuites by [nature][Statute] (as I haue formerly sayd) are bounde not to admitt any of /10/ their schollers to study the originall tounge in which the Bible was written, till they haue first taken an oath to defende the translation of the Roman Church. The Protestants glue liberty to all men to study those languages, to pe[..][r]use and Confer all old Coppies, and freely to taxe any. Now lett vnpartiall Judges 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.

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these deal more openly and sincerely in this point Agayne
the Papists deal more Crewelly with Protestants, then with
Turkes, Grecians and Iewes; knowen /20/ Turkes, denying the
diety of christ, and holding him a Prophet farr inferior
to Mahomett, yet openly liue in their portes, more
spetially at Venice, but a Protestant is no sooner knowne
in Italy, then drawen to prison, torture, and death, If it
may be sayd this is done for feare to prouoke the Turkish
Emperor, 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 procede from the Father only, not from
the Sonne, yet they haue a Church at Venice, with an
Archbishop of Philadelphia, a Bishop of Origo, and
Priests marryed, and Monkes, saying Masse in the Greeke
tounge and giuing the Sacrament in levened 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. 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 acknowledg the Popes supremacye. Yea the very Iewes beleeuuing not at all in Christ, are not only tolerated in Italy but in the Cittyes of many Princes haue greater previledges then the Cittisens, for trade, and for letting mony to vse at vreasonable rates, so as many Covetous Christians vse the name of poore Iewes to lett their mony to vse. At least tenne thousand Iewes live 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, live 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 little marke vpon their Clokes, hardly to be seene, and live 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 XIV e XVI (Florence, 1967), pp. 99 - 111; F. Mavroidi, Aspetti della società veneziana del '500. La confraternita di S. Nicolò dei Greci, ed. P. Piccimini (Ravenna, 1989), pp. 19 - 20, 23 - 24, 44 - 45." BP

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privileges 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 theire lithurgy in the Hebrew e tounge, and publike Sermons in the Italian tounge, reading only the Text in Hebrew e, to which Sermons all Christians may resorte. The true reason hereof, is the great gayne the Pope and Princes make of them, by borrow mony, and taking from them by extortion that which they haue gotten of theire 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] harber 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

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Italy by the purging of old Authors well knowne to the Iewes. That the new Testament is not among them translated into the vulgar tongues understood by the Iewes, to teach them at first, nor should after be allowed them to read for their further instruction, That the best Authors proving the truth of Christian Religion /30/ (as that of Mounser Duplessse\textsuperscript{216}) and other learned Protestant writers to that purpose) are prohibited in Italy: and that the Italian Sermons which the Iewes are bound yearly to hear, are not directed to any point whereupon the Iewes especially stand[e][s], but rather made against the Iewes to conferme Christians already believing, and such as teach Magisterially rather commanding Faith upon hearsay and taking the teachers word for truth of his doctrine, then persuading it by evident proofs. Agayne the Papists doe grosse injurye to the Protestants, in the Maxime allowed /40/ by the Popes as a warrant Dormant. \textit{Non est servanda fides cum hereticis}. No Faith is to be kept with heritikes, and yet greater wrong, in the interpretation thereof, branding them for heritikes upon most unjust grounds. If\textsuperscript{n} which kynde, the Popes dispensing with oathes, though most spetially it be a sinne against God, yet aswell the former maxime, as the same, and likewise the Iesuites

\textsuperscript{216} Duplessis Mornay (1549 - 1623) was the famous Huguenot apologist. Moryson refers here to his \textit{Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne contre les athées, épicuriens, payens, juifs, mahométans et autres infidèles} (Antwerp, 1581). EB

1137
equivocation, are injurious to mankynde, and especially to the Protestants. For by them generally all Fayth is taken away from amonge men, and in all treaties, the Protestants in Religion and morall honesty, tyed by their worde and oath, while the Papists thinke they may breake both, without any offence to God, and good men. Agayne the Protestants deal Faithfully with the Papists in confuting their 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 undertake. 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 appeares by their bookes of Controversyes solde in Italy) least the reader should fully knowe the Protestants opinions (which they desyre to conceale from them, and commonly use 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 Equivocate with his last breath, if he knew any thing that might bee danger to the King or State, he should now utter it." sig. 3F3r. See A true and perfect relation of the proceedings at the seueral arraignments of the late traitors (London, 1606). [STC 11618]
leauing the rest vnmentioned, and hauing a multitude of vacant Fryers, yet they appoint some spatiaall men to answer Controversyes, and as they appoint spatiaall men wholly to employe thereire studdy in this or that point of Controuerscye, so they vse as many of them to answer one booke, as it contaynes seuerall heads of Controversyes. Agayne (as a learned Author of our tyme noteth) whereas the Protestants, at the first reformation, together with the /20/ handling of Controversyes, did disgrace the persons mantayning them, by the testimony of their own Author, shewing their Prophaning of Scriptures, forgiiuing 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 their owne historyes. The Papists haue made it thereire spatiaall Art of answering, not so much to confute the doctrynes, as to slander both the doctrynes and persons of the Protestants. But /30/ whereas 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.

1139
themselues suborned Legends to be written a gainst Protestants (as against Caluin and Beza\textsuperscript{220}), 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 leave a scarr in the reputation of theire adversaryes.\textsuperscript{221} Agayne the Papists master peece of skill and art, to practise agaynst the \emph{/40/} Protestants, or at least to harten and confirme theire owne men to cleaue stedefastly 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.\textsuperscript{222} In like sorte at the \emph{/50/} deaths, first of Caluin, after of

\textsuperscript{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. \textit{EB} records Laingaeus's \textit{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 \textit{Itinerary A, I}, 390.

\textsuperscript{221} The argument and examples cited come from Sandys, sigs. I2r - I3r.

\textsuperscript{222} Whilst at Lyons, Sandys hears something similar. Sig. K2v.
Beza, Constant bruites\textsuperscript{223} were spread through all Italy, that on their death beds they recanted from the Reformed Religion to the Roman, and advised the Senate of Geneua to send for certayne cheefe Iesuites to reconcile them and to instruct them.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 certayne 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, have written bookes of their persecutions and Marterdomes suffered vnder the /10/ hands of the Papists, great numbers of them hauing beene with singular cruelty burnt at stakes (as hath beene evidently seene by sharpe persecutions in England, Fraunce, Germany,

\textsuperscript{223} "n. 2. Report noised abroad, rumour...arch." \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{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 sovles, to seeke reconciliation with the Catholike Church, and to send for the Iesuites to instruct them." Sandys, sig. K2r.

\textsuperscript{225} Checked or verified. \textit{OED}

1141
and elsewhere) and when these public executions ceased, the blood of those martyrs proving a fruitful seed of the Gospell, they also have written their public massacres, and private murthers and secret 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 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 objected 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 kingdom of Naples Pictures of English Papists Couered with skinnes of wolues, and so cast out to be devoured by our Mastie doggs226) or false relations of men executed for Religion, against whome no point of Religion was objected, but only practises of treason manifestly proved, or things pretended to be done in the remote Indies, the truth whereof may justly be suspected for the distance of place, but more justly from their mouthes and penss, who shame not to speake and write such grosse lies at home. And it is worth the observation, that the Jesuites, whose old and newe miracles are Commonly fetched from the Indies, are also the Minters of the

226 An obsolete form of "mastiffs".

1142
foresayd slanders,\textsuperscript{227} false newes, lying miracles, equiuocations false marters, and like high straynes of 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 be called the presse of lyes, for their printed lying Pamphlets, beareing date and title as if they were printed in other place\textsuperscript{s}, and as they began with a lye in the first leaf and title, so continued to the end, Agayne whereas the Protestants use nothing but the louely face of truth to invite men to theire Religion, or to keepe them Constant in it, the Papists prevayle much against them by hyring men, of best witts to write, and of most liuely Spiritt for action, to be of theire party, and by giuing good mantenence and large pensions to indigent\textsuperscript{228} 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] it. The

\textsuperscript{227} The idea is in general currency. Thersites "coins slanders like a mint." Troilus and Cressida, I. 3. 193.

\textsuperscript{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 faile mee, if I should recounts all the Inuryes which the Papists continually practise with great malice and art against the peacable and simple Protestants. Therefore I will only add that grosse Inurye, whereby the Papists movue theire Followers to repute the Protestants no lesse then monsters in theire /10/ doctryne and life. To which purpose a worthy Author of our tyme (who chuseth to be to be Namele[y]) hath Compendiously, but very well and truely written, so as it will suffice that I only add my owne experience in this point. 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, strangely deformed in body mynde and practise, since theire 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 monethes whyle they aboade 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 theire Fryers, who not
only in their familiar speech, but in the very pulpits, had persuaded them, that we believed not in the holy Trinity, nor particularly in Christ, which now they found to be most false, and that we did basely vilify the blessed virgin Mary, and the Saints, whom they found vs to reverence, though we denied them the attributes of God, as the hearing vs and the knowing of all our necessities in all places and at once one time, and that we did preach against good works, which they found vs to practise though we professed not to trust in them for our salvation. To be short I have formerly shewed how they nourish hatred against the Protestants, by using their Schollers to sharp and eager disputes, and by forbidding all Papists to confer with them, or to ioyne with them so much as in saying Amen to our lords prayer, or to thankes giving at the table (though indeede they at the Table [only] use a dumbe grace of bending the body and Crossing the breast). Nowe I will only observe that, as in other places (if I be not deceived) so I am sure in England, at the first Reformation in the time of king Edward the sixth, and at the restoring of that reformation in the time 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

1145
lithurgy no way repugnant to theire beleefe,\textsuperscript{230} //
fol.438. Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt.V.
but indeede taken out of theire Masse, only leauing out
prayers to Saynts and like superstitions, which they that
listed might after performe in theire private houses. But
the Pope, fearing that this friendly conversation might
worke reconcilement did first, about this tyme, resolue to
sett the marke of the Beast on the foreheads 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
theire 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 injuriyes, 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.

\textsuperscript{230} Cranmer's 1552 Liturgy would have been unacceptable
to orthodox Catholica. Queen Elizabeth was excommunicated
in 1570, in the eleventh year of her reign.
If you would knowe the foundation vpon which the [The Inquision] 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 dispence, but indeede and effect standeth vpon his followers ignorance of the truth, and the bloody Inquisition, <t>errifying them who in some measure knowe it, from daring in the least word to profess amy liking therof. /30/ The Italians may not heare the Protestants Sermons, or discourses of Religion, they may not reade theire bookes, nor yet the very Bible, they knowe not somuch as the Protestants opinions in Religion, but from the false relation of theire Priests they may not dispute of pointes of Controuersy in theire owne Schooles, of all other nations in the world they loue theire owne home best, and least travuell 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 theire eares. Then it remayneth only to restrayne the liberty of Tounges and penns at home, which is aboundantly 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 private 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[u]y[t]
the death (as is Credible written) of more then twenty thousand in Ciuill alone. After, the Spaniardes brought it into the lowe Countryes, being one of the causes of the States uniting against Spayne, and the bloody warr that hath long continued in those partes. 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.

1148
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 tedious imprisonment, and
tortures, to accuse themselves, 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 prooue seede to the
Gospell. Or if by abieruing 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 peculiur 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

1149
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 thrice 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 questioned for Religion, /50/ except they were so foolish as to give 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 theire 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 theire Cloysters /10/ as other Monkes were.

{ m.n. 12, 13. The Conclusion. }

1150
To conclude. Whensoeuer the Protestants charge the Papiests with the foresayde or like errors, no answer is so ready in theire mouthes or Penns, 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 breefely answer. The grass in the feilde dayly growes, and though the growing cannot be daly perceaued by the eye, yet when hey harvest approacheth it is most apparant to the same. No man soddenly becomes godly or wicked in high degree, for an habitt is gotten and lost by litlle and litlle. And so did all errors growe or rather Creepe into the Roman Church, insencible at first, but manifest when they were come to a monstrous head. When the Popes in theire 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, Petrach, and Boccace, to whome I might add the English Poett Chaucer, and many others. But after that the Popes restrayne this liberty, and purged these dead authors of the bitter reproofes they writt while the liued, they haue in processe of tyme, founde that feare is an "keeper of diuturnity" and that the forced patience of the people hath turned into furye, by great and generall defections from them. But

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233 "Now rare. [ad. L. diuturnitat-ēm long duration...]" OED

1151
learned Churchmen are better Judges 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 give me leave, breveely 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 Emperor Constantine gaue peace and riches to the Church, an happie guift, 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, particularly of Justification, 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 Antichrist. 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, brough 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 Universall Bishopp, to which Gregory had annexed the title of Antichrist, 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 fayvor 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, particularly 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

1153
growe to full strength. The former Popes began to be weary of being subject to the Emperors of the East their temporall lordes, who had exalted them, and were strongly affected to wring the temporall Dominion of Rome and other Territoryes in Italy out of the Empors handes. In somuch as those Emperors pulling Images out of Churches, and being troubled with warr for that cause, the Popes about the yeare 712\textsuperscript{235} tooke part against them, and as in tyme, they droue them out of Italy, and made themselves lords of Rome, so withall they brought Idolatry into the Church. For the Images which they keept only for remembrance, grewe to be Adored by the people, first with Ciuill, then in processe of tyme with divine worshipp. And howsoever many godly Bishops, apposed them selues against the first begining, yet in tyme the false doctrynes depending therupon //

\textsuperscript{235} In 731 the Eastern Emperor was excommunicated. See John Julius Norwich, \textit{Byzantium The Early Centuries} (London, 1988), p. 357.

\textsuperscript{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. 231 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
benifices. 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 whatsoever, 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 subjects from their Oath
of alegance, and like doctrynes depending thereupon. To
which ende he /30/ rysed many bloody warrs against the
Emperors of Germany, stirring vp theire subjectes and very
Children to rebell against them. Yet were not these things
established but in long processe of tyme, and with many

231 On fol. 65 Moryson is more accurate when he says it
was about 1152.

1155
bloody warrs in most kingdoms of Christendome. Nether passed they without opposition of learned and godly men, whose bookes are extant unto this day. The Bishopp Valtramus of Niemburg, the Bishop of Verodunum, Benno the Cardinall, and Sigebert, wrote expressly against the Popes ambition, in challenging the temporall sworde, and power to obsolue subjectes from their Oathes of obedience to their Magistrates. The Bishope of Florence in the yeare. 1104. preached publikely that Antichrist was already [was] come into the worlde. The Church of Leodium called Rome Babilon, and St Barnard, liuing under 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. To be shorte, the Popes Hierarchy of spiruall 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 ?

1156
Booke III of Italy Touching Religion Chapt V. fol.443.

seth 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, and about these tymes the Valdenses and the Albigenses fell from the Roman church, and preached against the masse, Indulgences, Purgatory, and many doctrnyes of the same. About the yeare /10/ 1200. these verses were written.

Roma diu titubans varijs erroribus acta
Corruet, et Mundi desinet esse caput.

Rome stumbling oft, in divers errors dead shall fall, and shall no more be the worlds head.

And this Ryme was written in a breuiary of monkes, 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 plead 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

1157
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 reprooche[s] 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. The like may be sayd of Nicholas Cle mangis of Paris in Fraunce, Laurentius Valla, Iohn De Vesalia, and many others opposing themselues in those tymes against the Church of Rome. A bout the yeare 1400. Iohn Wyclife in England preached against the Romish doctrynes 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 safeconducot 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 uttered theire greefes against the tyranny and false doctrynes of Rome, as Auentine about the yeare 1500 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 Aventinus was the pen name of Johann Thurmair (1477 - 1534), a Grammarian and Historian. BMGC, Hyamson.
And after Luther began to preach Reformation, about
the yeare 1517, more then halfe the Westerne Church,
within fewe decades of yeares, fell from the Popes
obedience. Finally I will only add one thing, worthy to be
observed. That howsoever the learned men of the Roman
Church, ashamed and indeede not able, with any probability
to justify some points of doctrine therein professed, and
yet loth to withdrawe their assistance from so beneficial
a mother, in the questions of her dignity and power, and
knowing that to yealde in any one point was to grant that
the Pope might err, and in effect to betray his cause,
have by subtle and obscure distinctions, so refined the
questions in controversy since Luthers time, as only a
pair of sheares may seem to have divided them and the
Protestants (as particularly in the points of Justification
and praying to Saints,) yet at this day in Italy the
practise of the layety is no lesse or more grosse, then
ever 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 beleeued the transmigration of Soules from body to body with Pythagoras, and had Mercury for theire 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 servise of theire Gods, who vsed excommunication for the greatest punishment in cases of Religion, and were free from seruing in the wars, but held it a thing most vnlawfull to committ theire disciplyne to writing, le[a]st the Common people should knowe it, and lest them selues trustinge to writinges, should lesse excercise theire memoryes.1 Towards 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 Clodoueues the first was Christined in the yeare of our lord 485. The kings of this Family raigning successiuely to the yeare. 750. never heard of the Bishopp of Rome, for any spirituall or temporall power the Chalenged 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] Bishopps 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 particular 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,¹ and putting him into a monasterye, vsurped that kingdome, of

¹ 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
pernitious example) the deposing of Chilpericus and his
vsurpation, and to absolue the subjectes from their Oath of
Alegance 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/ Westerne Empire, From which tyme the French
Emperors confirmed and deposed the Popes at theire
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 usurped
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.¹ And Philip the sixth Crowned in the yeare 1328.
despised the Popes power, for being excommunicated and

¹ Moryson means Innocent III (1198 - 1216).
deposed by Pope Bonyface the Eigth, he revnged it by practising to haue the Pope killed in Italy, which he also effected. For in this age the Popes hauing subdued the Emperors of Germany, first began to trouble Fraunce, and other kingdomes, with their usurped power. And the French kings, from this tyme supported themselves against the Popes attempts, partly by the foresayd liberty of the old Gallican Church, not depending vpon the Roman in the tyme of the first Family of the French kinges, and differencing 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 subject to generall counccells, and haue often[ed] threatned the Popes, exercising their usurped power over that kingdome, to fall from his obedience, and make to themselves a Patriarke over 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 threatenings 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 witnesseth that in Italy it selve, namely the

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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.

1164
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 College 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, 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 Pragmaticall 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. By these meanes, and espetially by hauing a strong party in the Cardinalls voy[ces at Rome, the French kings supported them/30/ selues against the Popes, till abut the yeare 1560. For howsoever 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

§ "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.

1165
head till about that yeare, at which tyme also the long Ciuill warrs began so to rend that kingdom, as the kings distracted at home, could not beare any sway in the Court of Rome, and the Popes began wholy to inclyne to the kings of Spayne whome they founde only able to supporte them, and to supresse /40/ the growing of the Reformed Churches to theire prejudice. 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 little 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 seldombeaten in the field, but only were broken /50/ by oppressions in the tyme of peace, and by massacres in particular places, and especially 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. kingdom, which bloody act I wondered to see iustifyed 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 Navar, forsaking the Reformed Religion, was Crowned king of Fraunce, and called Henry the Fourth, yet his only Sister /10/ married [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 uphelden him against all his enemyes, and whome he still esteemed his Faythfull subjectes, 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 immunityes) were made capable of bearing offices, and /20/ receaving honors and preferments. The old Prophecyes that the yeare 1588. should prove wonderfull, caus[ing]<ed> great expectation, not without feare in the hearts of many when the tyme drewe neere, especially when they considered the Spanish Nauie prepared for the invasion of England, and the distracted State of Fraunce. Most of the Papist thought these Prophicyes 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 monethes after, Fraunce, by the death of the Duke of Guise, the Cardinall his brother, and the Queene mother, began to resume strength in the kings 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 their enemies 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 their amity and league required by their aduersaries. 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 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[.]ritined' 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,

' Maritime ?
1168
restrayning their publick exercise of Religion, and depriving them of preferments and bearing of offices, which had formerly beene fatal to them. But at that time they had many townes strongly fortified, and bare great offices of dignity and profit in that kingdom, and had yearely Synodes or assemblies /10/ to certify the affayres of Religion. And as the Reformed people were warlike, so they were thought to have the best leaders or Captaynes of Fraunce, wherof three were [...] eminent persons, besides 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 divided among themselves. For of the Papists, many helde with the foresayd galician Church, defending generall Councells to be above /20/ the Popes, and differing in Church service from the Roman, and in many things agreeing with the Greekes, which men were not like to desire the rooting out of the Protestants. Agayne a second sort called Parliament Catholikes, consisting of more then three parts of the learned, especially 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 dispensing with Oathes, and many points of Gods lawe, by his pardons, and /30/ especially by his arrogating to himselfe that he cannot err, and these men were like to be no deadly enemies to the Reformed Church. The third sort called Royallists, reputed
a third part of the Papists in that kingdome, hated the usurpation 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 therefore were rather to be Confuted by disputation for their errors of opinion, and to be won[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 theire 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 theire nature) soone prouoked by the Fryers to // 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 Clergy in Fraunce of old had great Reuennes and large Iurisdictions, but since the foresayd Ciuill warrs the Courtyers and Soldyers were rewarded out of spirituall livinges, 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 kingdom. In like sort fewe of theire Churches were of any stately building, and the best of them seeme to haue beene built by the English, being in those Provinces which of old were long subject to England. The Reformed Churches followe the rule of Caluins dotryne, of which I haue spoken in the discourse of Germany, Sweitzand, and Netherland, shewing how it differs from the doctrine of Luther, about the presence of our lord in the Sacrament, and other pointes, I will only add, that it rejects all, even the most allowable Ceremonyes of the Roman Church, and all kynde of Pictures and Images in the Church. It alloweth not the name or dignity of lords Bishops, but in place of them hath superintendants, to whome they giue moderate yearely Pensians, and the Causes of the Bishops 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 Clergy, 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 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.

1171
Reformed Church haue freely sayd, that this stricknes in manners, the taking away [all] all Ceremonyes, and the disallowing of Bishopps, haue greatly hindred the increase of the Reformed Church, which was like ere this tyme to haue prevayled throughout all Fraunce, if in these things 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 breefely shewe in the following discourse of //

{ c.w. Ireland. And that }

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

1172
of them builded Monasteryes to expiate Murthers, and themselves for devotion voluntarily left their kingdom to become monks. But the usurped power of the Popes first began to trouble our kings some yeares after the Conquest of the Normans. From which tyme the lawe /10/ of Mortmaine was made to restrayne the Covetousnes of the Clergy, getting the possession of temporall landes, for which by the Popes privilege they did no service to the kings. And sometymes our kings forbade the exporting of mony to Rome. And because the Popes Legates used to trouble the kingdom, with extortions upon the subject, and doing many things in prejudice of the kings, they sometymes forbade the Comming over of these legates while they were yet in the way beyond the Seas, except they would take an oath, that they brought nothing, nor would attempt any /20/ thing, to the prejudice of the king or kingdom, and in like sort forbade any man to bring into the kingdom any bulls purchased at Rome, to disturb the Realm, or particular men, by drawing suites of lawe to Rome. In which historyes an Authour of our tyme hath well observed, that our king Edward the third Cursed by the Pope, had good success 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 success, against the Scottes being under his Curse. /30/

To which I will only add in generall, that the English were allways 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, Universities and Cathedriall Churches, then any other nation, yea that the building of many Common Churches (particularly 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 kingdoms, if not then all /40/ the worlde besydes. To which giue me leave 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. To conclude these generall Remembrances, I thincke that nothinge 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

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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 convey 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 made Martyrs. But howsoever the Pope hath made it an Article of Faith, that he may depose kings and absolute subjects from the Oath of Allegiance, yet I think few learned and godly Papists would be content to suffer for that new and strange Article of Faith. //


{ m.n. 2. Ireland. }

Touching Ireland, for the times whereof I write, namely the reign 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 live in peace under the government of the English, from whom they differed extremely in language, Apparrell, manners, and especially in Religion, whereof I must nowe write, as I have formerly of the rest, in the former Chapter of the Irish Commonwealth. And this point [1] will handle as briefly as I can. The Roman Church, out of Rufinus, would prove that they first in Asia Converted the Irish to Christianity. 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 Celestine, 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. He addeth that Patricke a monke of Britany (which nation was Converted to Christianity in the first age of the Church) passed ouer into Ireland, and converted that nation, about the yeare 44i. And so deserved to be called the Appostle of the Irish, And that the Monckes of Brittany, Scotland and Ireland weare in those daies most holy and learned men soe as they weare worthie Authors of spreadinge that profession through all Europe. But withall he expresly saith that the Monckes of those tymes, much differed from those of followinge adges and much more from those of our last adges. For those Monckes of ould desired 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. They soe Contemned ricchess and thinges 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 byn soe poore, and such Contemners of Ricches, as they had noe propriety in the wealth of this world) hee addes that those holy Monckes, especially of the Irish nation, attended only the service of God in the ancient English or /40/ Brittish monastery of Glastenbury, where they weare mainteyned by Stipemdes from the Kinges, and instructed younge schollers in godlines and the liberall sciences: vntill at last Dunstann 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 theire place a great multitude of Benedectyne 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 Rhimi 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. 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, after which, some Companyes 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 Cesarea 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 observe 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. To the foresayd tyme of Dunston, Cathedrial Churches, the seates of Bishopes, 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 bead no smale Contentional [n] [tion] betwenee them. To Conclude this point it appeares that the first Monkes, howsoever they liued as solitary 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 witnesseth,

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?
and Athanasius, who in his Epistle to Dracontius sayth, he had seen many Monkes and Bishops maryed, and hauing Children. But I will retorn to the State of Religion in Ireland, from a little before the last Rebellion of Tyron to the end thereof. 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 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

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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 Judges 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
Multitudes of English daily /30/ repairing thether, out of England and from all parts of that kingdom, 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 al[so] 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 foreheads 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, released\(^{21}\) 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 leave the Roman, which all their frends and kinsmen professed, who would [n]ever after hate there persons, and avoyde theire 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 deprivued 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 theire Countruy 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 Governor 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 Gouernors, but rather left by them to perish by the former & like meanes. Besydes these things 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 1184
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 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 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 vnqualifyed, to possesse Benefices for the vse of Childrens education, who notwithstanding were trayned vp in Spayne and Flaunders, not in our schooles or universtitie, nether in those dayes was there any Booke of Rates for benefices to the great prejudice of the State and subjectes. Many gentlemen of the English Irish held by inheritance Impropriations not indowed with any vicarages. Many held Benefices granted 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 Patents) 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. Yea in the latter tymes wherof I write, some founde a newe tytle (as newe vices gett newe names) whereby to hold spirituall livings, usiing them no better then the former, manely by Custodium or keeping dureing pleasure. 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 eu'en 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 service but the use of baptism, marriage and the lords Super. which the Papists did often cast in our teeth, saying it was better to haue the Roman Masse, then no service 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 Bishopps 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/ Bishoprickes, besydes many benefices of the best.25 Both ministers and Bishops non resident sent to their remote livings only Procters26 to gather their tythes and profitts. //

fol.456. Booke III of Ireland touching Religion Cap. VI. And as the Bishopes abused their Jurisdiction, accounting it a yearely Rent, so their Proctors, especially in the remote partes of the North, abused it much more, not shaming to imitate the Priests of the barbarous Irish, who used to take a Cowe of maryed people, and two Cowes of the vnmaryed yearely, as a penalty of incontinency though no such fault could be proved 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 Bishopps, in places where themselves /10/ were residend, 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 have learned ministers or men of quality in his diocesse because he he Could not make so

25 Morison 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 theire landes and 
benefices (werin they were not then restrayned by any 
lawe) and so all spirituall liuings were made vncompentent 
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 ruinned, 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 theire sydes. And these men were the bane [...] 
only of the Commonwealth (as I haue formerly shewed) but 
more spetially of the Church, obdurating 30 all the subiects 
in disobedience to the English Magistrates, confirming them

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28 Hughes amends to "others", p. 289.
29 The image of Catholics swarming like insects in dirt 
is a familar Protestant one. See Loyola's speech in Thomas 
30 "1. trans. To make obdurate, to harden in 
wickedness, or against moral influence..." OED

1188
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 Rebells. 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 1[a]I[ubbers]31 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 Reuenque was litle or nothinge increased by the [ref....d][reserved] Rents therof.

31 "1. a. A big, clumsy, stupid fellow; esp. one who lives in idleness; a lout..." OED

1189
Touching Reformation, giue me leaue first to Remember the generall Judgment for like cases, of the late reverent Bishop of London Doctor King, in his seuenth lecture vpon Ionah, Fayth Commeth (sayth he) rather by perswation then by Compulsion.\(^2\) 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 \([t]her\)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 \([n]ot\) 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 Judgment. 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

\(^2\) 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 Judgment" 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 Coaction\textsuperscript{33}) 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 foreheads that mourne for the wellfare of our Realme, and as bond men to theire brethren, they should hewe wood and drawe water to the house of Israel, as Ios[.][u]ah vsed the Gibeonites for their guile.\textsuperscript{34} Wee nurse vp Lyons whelpes for our owne ouerthrowe. Wee play too boldly at the holes of Asspes;\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{33} "I. 1. a. Compulsion." \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{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. Morison is using scripture to justify English policies towards the Irish.

\textsuperscript{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 far from the opinion that Reformation should be wrought by fire and sword, but only in cases of extremity, and I think the fore said abuses will teach us both mild and safe means of Reformation. The general corruption of the Clergy in that time, the obstinacy of the mere Irish and English Irish in not coming to Church, and the imputation thereof especially laid on the former governors and magistrates, might remember those that succeeded, carefully to send over godly and learned Bishops and ministers, and to send them more in number and better in quality, because the deluge of the Roman Church was so strong and so universal, the rather to vindicate their own honour from the just censure of posterity. Again, the tractableness of the wild Irish, and the reigning of Popery in the chief City of that kingdom, under the lord Deputies eyes and ears to know it, and under the power of his hands to reform it, might Remember those that succeeded, to teach the first, to curb the second, and in like occasions of planting Colonies, to send over men better affected, and for the third to be ashamed to suffer it any longer. Again the general conformity of the Papists in coming to our Churches till the contrary was commanded by the Pope, and the Popes setting the mark of the Beast upon the foreheads of his followers by this Commande, might remember those that succeeded to know that this Coming to

1192
Church was not with them a case of Conscience in Religion, but rather a question of outward Allegiance and obedience, Wherein the just power of the magistrate at home, was strongly to be opposed, against the Popes forayne and usurped powe, and therefore to marke them with a blacke Coale of suspected subiectes. Who should be obstinate in yealding this obedience to the Popes Command.\(^{16}\) 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 observe two pointes of wise policy. First to cherish those that turned Protestants, in preferring them to offices and dignities in the Commonwealth and Church, and giving them them favor and priviledges in all courses of honor and profitt, or at least preserving them (for examples sake if not for Conscience) from perishing or coming to extreme misery, especially by the practises of those that should maglign 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 especially places of Magistracy, in the Commonwealth or Church, (as wee reade the Emperor Charle the great to haue

\(^{16}\) 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 Lumbards\textsuperscript{37}) by laying on them the burthen of p\textsuperscript{2}nall lawes, as Fynes 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 use 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 give 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,\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{37} Charlemagne conquered the Lombards in 774, and integrated their kingdom into his. \textit{EWH}

\textsuperscript{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 used. 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 and good schoolemasters in Ireland with the wardnes of Parents, most averse from suffering theire Children to be brought vp by such men, the English Irish posessing 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 scandolous life of many such ministers,: the generall non Residency,: the abuse of Bishops Iurisdiction: the Bishopps Imitating of the Irish lordes in extorting vpon the Clergy, the long 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 tyiues, might remember those that succeeded. To reduce by all lawfull Meanes all spirituall
liuings to the use of the Clergy. To preserve the same from any the least oppression of the layety. To make laymen lawfully possessing Benefices, to find a sufficient Preacher or Vicar, and to find means whereby these Benefices might be redeemed out of their hands and retourned to the use of the Clergy, and be so distributed among them, as some should not have all, and others little or nothing, but the liuings of the Church might suffice to maintain a sufficient number of godly and learned ministers, shining in example of life and purity of doctrine. To appoint Bishops and ministers so quallifyed, hating [non] Residency, and Bishopps using Jurisdiction for edification not for destruction, and shaming to tyrannise over the Clargy by barbarous extortions. To have spetiall care to find out means, whereby the Churches might be reedifyed and decently kept. To restrain by Act of Parliament the whole Clergy from letting lands or Benefices otherwise then for convenient number of yeares and vpon convenient yearely Rents (all which, most of the other Remedies and far greater, I knowe to have beene most wisely and religiously provided 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 Nothinge 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, whereby the Clergy men are bounde to teach Schollers, and also 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, especially 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, even till it may iustly be envied by the famous vniuersities of England. For no doubt the native workemen, hauing the Irish language, will proue farr more profitable than any others, in the vinyard of the Church and Commonwealth. This founding of Scholles and Colleges is a large and gloryous [theather] [Theater] of magnificence and Charity,

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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 grant the magistrates /10/ and rich men, may carefully and bountifully imploy their labour and wealth. Agayne the permission of Monkes to live in Ireland in the Monasteryes giuen in those dayes to Irish lorde by grants dureing pleasure, and the grants 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 lorde, and so to order the second, by lawfull meanes (as the questioning of grants wherein the king is <...> deceaued and the [[...]] renewing of expired leases) /20/ that the kings Rents for those (and all other) lands might be much improved. To Conclude with the some of all (without which indeede all hopes of reformation would prove vayne and fruitlesse) the swarming of Jesuites and Priests in those dayes, and the perverting of all Familyes, and the disturbing of the Commonwealth and Church, by their seditious practises and false doctrine, might remember those that succeeded, first to transport these Roman locusts out of that kingdome, and then Carefully to prevent their returne, by seuer execution of the Act of [par] /30/ Parliament, whereby their returne is made Capitall to themselues, and to those that harber them, and of like lawes and provisions to be after made to that purpose. Some then wished the Bible to be translated into Irish, because many of the people understoode not English, but others thought better by education to make the English tongue
vulgarily practised, because the unity of language is of
great power to breede unity of affections.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{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.