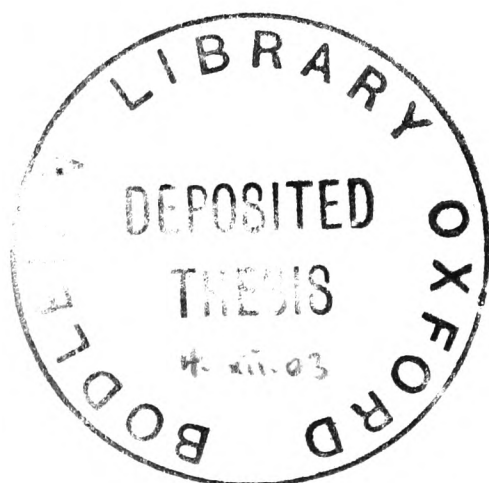


‘A certain tickling humour’: English Travellers, 1560-1660

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Abstract

The story of early modern English travellers has generally been treated by scholars as a subplot to larger narratives – whether political history, art history, or, more recently, textual criticism and constructions of the ‘other’. It has never been discussed as a distinct development within the cultural history of England, with a narrative of its own. Furthermore, historians have traditionally explained away, dismissed as irrelevant, or simply ignored the fact that a growing number of travellers claimed to be motivated by their ‘mere curiosity to see’, rather than recognising it as a critical aspect of the new phenomenon. This thesis attempts to be a corrective to both these tendencies.

It begins with the relationship between the traveller and the State, answering questions about the government’s attitude to travel, the process of getting a licence to go abroad, fears about Catholic conversion, and how these things changed over time. It goes on to answer basic questions about who was travelling and what the tour abroad was actually like. The results of an exhaustive study of nearly 2,000 passport records are presented, in an effort to demonstrate the growing popularity of foreign travel in these years.

Part Two focuses on the vigorous debate over the value of travel for the young, and the genre of travel advice literature that arose over time. The hostility evoked by the idea of ‘curiosity’, as well as concerns over travellers being too young, are discussed.

The final part of the thesis challenges the assumption that this period merely witnessed the ‘rise of the Grand Tour’. Travel to Spa for the recovery of health and the growth of domestic resorts such as Bath and Buxton are looked at, while a final chapter examines those travellers who extended their tours beyond Europe, and ventured into the Levant and beyond.

Long Abstract

[as required by the Faculty of Modern History]

This thesis is informed by the belief that the subject of English travellers in the hundred years leading up to the Restoration is one that has never been treated with the proper attention that it deserves. For most scholars, the fact that a rapidly growing number of Englishmen began travelling abroad in these years has deserved only a supporting role in larger dramas. John Stoye, for instance, saw travel abroad as essentially a subset of political history, choosing to focus his work mostly on those future statesmen and courtiers who as young men spent time with English ambassadors abroad. For Stoye, therefore, the importance of the foreign tour lay chiefly in its relationship to the domestic political history of England. Edward Chaney, meanwhile, has mainly been interested in the role travellers played in the aesthetic and architectural contribution of Renaissance Italy to English sensibilities, and has therefore viewed the story of travellers through the prism of art history. More recently, a large number of literary scholars interested in illustrating the discursive powers of text in the formation of ‘culture’ have taken great interest in travel writing and diaries and constructions of the ‘other’. Their concern has lain particularly with travel outside the borders of Europe, though their conclusions have often been hastily grafted onto the continental tour as well.

No early modern scholar of England, however, has yet suggested that travel can and should be looked at as a distinct topic within the cultural history of the nation. British and European cultural historians have produced many volumes on such topics as crime, witchcraft, or the family, yet a profoundly important development in the cultural history of the time has gone largely un-remarked upon in recent years. I argue that it is time to

stop allowing the significance of travel to a penumbra of other historical topics to cloud our ability to recognise it as a cultural development with a rich and complicated narrative of its own.

I also suggest that past studies have ignored or downplayed the role of what might be called a certain ‘natural’ human curiosity about foreign countries as a motivation for travel, preferring to avoid what perhaps seems a (deceptively) simple or naïve concept. However, it is important to note that for the first time in English history, people were travelling not just because they were merchants, or diplomats, or religious pilgrims. Rather, growing numbers of young men justified their travels by making reference to their ‘mere curiosity to see’, and I believe this critical aspect of the subject has received far too little attention to date.

We are therefore interested here not in early modern travel in general (which would be an impossibly broad subject), but rather in the type of traveller who was not ashamed to admit to an ‘innate desire to see’ or even to defend the intrinsic value of ‘travell it selfe’. Naturally, any such limitation raises questions of delineation, and the introductory chapter attempts to deal with these questions. Drawing a line between such travellers and, say, merchants, diplomats, and soldiers is relatively straightforward, but drawing the same distinction between ‘curiosity’ travellers and ‘educational’ travellers or ‘exiles’ is, on the face of it, more tricky. However, it will be seen that so-called ‘educational’ travel was only educational in the broadest sense of the word, with very few travellers undertaking serious scholarship while abroad, and that, by the 1640s and 1650s, a pattern of travel abroad had become so well established that many ‘exiles’ fitted their activities neatly into its borders.

The first three chapters of this thesis are devoted to answering some of the most fundamental questions about the nature of foreign travel in this period. Chapter One deals with the relationship between the traveller and the State, answering questions about the government's overall attitude to travel, the process of getting a licence to go abroad, fears about Catholic conversion, and how these things might have changed over time. The illegality of going beyond the seas without a licence was taken extremely seriously, but the enforcement of the relevant fourteenth-century statute was anything but systematic. The first part of the chapter therefore attempts to unravel the complexities of the early modern licensing process, and how they changed over the hundred years under consideration. The remainder of the chapter explains how fears over the possibility of English subjects being lured into converting to Catholicism while abroad manifested themselves in the government's treatment of travellers, and attempts to draw broader conclusions about the evolution of the relationship between the traveller and the State.

The second chapter attempts to answer more basic questions about who was travelling and what the tour abroad was actually like. The overwhelming majority of those who travelled out of personal interest came from the ranks of gentry, but it will also be seen that many exhibited what could be described as a generally shiftless and meandering personality, and that some even fashioned themselves as born travellers. The question of whether women travelled abroad out of personal interest is also looked at, with the conclusion that the picture is somewhat complicated and unclear. The second part of the chapter deals with the tour itself. It begins with a discussion of transportation and the extent to which it is possible to speak of a 'typical' itinerary in this period. Some of the more notable perils of travel abroad are then examined, including the dangers

posed by disease, sickness and plague, as well as by highway robbery, personal disagreements and duels. Accommodation, money and typical expenses are looked at next, followed by an exploration of the question of companionship. This latter section includes a discussion of the extent to which brothers and, occasionally, entire families travelled abroad together.

Chapter Three presents ‘the numbers’, and tries to come to terms with how many people were travelling in this period. The work presented in this chapter is based on data collected in an exhaustive study of passport records from 1560 to 1640. Nearly 2,000 passports can be found recorded in the *Acts of Privy Council* (and later the unpublished manuscripts of the Privy Council Register), the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, and the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* for the period in question, with the overwhelming majority coming from the first two sources. The reliability of this data is discussed at length in this chapter, with the conclusion that such data can only provide a very partial and incomplete picture of the phenomenon. The data are therefore offered as a tentative but important first step towards a fuller understanding of the extent of foreign travel in the early modern period.

Part Two moves us away from the descriptive and towards the prescriptive, focussing on the debate over the value of travel for the young, and the genre of advice literature that arose in these years surrounding the ‘right’ way to travel. Broadly speaking, much of the hostility and anxiety evoked by travel and much of the advice given to travellers focussed on two general themes – curiosity and youth – each of which is discussed in turn.

Chapter Four looks at the question of ‘curiosity’ and illustrates how the growing confidence among travellers about describing their tours abroad as journeys of personal satisfaction caused serious discomfort in a number of contemporary commentators. Many critics dismissed the idea of travelling without a clearly defined purpose as little more than an outrageous flight of fancy, and believed it would rapidly bring about the nation’s ruin. Parents and advice-givers, meanwhile, were equally concerned about the impression of idleness and aimlessness that their young charges’ tours were giving to outside observers. Many insisted that the young traveller should be able to demonstrate that he had not wasted his time abroad, and that he should return with something to show for his parents’ troubles. Consequently, fluency in foreign languages and the copious taking of notes became major themes in much of the advice literature, as parents strove to satisfy themselves that their children had benefited from their travels. Returning from a tour abroad with half-empty notebooks and only ‘a few crumbs’ of language was the sure sign of a wastrel, and elders went out of their way to impress this on their travelling youngsters.

Chapter Five addresses the question of youth, and the concerns raised about travellers being too young. Opponents of travel complained bitterly that many of the country’s finest young men were being allowed to travel abroad in their tender and impressionable years, only to return ‘foreignized’ and haughty in their manners. A vast literature mocking the ‘Italianated’ and ‘Frenchified’ traveller grew up in these years. It was also feared that young men were overly susceptible to vice and dissipation, and might be given to wasting their time abroad engaging in trifling and sinful pursuits, such as dancing, gambling, and whoring. A section on tutors and governors, who often

supervised the tours of wealthier travellers and were charged with steering them away from venality and prodigality, concludes this chapter.

The final part of this thesis is devoted to averting any hasty assumption that the period under examination merely witnessed the ‘rise of the Grand Tour’. Although it is true that many of the patterns and methods of the eighteenth-century tour were established well before the end of the sixteenth century, this should not lead us to think that foreign travel in the hundred years before the Restoration was simply a precursor to the well-known Grand Tour of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Rather, I would suggest that the phenomenon sketched out in the first five chapters of this thesis should be seen as a symptom of broader social and cultural changes taking place within England – changes which impacted not just European travel, but the very idea of travel itself.

Chapter Six, therefore, looks at travel to Spa for the recovery of health, and the relationship between this phenomenon and the growth of a domestic English leisure industry based around bath towns such as Bath and Buxton. As Spa rapidly developed from a place to go for physical recuperation into a leisurely resort for English elites (as well as a gateway for further travels in Europe), many of England’s own bath towns began to see a noticeable surge in popularity. Bath, Buxton, and Tunbridge Wells in particular became fashionable places for gentry and nobility to retire to during the summer months, and an obvious alternative to travelling to Spa. Furthermore, many of the fiercest opponents of foreign travel began to recognise that the only way they might keep thousands of young gentlemen from travelling abroad was to cater to their needs at home. Plans for the creation of a domestic academy, where young men could learn the

cultivated arts of being a gentleman, were mooted. Travel to Spa may also have been an opportunity for women to travel abroad and see foreign countries. There is no direct evidence of women discussing their interest in travel for its own sake, but a strikingly large number of Spa travellers were women, a fact that suggests intriguing possibilities.

The final chapter looks at those travellers who extended their tours beyond the traditional boundaries of Europe, venturing into the Levant, and even farther afield. It is argued that there is some value in thinking of travel to the east as part of a generally expanding interest in travelling out of curiosity, rather than simply as a subset of mercantile history or colonial conquest. Many of those who travelled onto the European Continent to satisfy curiosity also found their way to Constantinople, Cairo, or even the lands of the Persian Empire. They went neither as traders, nor as colonists, but simply as curious travellers, and their story fits in as much with the themes discussed in thesis as it does with histories of exploitation and conquest.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> (London, 1890-1964).
Bodl.	Oxford University, Bodleian Library
BL	British Library
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (London, 1939-86).
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i> (London, 1856-1924).
<i>CSPF</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series</i> (London, 1861-1969).
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
Eliz.	Elizabeth
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
PCR	Privy Council Registers (unpublished – PRO PC2/41-53)
PRO	Public Record Office
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>

Throughout, official data from the *APC*, *CPR*, *CSPD*, *CSPF*, and *PCR* have been cited by reference source and date only. It has been thought that this would avoid any confusion resulting from the fact that a typical page of these sources contains a large number of records (often several on one page are of interest to us), and that citing such references by date would make it possible for the reader to pursue them more readily. To facilitate this process further, an appendix has been provided to correlate specific dates with the relevant volumes of *APC* and *PCR* (the unpublished PRO MSS). The other sources do not use volume numbers.

Original spellings have been retained in all quotations, with the exceptions of ‘i/j’ and ‘u/v’.

All dates are new style, with the year taken to begin on 1 January.

Introduction: 'the Pattern of a Method'

In 1604, many years before he was knighted and made a gentleman of the privy chamber and the master of Charterhouse, a 43-year-old Norfolk schoolmaster by the name of Robert Dallington decided to publish a collection of information about France and its people, based in large part on his travels there in the 1590s. He called his book *The view of Fraunce*, and it was a comprehensive and thorough introduction to the country, though hardly a groundbreaking work.

There was, however, one thing that set Dallington's book apart from the many tales of foreign travel that were increasingly being published at the turn of the sixteenth century. In the very last sentence of the very last page, the author suggested with some confidence that he had begun to lay down what he called 'the pattern of a method', which he felt was much-needed, and which the young, wide-eyed traveller could apply not only to France, but also to his travels in Italy, or, for that matter, any 'other Countries wherein you shall travaile'.¹ Dallington's suggestion must have been taken seriously in at least some quarters, because the very next year, he produced another book – not yet another addition to the rapidly growing ranks of travel accounts, but a book simply entitled *A method for travell*.²

Dallington, like so many of his contemporaries, was worried. He was responding to a phenomenon that was still very new to Elizabethan and early Stuart England, and, at the heart of it, still very troubling. Today, we are accustomed to being asked whether the purpose of our journey is 'business' or 'pleasure', and no one, at least in the developed world, sees anything strange in the idea of travelling abroad out of a simple desire to see

¹ Robert Dallington, *The view of Fraunce* (London, 1604), fol. Y2v.

² Robert Dallington, *A method for travell: shewed by taking the View of France, in 1598* (London, 1605).

foreign countries. The Peruvian businessman who has saved up to take his family to Orlando might have trouble understanding why the Finnish backpacker has deferred her university studies to spend a year thatching roofs in Bangladesh, but, placed in a room together, neither would think to question the other's desire to see foreign lands. In fact, the ability to go 'on holiday', in one form or another, is one of the most basic and universally recognised benchmarks that divides the middle classes of virtually every nation of the planet from the working classes and chronically impoverished masses just below. 'Tourism', though sometimes difficult to define because of its almost endemic presence in our lives, is today a multi-billion-dollar industry – second to none. Whether as providers, purveyors, or unwitting participants, few of us are untouched by its global presence.

But it was not always so. England in the years following the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 was a world in which taking a religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem might carry the treasonous stamp of Catholic idol-worship, and any other kind of travel was the exclusive preserve of merchant adventurers, pioneering explorers, political exiles, mercenary soldiers, continental traders, diplomatic envoys, scholars – in short, men who travelled for a *purpose*. The idea that one would choose to undertake a lengthy, gruelling, expensive, and potentially dangerous tour around France, Italy, or the Levant, for little more purpose than pleasure, curiosity, or self-improvement, raised more than a few eyebrows. Indeed, the very suggestion was nothing short of radical. However, in the years from 1560 to 1660, the suggestion was made, and it was made again and again, and with greater and greater frequency, and by more than just the occasional eccentric. The

desire to travel ‘out of a meere instinct of nature’, as one commentator put it,³ jarred violently with many of the most basic assumptions of English society in the sixteenth century. The process by which this relatively simple but devastatingly potent idea, along with all its ramifications, was, to a greater or lesser extent, incorporated into England’s cultural fabric in the century leading up to the Stuart Restoration forms the subject of this thesis.

I

One immediate point has to be addressed before all others. It is probably just as well that Hermann Rorschach never devised a word-association test directed at historians, because if such a thing did exist, then it is safe to say that the words ‘early modern travel’ would provoke a majority of respondents to say ‘Grand Tour’. And indeed, perhaps inevitably, the resilient image of those thousands of young men who gallivanted about on the European Continent in the eighteenth century casts a fairly wide shadow over this work, even if only by virtue of its absence. Anyone who has ever read *A Room with a View* is unlikely to be able to get the image of the genteel Lucy Honeychurch at the Pension Bertolini out of her mind when reading this. Yet at its heart, this is not a dissertation about the Grand Tour – at least not in any really direct or explicit way.

On the one hand, of course, it is quite possible to detect in much of what follows a tacit argument that many of the patterns and methods and habits and conjunctures that we traditionally associate with the post-Restoration Grand Tour had been developed at least a hundred years earlier. And indeed, I will have very little to say that would contradict this view directly. However, like all historical periods, the years from 1560 to 1660 deserve to

³ Robert Johnson, *Essaies* (London, 1601), fol. E2r.

be examined on their own terms, and readers looking for a seamless narrative explaining the ‘roots’ – or even the irresistible ‘rise’ – of the Grand Tour would be advised to look elsewhere. In fact, the relevance to this thesis of any reified concept such as the ‘Grand Tour’ is a limited one. It is worth bearing in mind that this work is, in the end, underpinned and informed by two fundamental assumptions that, on the face of it, may appear to contradict each other. On the one hand, I have just suggested that it would be dangerous to look at English travel in this period simply through the prism of what is essentially an eighteenth-century phenomenon. But on the other hand, this work operates under the unspoken assumption that the traditional starting date for the Grand Tour can and should be taken back at least a hundred years.

Indeed, one of the most surprisingly persistent myths about the Tour is that it did not fully get under way until 1660. Quite where this tendency in popular thinking comes from is hard to say, but it probably has something to do with a certain proclivity among cultural historians to associate all the polite and mannered pastimes of the so-called ‘long eighteenth century’ with the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in that year. And it probably does not help matters that the phrase ‘Grand Tour’ was not even employed in print until 1670, when Richard Lassels wrote in the preface to his *Voyage to Italy* that ‘no man understands *Livy* and *Caesar*, *Guicciardin* and *Monluc*, like him, *who hath made exactly the Grand Tour of France, and the Giro of Italy*’.⁴

Consequently, it seems, few popular histories of the Tour begin before 1660.⁵ The implication appears to be that the Restoration ushered in a new period of civil recreation,

⁴ Richard Lassels, *The voyage of Italy* (Paris, 1670), fol. A6r.

⁵ See, e.g., the Tate Gallery exhibition catalogue, *Grand Tour: the Lure of Venice in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini (London, 1996), pp. 10, 13, 21, 39. Also Bruce Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (London, 1996), p. 10, who cites Lassels as ‘the charter or foundational text for

libertinism, cosmopolitanism, and a society of manners in England, and that only then did it truly become fashionable to take a tour on the Continent, when for the previous century Europe had been too beset by religious conflict to make travel feasible for anyone other than the most determined and hardy adventurers. Often this view is more than just an implication, and occasionally it even goes unquestioned by more serious historians. Peter Osborn, referring to Philip Sidney's licence from the Queen to travel 'for his attaining the knowledge of foreign languages', says that 'such expeditions by young Englishmen were then very rare. Indeed, not even one each year was permitted to risk the perils of the road and of corruption by foreign manners and religious zealots'.⁶ Osborn does not say where he gets this information from, though in his footnote, he adds that 'the Grand Tour as a "journey of illumination"... did not become obligatory for the Englishman of taste until a century later'.⁷ Edward Chaney states flatly that 'it was only after 1630... that the British version of the Grand Tour can be said to have taken shape'.⁸ Philip Jenkins hedges conservatively that 'Grand Tours can be traced at least from the 1630s'.⁹ Unfortunately, the evidence presented over the course of the next few chapters will show these views to be based on a deeply flawed assumption. The patterns and methods that we associate with the Grand Tour were already beginning to take shape at least a hundred years before most studies begin, and were already well in place by 1660. To study the tour only in the

the Tour'. One popular writer claims baldly that 'the Grand Tour originated in the eighteenth century': *The Grand Tour*, ed. Sheila Pickles (London, 1991).

⁶ Peter Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney* (New Haven, 1972), p. 3.

⁷ Osborn, *Sidney*, p. 3.

⁸ Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion* (Geneva, 1985), p. 11. In more recent work, Chaney appears to have revised this opinion, choosing to deal 'not so much with the fully-fledged eighteenth-century phenomenon... but rather with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries': Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour* (London, 1998), p. xi. Not surprisingly, of course, an earlier generation of historians was even more prone to assumptions like these. R.W. Frantz in 1934 described everything that went before 1660 as 'the heroic age of English exploration and discovery': R.W. Frantz, *The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732* (Lincoln, 1934), pp. 7-8.

⁹ Philip Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: the Glamorgan Gentry 1640-1790* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 227.

eighteenth century, as Jeremy Black and Christopher Hibbert, among others, have done, is essentially to present a picture of a completed phenomenon and risks conveying the impression that there is little to talk about before the late seventeenth century.¹⁰

II

Of course, none of this is to say that historians have completely ignored the issue of English travellers abroad before 1660. Far from it, in fact. However, most historical examinations of English travel of this period have tended to treat the subject as a handmaiden to a larger project. The idea that the growing confidence among young English gentlemen to declare openly their curiosity about travelling abroad and seeing foreign countries for themselves might *in itself* be a subject for study has received no serious attention from historians. Instead, the tendency has been to try to fit what one might call, awkwardly, ‘curiosity travellers’ into some other pre-existing narrative, rather than view their existence, and the increase in their numbers over time, as forming some narrative of its own.

John Stoye, who in 1952 published *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667*, is probably the scholar who is most well known for his work in this field. *English Travellers* was in many ways a groundbreaking book, and remains justifiably canonical to this day. The fact that it is now over half a century old should not automatically expose it to the threat of revision. However, my work does depart from Stoye’s in several

¹⁰ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1992), and *The British and the Grand Tour* (1985); Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (London, 1987). Black and Hibbert, at least, unlike Osborn, both acknowledge that their subject has roots that go back at least to 1600, but choose to focus their work on the eighteenth century. Percy Adams, meanwhile, though his subject is what he calls ‘travel lies’ from 1660 to 1800, says he would ‘delight’ to do a companion volume for the Renaissance. Percy Adams, *Travellers and Travel Liars, 1600-1800* (Berkeley, 1962).

significant ways. To begin with, Stoye himself acknowledged in the preface to the updated 1989 edition of *English Travellers* that, given another chance, he would have included material from the Elizabethan period, rather than begin his study in 1604. And indeed, while there is no question that the cessation of hostilities with Spain in that year marked a major watershed in the numbers of English travellers abroad, the phenomenon was far from unheard of in the late sixteenth century. This thesis therefore tries as much as possible to avoid falling into the trap of focussing only on the comfortable terrain of the seventeenth century.¹¹ Stoye was also only interested in travellers on the European Continent, cutting himself off from the possibility of a broader understanding of foreign travel that could be gained from locating the continental tour within the context of travellers who dared to go farther afield – a question that will be addressed further in Chapter Seven.

However, these are relatively minor differences to do mainly with where the exact boundaries of the study are located. There is, fortunately, a more philosophical difference between this work and *English Travellers*. Stoye argued for understanding the foreign tour as essentially a proving ground for the career ambitions of young gentry and nobility – a sort of green room for the central stage of court politics. He was concerned primarily with tracing the intricate networks of preferment and patronage, and how they developed at the various English embassies, academies, and hostelries on the Continent; and as such, his project was essentially a political one. The fact that hundreds of young men might have travelled abroad to satisfy their curiosity, or simply because they did not know what

¹¹ John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667* (London, 1952; updated and repr. London, 1989). Stoye is not alone among scholars of the pre-Restoration period in neglecting the *longue durée*. J.T. Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry* (London, 1969), p. 77, says that ‘the Grand Tour did not really come into fashion until after the conclusion of the Anglo-Spanish peace treaty of 1604’.

else to do with themselves, was far less important to Stoye, for whom a study of travellers was useful mainly for the light it shed on political relationships, rather than on social or cultural trends. Certainly (and this is particularly true for the earlier years of this study), large numbers of parents simply sent their children abroad out of a belief that it would be a good way for them to make important contacts at the English embassies and expatriate communities – contacts who would later prove useful in gaining preferment at court. However, this sort of careerism was most definitely not the impetus that gave rise to the idea of foreign travel in the first place, and indeed, throughout the period, it was not unusual to hear young travellers admit quite openly that the chief aim of their tours was to satisfy a certain youthful curiosity and wanderlust.

Though his work on the subject is probably better known than most, Stoye is hardly the only scholar to have engaged with the question of English travellers before 1660. Edward Chaney has also produced a number of important works on the subject.¹² However, Chaney's work to date has tended to focus either on the role played by English travellers in the dissemination of the artistic and aesthetic contributions of the Italian Renaissance to England, or on the tours of Italy taken by political exiles in the 1650s (most notably that of Richard Lassels).¹³ Both of these, of course, are valuable areas of study, but again, as with Stoye, Chaney prefers to cast English travel abroad into a supporting role in other dramas, rather than address the actual idea of the tour as a larger cultural event in English history.

¹² Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion* (Geneva, 1985); Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour* (London, 1998).

¹³ Chaney, 'Richard Lassels (1603-1668) and his European travels' (Warburg Institute PhD thesis, London, 1977).

Meanwhile, and more recently, travel has become a very popular topic for researchers working out of a more literary tradition, interested especially in looking at travellers and their texts. Such scholars have been particularly keen to break apart constructions of the 'other' and to examine the literature of travel as a genre. Most obvious here, of course, is the work of Stephen Greenblatt, whose *Marvelous Possessions* marked a particularly fresh attempt to apply 'new historicist' thinking to travel writing, with particular interest in the issue of early modern European responses to the New World.¹⁴ Andrew Hadfield's work on the interplay between travel, literature and politics has sought to show how colonial writing could 'reflect on, change and, sometimes, redefine perceptions of English identity and English politics'.¹⁵ Anthony Pagden, Dennis Porter, Chloe Chard, Jenny Mezcicms, Kenneth Parker, Peter Hulme, Mary C. Fuller, Joan-Pau Rubiès and many others have similarly engaged with travel writing as a colonial or pre-colonial genre of discourse.¹⁶ Their project is essentially a Foucauldian one, but virtually all these scholars owe a more immediate debt to Edward Said, whose *Orientalism* laid the foundations for understanding the discursive power of texts in the formation of relations between distinct cultures. Their work dovetails with the output of

¹⁴ Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions* (Oxford, 1991).

¹⁵ Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the Renaissance 1545-1625* (Oxford, 1998), p. vii.

¹⁶ Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven, 1993); Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton, 1991); Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester, 1999); Jenny Mezcicms, "'Tis not to divert the Reader": Moral and Literary Determinants in Some Early Travel Narratives', in Philip Dodd (ed.), *The Art of Travel Writing*, (London, 1982), pp.2-19; Kenneth Parker, 'Telling Tales: Early Modern English Voyagers and the Cape of Good Hope', *The Seventeenth Century*, 10, (1995), 121-49, and *Early Modern Tales of Orient* (London, 1999); Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters. Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London 1986); Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge, 1995); Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiès, *Voyages & visions: towards a cultural history of travel* (London, 1999). Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveler* (Rutherford, 1986), is an example of literary scholarship that deals with different aspects of the genre, in this case the mental world of George Sandys, and renaissance history and geography.

historical anthropologists, such as Justin Stagl.¹⁷ This has been very valuable and important work, but again, has shown remarkably little interest in the lives and contexts of the travellers themselves, or in what we could call the domestic cultural history of travel. Also, it has tended to focus overwhelmingly on encounters with the New World and Africa.¹⁸

In many ways, the person who comes closest of all to understanding the importance of isolating the growing interest in travel as a piece of social or cultural history is actually not a historian at all, but a literary scholar. Sara Warneke's 1995 book *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* is something of a rarity in that it seems to recognise the importance of treating the growing desire to travel abroad as a free-standing subject of study. Warneke's work, of course, is fundamentally about the 'images' that were constructed in the popular literature of the time with respect to 'educational' travellers, and how such travellers were perceived, and she is therefore quite understandably not interested in engaging at length about the motivations or lives of the travellers themselves. However, by imposing the rigid category of 'educational travel', Warneke focuses perhaps too readily on the idea that the main motivation behind travelling abroad in these years was a desire to attain 'polish' at foreign academies, and she therefore risks oversimplifying the subject matter a little. It will be seen here that, although 'education', in the broadest sense of the word, was the *prima facie* explanation

¹⁷ Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity* (Chur, 1995).

¹⁸ Howard Marchitello has recently lamented the excessive focus on the Americas as a destination, to the detriment of 'the study of English travel to the "Old World"'. Howard Marchitello, 'Recent Studies in Tudor and Early Stuart Travel Writing', *English Literary Renaissance* 29 (1999), 342. It should also be noted here that there exists, of course, a whole corpus of more traditional, narrative-minded historians (such as R.W. Frantz, Boies Penrose, E.G.R. Taylor, John Parry, George Ramsay, William Foster, John Parker, and Kenneth Andrewes, among others) whose work has been focussed on the rise of the British Empire, and who have made only passing note of 'adventure' travellers in that context. These researches have been particularly focussed on Hakluyt and Purchas, and will be dealt with further in Chapter 7.

for the spectacular growth in the popularity of foreign travel, especially in the later years of the sixteenth century, viewing the phenomenon only through this particular prism risks inflicting a fair amount of distortion on the subject. Furthermore, although the ‘images’ of travellers and how they were perceived in their own country is a major interest of this study, it will by no means be the only one.¹⁹

The one thing that all of these approaches have in common is a tendency to leave out, detract from, or merely play down the role of what might, with all the usual caveats, be called a certain ‘natural’ human curiosity – a very simple proclivity to travel. Taken together, Stoye, Chaney, Warneke, Greenblatt and the new historicists, and even the old-fashioned diplomatic, mercantile and colonial historians, all do a good job of identifying some of the key facets of early modern English travel, and if one reads them all, one comes away with a serviceable understanding of early modern travel in general. However, what all of these approaches also have in common is that they try to fit a very complicated phenomenon into a pre-existing mould – whether that be politics, art, exile, empire, literary genre, or education. What this thesis proposes to do, by looking closely at the travellers themselves – as well as their critics – is to tease out the more basic and human motivations behind travel, and try to readmit into the picture deceptively simple concepts like the satisfaction of curiosity, and the pleasure of seeing new things.

Logan Pearsall-Smith wrote in 1907 that

Foreign travel was almost a necessary part of the education of an ambitious youth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.... Their object was seldom or never mere sight-seeing and pleasure. The soldiers went to gain military experience in the foreign wars; the students to perfect their

¹⁹ Sarah Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden, 1995). Clare Howard, writing in 1914, also conceived of her project subject matter as being, broadly, ‘travel for study’s sake’. Howard’s work, however, was mostly focussed on the nobility, where Warneke is more interested in the gentry. Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London, 1914).

education in the foreign universities, and by the company and instruction of foreign scholars. But for young Englishmen of birth the main object of travel was almost always political.²⁰

My own view could not be more different to this. What is argued here is that, for the first time in English history, young men were travelling not just because they were ‘ambitious youth’ seeking preferment at court, or because they were merchants, or diplomats, or religious pilgrims, or missionaries, or soldiers, or even ‘adventurers’ bravely discovering new lands. Rather, for the first time, growing numbers of young men seemed to think there was no need to justify their travels by anything more than an expression of their ‘mere curiosity to see’, and it is the overarching aim of this work to show that this truly radical aspect of the subject has received far too little scholarly attention to date.

Travellers like Peter Heylyn, who claimed to have travelled ‘only to satisfie my self in taking a brief view of the pleasures and delights of France’, or Fynes Moryson who spoke of his ‘innated desire’ to see foreign countries and insisted that ‘the fruit of travell is travell it selfe’, have routinely been dismissed by virtually all historians as being atypical and therefore unworthy of serious attention.²¹ John Stoye wrote that men like Moryson, who, before 1604, travelled for no ‘other reason than the sheer love of travel... [or] who appear to have been sublimely unaware of any special mission abroad... were probably exceptional’.²² Edward Chaney, keen to give pride of place to his Catholic exiles, dismisses figures like Moryson and Thomas Coryate as ‘isolated or eccentric travellers’. Chaney claims that ‘proto-Grand Tourists’, such as William Thomas and Thomas Hoby, did exist in the mid-sixteenth century, but that it was only after 1620 that the practice of

²⁰ *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith (2 vols., Oxford, 1907), i, 8.

²¹ Peter Heylyn, *Survey of the estate of France* (London, 1656), sig. A3; Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (3 vols., London, 1617), i, 1.

²² Stoye, *English Travellers*, p. 23.

taking a tour began to trickle down from the peerage to the gentry.²³ More recently, Hartmut Berghoff and Barbara Korte have concluded that ‘the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a period when hedonistic pleasure and the frisson of the exotic had not yet become accepted purposes for travel’. They too cite Coryate and Moryson, saying that their ‘proto-touristic attitude’ was something seen only ‘occasionally’ before the eighteenth century.²⁴ Kenneth Parker, with specific reference to Eastern travel, says that the existence of travellers like Coryate or John Cartwright, who took their trips ‘simply out of personal interest, not tied to either commerce or diplomacy’, was only ‘fitful and sporadic’ and did not become ‘established’ until the eighteenth century.²⁵ Extensive evidence will be presented against this view and the point will be made more fully in Chapter Four, but for the moment it is simply worth underlining that the motivation of ‘personal interest’ is not only not an eccentric or isolated aspect of the subject, but that it should in fact be recognised as in many ways *central* to the subject.

It is perhaps ironic that of all people, E.S. Bates, writing in 1911, should actually have engaged more than any other writer before or since with the various ‘types’ of travel and the various motivations of travellers. Bates even concluded that his book was a study of something he awkwardly called ‘the Average Tourist’. However, Bates’ book is now nearly a century old, is literally riddled throughout with nonsense and misinformation, and anyway looks only at the day-to-day details of the Tour itself. It is, in the end, a collection of anecdotes and stories, and not a real historical analysis centred on trying to

²³ Chaney, *Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion*, p. 64. Chaney bases this assertion on little more than statements made by Clarendon after the Restoration.

²⁴ Hartmut Berghoff and Barbara Korte, ‘Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism: An Interdisciplinary Approach’, in Berghoff (ed.), *The Making of Modern Tourism* (Basingstoke, 2002).

²⁵ Kenneth Parker, *Early Modern Tales of Orient* (London, 1999), p.107.

understand the concept of travel as a cultural phenomenon in early modern England.²⁶

And even Bates takes at face value the idea that such travel was merely part of a gentleman's 'education'. Antoni Maćzak has in many ways produced a more up-to-date version of Bates' book, for early modern European travellers as a whole, but his book too is little more than a compendium of colourful anecdotes.²⁷

What I want to argue is that it is time to study travel in this period as a distinct topic within British cultural history, in much the same way that we study crime or witchcraft. It is time to stop allowing travel's significance to a whole range of other historical topics to cloud our ability to recognise it as its own cultural development – a historical phenomenon with its own narrative, its own trajectory – indeed, its own *history*. Certainly, looking at travel can shed much light on other historical subjects – such as attitudes towards youth – and it is hoped that this thesis will demonstrate exactly that. But it can do so in a much more useful way only after it is allowed to have a history of its own. For many years, Stoye's account of English travellers abroad has been allowed to stand as definitive, yet it is, by its own admission, based almost entirely on two sources – diplomatic correspondence about travellers contained in the State Papers Foreign, and the manuscript diaries of the travellers themselves. Stoye thus limits himself to the kind of elite travellers followed with interest by the State, and ignores the hundreds, if not thousands, of more 'ordinary' young gentlemen going abroad in search of new experiences.

²⁶ Ernest S. Bates, *Touring in 1600* (London, 1911). It also, parenthetically, takes a broader European approach, rather than focussing only on British travellers, which makes it of more general interest, but of less depth.

²⁷ Antoni Maćzak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995).

And indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that there may well have been thousands of such travellers in the century under consideration here. It will be seen that a large portion of the data, both qualitative and quantitative, presented in this thesis has been drawn from an extensive study of the passport records contained in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, and the *Acts of Privy Council*, and other similar sources. This data has been entered into a computerised database of travellers, and it is hoped that this database, once fully completed, could be offered as a reference tool for prosopographers. However, for the moment, the numerical data from this database will be presented systematically in Chapter Three, as we consider in quantitative terms the rising popularity of foreign travel in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Furthermore, in the course of gathering the passport data from *CSPD* and *APC*, many interesting and unexpected facets of the tour abroad have presented themselves, and have therefore been incorporated throughout the course of this study.

The other contribution this thesis hopes to make is a fuller analysis of the controversies inspired by travel than has until now been attempted. Stoye, Chaney, Maćzak and others do little more than merely acknowledge the raging debate over the value of travel for the young that was taking place in these years, but it is a central aspect of the growth in the popularity of the phenomenon, and therefore a central aspect of this thesis. Chapters Four and Five represent an initial attempt to come to terms with this material, and suggest some common themes and aspects to the literature of advice and debate *vis-à-vis* travel. Taken together with the extensive use of passport records, this examination of the reaction of contemporaries to the growing popularity of foreign travel,

will, it is hoped, round out more fully our understanding of the story of English travel abroad, and the place of this story in the cultural fabric of early modern England.

III

There are, of course, major risks involved in approaching the subject through the prism of ‘idle curiosity’ or ‘personal interest’. One such risk is that of overstating the case, and it should be made very clear at this point that it is not intended to show that the years from 1560 to 1660 somehow formed the beginnings of modern-style ‘vacationing’ or even a culture of ‘tourism’. Quite to the contrary, in fact: though there is ample evidence of travellers openly justifying their trips by explaining their ‘innate desire to see’ or the intrinsic value of ‘travell it selfe’, the presence of ‘curiosity’, ‘pleasure’, self-interest, or whatever else we may wish to call it, is one that must often be inferred. Though I intend to show that there are literally hundreds, if not thousands, of young gentlemen we can definitively identify as ‘pleasure’ or ‘curiosity’ travellers in this period, it must be admitted that drawing such a sharp line between those who travelled out of ‘interest’ or ‘pleasure’ and those who travelled out of ‘duty’ is a dangerous business in the early modern period, and a task complicated by the presence of a rather significant penumbra. How, in other words, can we possibly draw the line between, say, a ‘tourist’ and a political exile? Or between a tourist and a merchant? Or, perhaps most awkwardly, between a young man travelling to complete his ‘education’, and a young man travelling to satisfy his curiosity about foreign lands? These are important questions, and legitimate points of potential criticism of a study like this one, and must therefore be addressed in turn.

Perhaps it is best to begin with the easiest distinction – the one between merchants and those travelling to satisfy curiosity. The trouble, of course, with focussing only on the latter is that it is too easy to slip into the assumption that it is possible to go abroad without the least interest in, or curiosity about, foreign countries. Certainly, there is no reason to believe that even a merchant might not be motivated by his sense of wanderlust, and there are examples of people who were essentially merchants, but took advantage of their postings abroad to take more adventurous trips to satisfy their curiosity. According to statute law, ‘usual and notable merchants’ known to the Crown were exempt from having to obtain a licence or passport to go abroad, and this privilege must surely have been abused. William Dennis, for example, a London mercer, came to the attention of the authorities in February 1590, when it emerged that he had travelled all the way to Jerusalem, though presumably Antwerp was as far as his business ought to have taken him.²⁸ And James Howell, who later became one of the most vocal advocates of the value of travel for the young, was originally sent to Venice in 1617 to find workmen and material for the glass factory of Sir Robert Mansel in London. Howell took his time getting to Venice – two months in Paris, a year in Spain – two years in all. Once in Venice, he sent two workmen to Mansel, dropped all connection with him, and began travelling around the Italian Peninsula. As one source puts it, ‘securing workmen and material does not seem to have been his chief concern’.²⁹ We also have the rather interesting case of Maurice Wynn, the younger son of Sir John Wynn, first baronet of Gwydir³⁰, who in 1618 set off to live and work as a merchant in Hamburg, proving that, occasionally, the life of an overseas trader might carry some appeal to a young

²⁸ *APC*, 11 February 1590.

²⁹ William Harvey Vann, *Notes on the Writings of James Howell* (Waco, 1924), p. 5.

³⁰ The elder son, John, had died while on tour in Lucca in 1614.

gentleman.³¹ However, by and large, most early modern merchants did not ‘choose’ to become foreign traders in the same way that their modern counterparts might make such a career choice, and in most cases, a simple desire to see foreign lands was probably not the main motivating factor.

Nevertheless, there is in Hakluyt the rather striking case of Robert Tomson, a Hampshire trader who set sail for Spain in a merchant boat from Bristol in 1553, and lived there for a year in order to ‘learne the Castillian tongue, [and] to see the orders of the countrey, and the customes of the people’, before going over into the West Indies. The trip was undertaken not for profit but rather because Tomson ‘did determine with himselfe to seeke meanes and opportunitie to passe over to see that rich countrey from whence such great quantitie of rich commodities came’. Similarly, John Chilton in 1561 left London to spend seven years in Spain, before setting off for seventeen years in Peru, a voyage he claimed to have taken because he was ‘desirous to see the world’.³² And both Tomson and Chilton’s accounts read very much like the tourist narratives. However, these men are bordering on ‘adventurers’, rather than ‘tourists’, which brings us to the next distinction that must be made.

Here, too, the line can be blurred. Sir Robert Dudley, explaining his interest in leading a Caribbean venture, wrote that ‘Having ever since I could conceive of any thing bene delighted with the discoveries of navigation, I fostered in myself that disposition till I was of more yeres and better ability to undertake such a matter’. Dudley even claimed to have felt a little guilty at the thought of risking other men’s lives ‘upon so uncertaine a

³¹ J. Gwynfor Jones, ‘Sir John Wynn, Junior, of Gwyndir and Llanfrothen: Letters Relating to his “Grand Tour”, 1613-14. Pt.2’, *Merioneth Historical and Record Society Journal*, 12 (1995), 110-22.

³² Richard Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries* (London, 1598, repr. Glasgow, 1904), ix, 339, 361.

ground as my desire'.³³ Certainly, 'desire', 'delight' and 'disposition' must unquestionably have been a motivating factor for anyone undertaking a voyage of exploration in any period in history. However, this thesis will have to draw the line at such voyages, as they enter terrain that is substantively different from that of the casual, interested, curious 'tourist' wandering around Europe – if only by virtue of the fact that voyages like Dudley's were, at least ostensibly, taken in order to advance the commercial or political interests of the realm, with the excitement of the adventurers themselves a necessarily distant consideration.

More or less the same point can, and should, be made about soldiers. Again, the decision to enlist in an armed mercenary regiment and be paid to fight another nation's battles must surely have been motivated by a number of factors, pay not least among them. But it seems safe to say that, for a man of little means, the opportunity to fight wars in foreign lands must have carried a strong frisson of excitement and adventure. This is perhaps a fact whose timelessness can comfortably be asserted with little recourse to substantiating evidence, and indeed it must be, since the sources are largely silent. Nevertheless, it is worth at least mentioning that Throckmorton wrote to Cecil in 1562 expressing his wish that 'some who desire to see the world were allowed to pass to Dieppe or Newhaven, to serve either as footmen or horsemen, those places being in need of men'.³⁴ Or indeed we might note that Thomas Fairfax joined English forces in the Low Countries in 1629, but did not remain in service long enough to be of much use to anyone, quickly embarking on a tour around France instead.³⁵ And then, of course, there were those who, like Sir Charles Danvers, made foreign tours in their youth and later

³³ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, x, 203.

³⁴ *CSPF*, 26 May 1562.

³⁵ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 79; *DNB* (Fairfax).

became professional soldiers.³⁶ Occasionally, one even comes across a passport like the one issued to Captain Anthony Hill, which sounds in every way like a pass for a generic foreign tour, except that its recipient is a naval captain.³⁷ By and large, though, the motivations of those joining military service are beyond the scope of this thesis.

It is less easy to draw a firm distinction between ‘tourists’ and political or religious ‘exiles’. Sometimes, as in the case of the Catholic exiles of the 1560s who fled to the Continent in the years following the accession of Elizabeth, the contrast is clearly visible. These were emigrés who had practised their faith freely under the reign of Mary, and were hoping to bide their time abroad until Elizabeth could be killed or sent into exile herself.³⁸ They were not in any way pulled by fascination with foreign countries. However, as time went on, and travelling abroad to satisfy curiosity became a more commonplace and more widely practiced phenomenon, it becomes harder for the historian to make a failsafe distinction between exiles and tourists. Indeed, for many exiles, the increasingly respectable practice of undertaking a tour on the Continent became a convenient cover for their activities, particularly after the turbulent early years of Elizabeth’s reign. And in fact, by the 1640s and 1650s, when one might expect exile to be a more significant complicating factor for this study, the practice of travelling abroad had become so clearly established, that it is virtually impossible to find anyone who can definitively be labelled as simply an ‘exile’. A perfect example of the blurring of these boundaries is Tobie Matthew, who almost certainly had Catholic leanings before he ever

³⁶ *DNB* (Danvers); *CSPD*, 10 April 1584.

³⁷ *CSPD*, 26 May 1638.

³⁸ The definitive work on this remains E.J. Baskerville, ‘The English Traveller to Italy, 1547-1560’ (Columbia Uni. Ph.D. thesis, 1967), which includes a census of travellers in the appendix.

travelled, but who insisted repeatedly to have travelled out of mere ‘curiosity’ and converted whilst abroad.³⁹

The ‘pattern of a method’ for travelling abroad had become so well established even by the time that Civil War broke out, that many exiles from the Cromwellian regime fitted very neatly into it, becoming, in effect, mildly politicised tourists. And the evidence for this is stronger than we might expect. Richard Flecknoe, for instance, is a good example of an exile who was also clearly a tourist of sorts. ‘There are divers Birds that flie away, when Stormes and Winter comes, one of those Birds am I’, he wrote in the preface to his *Relation of ten Years Travells*, published in 1656.⁴⁰ Flecknoe was referring to the recent turmoil in England, adding metaphorically that ‘I’m too weak and slight-built a Vessel for Tempestuous Seas’.⁴¹ Flecknoe may have been ostensibly an ‘exile’, but he was every bit as much a traveller – that much is quite clear throughout the *Relation*, which is essentially a picaresque adventure through Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America. Similarly, John Reresby, though undoubtedly a royalist exile, fits the pattern of a curiosity traveller. Reresby’s account of his travels reads exactly like that of a tourist, filled as it is with tales of fencing lessons and lute practice, and being tutored in mathematics and philosophy by a governor. Reresby even made an effort to avoid his fellow Englishmen, something that, we will see later, was a typical boast made by tourists, and which is also a form of behaviour generally very untypical of a political exile.⁴² And there is no need to rely simply on examples of royalist exiles who demonstrated a desire to travel out of curiosity. Just as often it worked the other way

³⁹ *The Life of Sir Tobie Maethews* [sic], ed. Alban Butler (London, 1795)

⁴⁰ Richard Flecknoe, *A relation of ten years travels in Europe, Asia, Affrique and America* (London, 1654?), p. 1.

⁴¹ Flecknoe, *A relation*, p. 1.

⁴² *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. Andrew Browning (London, 1991), pp. 7-8, 14.

around, with a curiosity-driven traveller more inclined to take his trip during a turbulent period than he otherwise might have been. Such a traveller was William Temple, whose sister recorded that he set off on his travels in 1648, ‘a time so dismal to England, that none but those who were the occasion of those disorders in their Country could have bin sorry to leave it’.⁴³ By 1642, in fact, the pattern of young gentlemen travelling to satisfy curiosity was so clearly set that it becomes hard to draw a line between exiles and tourists for the eighteen years that follow. An anonymous satirical poem of that year is especially telling, in that it ridicules a fictitious cavalier called Jack Puffe, freshly returned from his tour abroad and dismissing his ruder, untravelled countrymen as ‘roundheads’.⁴⁴ And Francis Osborne’s lengthy tirade against young men travelling to satisfy curiosity, published in 1656, shows that the issue clearly had not disappeared during the turbulent years of the Civil War and Interregnum.⁴⁵

If, at the risk of oversimplification, the 1560s can be said to have been a time when most travellers were exiles, and the 1650s a time when most exiles were travellers, then what are we to make of the eighty or so years in between? Here also, it seems, the line could often be blurred. There are some situations, for instance, in which it can be hard to tell exactly what kind of person or motivation one is observing. Joseph Annias, for example, was forced to explain his activities in 1594 to the Privy Council, who were suspicious of his eight years on the Continent. Annias insisted that he had merely travelled ‘to see the countries and learn the language’, and swore that he had ‘never been to Rome nor spoken to Cardinal Allen’, but one wonders if he was telling the truth.⁴⁶ At

⁴³ *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple*, ed. G.C. Moore Smith (Oxford, 1928), p. xx.

⁴⁴ *The birth, life, death, wil, and epitaph, of Jack Puffe, gentleman* (London, 1642).

⁴⁵ Francis Osborne, *Advice to a son* (Oxford, 1656).

⁴⁶ *CSPD*, January 1594.

other times, someone might make his first appearance in the sources as a tourist, but end up an exile at a later point. Thomas Sackville, son of the Earl of Dorset, appeared to be taking a perfectly innocent tour of the Continent early in life, travelling in Leipzig and Padua in the early 1590s, but in 1615, he left again for Padua, and seems at that stage to have entered a sort of religious exile, mutually agreed by the Council and himself.⁴⁷ In still other cases, one gets the sense that the tour was more a form of pragmatic escapism than ideological exile – a convenient place to send your sons while things settled down in England. Francis Bramston was, according to his brother John, sent on tour in 1645 as a form of protection: ‘the madnes of the people continuinge, he was sent to spend his tyme better abroade’.⁴⁸ All of this shows that the idea of ‘exile’ is a highly fluid one, and that one should not be too quick to dismiss travellers who were apparently ‘exiles’ from a study such as this. As a result, the stories of exiles, such as Tobie Matthew’s, are included here when they are particularly relevant, though they are handled with a certain sensitivity and awareness of the fact that their cases may not be ‘typical’.⁴⁹

If distinguishing between ‘exile’ and ‘tourism’ is a tricky business, then distinguishing between ‘education’ and ‘tourism’ is an even more formidable task. Sarah Warneke acknowledges that what she calls ‘educational travel’ is not what we would today think of as ‘education’ in the strict sense of being enrolled at a foreign university.⁵⁰ However, this point needs to be reasserted and underscored here. There is no question

⁴⁷ Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 267-8. See also *APC*, 4 December, 1614.

⁴⁸ *The autobiography of Sir John Bramston*, ed. Richard Griffin (Camden Soc., old ser., xxxii, 1845), p.30.

⁴⁹ For a good micro-study of exile, see Michael G. Brennan, ‘The exile of two Kentish royalists during the English Civil War’, *Archaeologica Cantiana*, 120 (2000), 987-1008.

⁵⁰ Clare Howard also took it for granted that her subject matter was ‘the evolution of travel for study’s sake’, though she, too, seemed to recognise that it was ‘study’ in a loose sense of the word, saying that ‘in the same boat-load with merchants, spies, exiles, and diplomats from England sailed the young gentleman fresh from his university, to complete his education by a look at the most civilized countries of the world’.

that the initial impetus for the idea of young gentlemen taking tours around the Continent came when English nobility at first, and later gentlemen, began looking to continental academies to supplement their formal education at home. However, this initial impulse rather quickly became little more than just a premise, and before too long, ‘education’ meant that travellers might casually take in lectures at a university while abroad, but by no means were they centring their trips on the experience. Jonathan Woolfson makes as powerful a case for this as anyone, showing conclusively how most Englishmen who matriculated at Padua in the later sixteenth century cannot really be thought of as true students of the university. Woolfson, studying the so-called ‘English nation’ at Padua in the sixteenth century, concludes that, from around 1550, the ‘larger numbers of gentlemen travelling to Padua... had little or nothing to do with the university as far as we can tell. Some... were tourists and may have looked in on some lectures’.⁵¹ Woolfson makes a compelling argument from Padua’s matriculation lists and electoral rolls for understanding the visits of later Tudor Englishmen to Padua as casual and touristic rather than strictly ‘educational’, reminding us in the process that Padua’s popularity with English travellers owed as much to the Veneto’s reputation for religious tolerance as it did to Padua’s status as a university. ‘In short’, he argues, ‘what the matriculation register testifies to is the extent of the late Elizabethan vogue for tourism and for educational travel, not for serious courses of study’.⁵² Indeed, even as early as 1548, Thomas Hoby

⁵¹ Woolfson, *Padua*, p. 16.

⁵² Woolfson, *Padua*, pp. 17-18. See also p. 139. Conyers Read interprets the extracurricular activities available at Padua as forming an informal ‘great school for statecraft in the sixteenth century, even as she was for arts and letters and good manners’. The reality was probably even less formal than this suggests. Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth* (3 vols., Oxford, 1925), i, 24.

was able to observe that an Englishman given the title of ‘scholar’ by the rectors at Padua was ‘bound to no lectures, nor nothing elles but what he lyst himself to goo to’.⁵³

Woolfson’s conclusions for Padua, in fact, seem supported for other places as well. The official passport records that we have available to us from *Acts of Privy Council* and the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* (over 1,900 records in all) turn out to be an extremely useful way to draw a distinction between those who travelled abroad specifically to follow a course of study and those who were ‘educational travellers’ in the broader sense. People travelling specifically to study, people we might call ‘scholars’, are generally noted as being ‘Master of Artes’ or fellows of Oxford or Cambridge colleges, and the language and tone of their passports reflected the nature of their trips.⁵⁴ These were not young gentlemen eager to take in an ‘education’ consisting of seeing the curiosities of foreign lands and improving their French. These were serious scholars who wanted to pursue higher degrees in medicine or civil law, and the numbers show that they made up a tiny fraction of all travellers.⁵⁵ Other travellers, by contrast, may well have spent a short period of time at a university, auditing lectures, but it is clear just from their passports that they were not serious scholars: the passports explicitly use the word ‘travel’, not ‘study’. In fact, of the 1,954 passport records examined in the course of this study, fewer than a dozen actually mention education explicitly. The earliest was given in 1560 to one ‘John Hambye, student’, to travel abroad ‘for the increase of his studie in the civile lawes and knowledge in languages’. In this case, Hamby was identified specifically

⁵³ Thomas Hoby, *A booke of the travaile and lief of me, Thomas Hoby, with diverse things woorth the notinge* (Camden Miscellany No.10, 3rd ser., iv, 1902), p.11.

⁵⁴ See, for instance, Samuel Abbot, who was described as ‘student in physic’ and given licence ‘to goe to forraine Universities for the space of three yeares’ (*APC*, 8 July 1630); and John Kent, George Bates, and Robert Brownlowe, who were permitted ‘to goe over to Lydon in the Lowe Countries and to remayne in those parts for 4 or 5 monethes to better their knowledge in the studie of Phisicke’ (*APC*, 18 June 1631).

⁵⁵ Further evidence for this will be presented in Chapter 3.

as a 'student', and the language of the licence made more than explicit the nature of his trip. The fact that Hamby turns up in the records two years earlier as *consiliarius* and *electionarius* of the English nation at Padua only serves to underscore the genuinely educational nature of his trip.⁵⁶ Typically, such passes specified that the young man intended 'to passe beyond the seas to attend his studie', language vague enough to suggest the possibility that it can be read as much as a premise for tourism as anything else. But occasionally, the language was more explicit, as in the licence issued in 1616 to Hugh Goodyear and John Bastwick, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, to go to Leiden.⁵⁷ In all, only 48 licences (out of over 1,900) describe the traveller as 'Master of Artes' or 'fellow' of an Oxbridge college, generally a strong indication that enrolment at a foreign university might have been the intended purpose of the trip.⁵⁸ The remainder must be considered 'educational' travellers only in the broadest possible sense of the word.⁵⁹

None of this is to suggest that it is somehow wrong for Warneke or anyone else to use the convenient label of 'educational' traveller. Indeed, one could arguably employ the same label for all of the travellers looked at in the course of this study. Would it be wrong to describe our travellers as people seeking to 'educate' themselves in the ways of the world? Of course not. However, the use of the term 'educational traveller' somehow suggests a little more than just the satisfaction of curiosity, and risks obscuring a central feature of the phenomenon. The idea that sixteenth and seventeenth-century travellers

⁵⁶ *CPR Elizabeth*, i, 415; Woolfson, *Padua*, p. 242.

⁵⁷ *APC*, 26 October 1616.

⁵⁸ And only two of these 48 were recorded as taking servants with them, further underlining the studious nature of their trip.

⁵⁹ There is one very unusual case, that of Nathaniell Chamberlaine in 1628, 'a yong youth', who was given a pass 'to goe over unto the Universitie of Leyden in Holland, and to spend some tyme ther for the gaininge of the language etc.', indicating that it was at least theoretically possible to be both a serious scholar and a casual tourist. Chamberlaine, however, was the exception that proved the rule, and in general, the twain never met.

were conducting tours abroad simply as part of their 'education' comes too close to formalising the link between travel and gentry education, and too close to implying some sort of proto-Grand Tour.

Just as some historians have been too quick to file all travel abroad in this period under the rubric of 'education', some others have tried too hard explain the entire phenomenon by making reference to the importance of a foreign tour to the future political ambitions of young gentlemen at Court or elsewhere. However, the future courtiers and ministers focussed on by Stoye and others should also not be distinguished too strictly from those travelling, in a broader sense, 'for their better experience'. Because so many of the powerful figures of the Elizabethan and early Stuart polity had in fact taken tours abroad in their youth, it is very easy to assume that all the hundreds, if not thousands, of young gentlemen who undertook such trips were simply aspiring young careerists sent abroad by their ambitious fathers. Such an interpretation, which completely rules out any motivation on the part of the travellers themselves, risks grossly distorting the nature of the phenomenon. For one thing, as Gary Bell has shown, simple experience abroad was fast becoming an insufficient prerequisite for diplomatic service.⁶⁰ For another, many of those who later became diplomats often initially travelled out of curiosity rather than with any clear career ambitions in mind. Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, for instance, conceived a desire to travel abroad 'so I might satisfy that curiosity I long since had to see foreign countries', despite being 25 years old, and

⁶⁰ Gary M. Bell, 'Elizabethan Diplomacy: The Subtle Revolution', in M.R. Thorp and A.J. Slavin (eds.), *Politics, Religion, and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Kirkville, 1994), p. 273.

already married with three children. Herbert did not even utter the usual platitudes about wanting to be of better service to his King and country.⁶¹

Finally, of course, there were all kinds of really rather random reasons why one might travel abroad, which do not fall into any of the categories mentioned thus far. In 1630, for example, John Arrington of Yorkshire had to travel abroad to collect the remains of his brother Ephraim, who had died on his travels.⁶² Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, describes how in 1662, her son married his bride Ann, and ‘they being too young to live together, he went to travel into France’.⁶³ Some travellers simply went abroad to visit friends and relatives, such as the man who went to Paris in 1599 to visit his aunt, who was ‘married to a Frenchman’.⁶⁴ Bartholomew Beston was given permission in 1591 to go to France to bring back the wife he had married while in Brittany.⁶⁵ Others worked as travelling musicians, like Thomas Shakerley, who spent nine years employed as the principal organist to the Bishop of Rome.⁶⁶ Others still travelled to escape mounting debts, like the young Sir John Smith in 1619.⁶⁷ William Goldsmith was so debt-ridden that he fled England without licence in 1593, and headed straight for Alexandria, ‘accounting my miseries the least where I should be least known’.⁶⁸ Then there were the ne’er-do-wells, such as William Pembroke, who had an illicit affair with Mary Fitton, a lady of the Court, and impregnated her, a sin for which he

⁶¹ *The Autobiography of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, ed. C.H. Herford (London, 1928), p. 32.

⁶² *APC*, 11 March, 1630.

⁶³ *Autobiography of Mary Countess of Warwick*, ed. T. Crofton Croker (London, 1848), p. 29.

⁶⁴ *CSPD*, 8 February 1599.

⁶⁵ *APC*, 22 October 1591.

⁶⁶ *CSPF*, 28 December 1561.

⁶⁷ N.E. McClure, ed., *Letters of John Chamberlain* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1939), ii, 255.

⁶⁸ *HMC, Salisbury MSS*, part 4, p. 359.

begged Cecil's permission to go abroad, saying, 'the change of climate may purge me of melancholy, for els I shall never be fitt for any civil society'.⁶⁹

It seems hard to understand why so many generations of historians, coming from so many different perspectives, have all been so keen to categorise and file curiosity travel from 1560 to 1660 under so many different rubrics. The growing interest in taking tours abroad in these years should not just be examined because it tells us important things about the early lives of key political figures. Nor should it just be of interest because it tells us important things about early modern ideas about the education of gentlemen. Nor because it forms a key part of the history of political and religious exile, or of British naval and mercantile history. Nor even because travel diaries form part of an early modern textual construction of 'otherness'. Why has it been so difficult for historians to accept that the growing interest in spending time in foreign countries does not have to be forced into a pre-existing category at all? What would happen if we suggested that England in the century before the Restoration witnessed a steady and significant increase in the numbers of people interested in visiting foreign countries to satisfy their curiosity, and that this burgeoning phenomenon deserves to be studied as a story of its own, rescued and reclaimed from the broader narratives of politics, education, trade, commerce, empire, diplomacy, war, exile, or anything else? Does a social and cultural phenomenon like travel really not deserve a historical analysis exclusively its own?

⁶⁹ *DNB* (Pembroke).

IV

Of course, based on what has been said up to this point, the reader can be forgiven for thinking that this all sounds much like a sketch of the early stages of the 'rise of the Grand Tour'. However, this would be an unfortunate way to look at the problem. It will be seen that what was going on in the years covered by this study was actually part of a larger debate over youth, the education of gentry, and what place, if any, the value of curiosity, leisure or recreation had in any of it. It was, moreover, also a period in which the idea of travel encompassed much more than just a tour of the great monuments of Italy and France by a young gentleman. Travellers went both outside Europe and within Britain with much the same set of ideals that made them interested in travel on the European Continent, and in this much, at least, they were markedly distinct from the Grand Tourists of the eighteenth century. One of the secondary aims of this thesis is to try to push beyond the framework of the Grand Tour, and expand the traditional understanding of curiosity travel.

This will be done, broadly speaking, in three ways. Firstly, attention will be paid to the broader debate over the value of travel for the young, and the rather vigorous genre of advice literature that grew up during these years. This will shed light not only on the response within society to the idea of travelling to satisfy curiosity, but will also tell us interesting things about early modern ideas about youth and education. Secondly, domestic travel will be studied for its links with the major theme. Travellers went to Spa, in the Low Countries, initially for the improvement of their health, but it soon turned into a sort of gathering place for nobility and upper gentry, prompting a growing interest in the exploitation of domestic spa towns, such as Bath, Buxton and Tunbridge. This

phenomenon paralleled increasing calls for the creation of foreign academies in England, so that English travellers would not be compelled to travel abroad as much. And finally, there will be a serious attempt made to dip into the rather enormous subject of travel beyond the borders of Europe – specifically, into the near and middle east. The idea here will be to suggest that travel within Europe should be set in this wider context, and was part of a wider curiosity to see foreign places, European or otherwise.

V

A final word should be said about the scope of the study, and specifically, why the start and end dates of 1560 and 1660 have been chosen. Good cultural history doesn't just draw an arbitrary line and refuse to look at anything even a few years out of those bounds, and I will occasionally refer to evidence from outside the chronological remit of the study if it appears to make a useful or important point. However, a number of factors make 1560 and 1660 particularly appropriate dates on which to begin and end this analysis.

It is important to recognise that the phenomenon under consideration here was an outgrowth of significant changes in ideas and attitudes about education that were taking place in the 1560s. A substantial and rapidly growing number of gentry were sending their sons to university in the Elizabethan period, in the hopes that whatever morsels of learning their offspring might gather there would serve them well in later life.⁷⁰ England's ancient universities, however, were essentially geared towards careers in the church, and were inadequate for the training of gentlemen, who needed to be seen to be

⁷⁰ For more on this, see Rosemary O'Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800* (London, 1982), esp. pp. 81, 90, 95, 100, 104, 105; also Lawrence Stone (ed.), *The University in Society* (Princeton, 1974).

skilled in more genteel pursuits such as archery, fencing, riding, music, and tennis.⁷¹ The opportunity to be educated in this kind of ‘breeding’, unfortunately, was only available in a formal way on the Continent, and particularly in the French academies.

The role of other cultural developments, such as changes in geographic understanding and interest during the Elizabethan period, must also be acknowledged. Louis Wright has written at length about the booming interest in geography in late Elizabethan England, aroused in part by the ‘increasing pressure of business and trade’, and fuelled by Richard Hakluyt, Samuel Purchas, Sir Thomas Smith, and others.⁷² There was indeed a striking growth in interest in foreign places generally – the publication of English translations of classical texts, such as Pliny, Solinus, and Pomponius Mela quickly surpassed by that of contemporary European geographers, such as Botero, Boemus and Olearius. As Jonathan Haynes has effectively argued, strategic considerations of *realpolitik* had for many years ensured that information about foreign lands put across by the putatively ‘learned’ geographic tradition in England lagged well behind the practical knowledge that merchants and missionaries had gathered throughout the Middle Ages, and was only just beginning to catch up.⁷³

And of course, there is a simple tautological reason for beginning a study like this in 1560, and that is the simple fact that this is what the evidence supports. It was really not until the later sixteenth century that significant numbers of travellers even suggested that there might be a value to travel for its own sake, or admitted to a desire to satisfy their own curiosities, and it was also the first time that anyone began openly debating what value there might be in travel abroad, and what might be the right way to do it.

⁷¹ For more on this see, e.g., Hugh Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen* (London, 1970), pp. 15-28.

⁷² Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 533-5.

⁷³ Haynes, *Humanist*, pp. 28-9.

Furthermore, there are only a handful of passport records available to us from earlier years. This is not to say that such things were completely unheard of before 1560, of course. As early as 1541, William Brooke, Lord Cobham, was licensed to go abroad ‘for his further increase of virtue and learning’ at the age of fourteen.⁷⁴ In the same year, George Basset received a pass to go abroad ‘to learn the language’.⁷⁵ In 1551, Peter Vannes informed the Privy Council that George Throckmorton had arrived in Venice, ‘for to lerne the speche and to get some worldly experience’.⁷⁶ In 1557, John Hambey was allowed to travel beyond seas ‘for the increase of his study in the civil lawes and knowledge in languages’.⁷⁷ As Kenneth Bartlett shows, the first half of the sixteenth century had seen the culmination of a steady development of the importance of Padua in English humanistic education, and the exile forced on many during the Marian period slotted in neatly to this existing phenomenon, strengthening Padua as a destination. But also increasingly, as he shows, by mid-century, Padua was becoming less about serious humanistic education for Englishmen, and more of a destination for the acquisition of gentlemanly skills.⁷⁸ I would suggest that, once this mix of travel patterns had been established, and there was a precedent (or at least a premise) for spending a couple of years in Italy, it became gradually more popular for Englishmen to undertake the journey.

Explaining 1660 as an end date somehow seems intuitively more straightforward.

After all, the Restoration is traditionally seen as the threshold of ‘civil’ society and the Grand Tour on the Continent, not to mention of commercial exploitation in the east.

⁷⁴ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J Gairdner *et al.*, (21 vols., London, 1862-1910), xv, 76.

⁷⁵ Brewer and Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, xvi, 258.

⁷⁶ PRO, SP 68/7, no. 354.

⁷⁷ *CPR, Eliz.*, i, 415.

⁷⁸ Kenneth R. Bartlett, ‘Worshipful Gentlemen of England: The *Studio* of Padua and the Education of the English Gentry in the Sixteenth Century’, *Renaissance and Reformation* 6 (1982), 235-48.

Certainly by mid-century, the idea of taking a tour on the Continent had become a firmly established custom, and that is precisely the moment at which a study of this kind draws to a natural close. It is at the very point when people start using the words ‘Grand Tour’ and everyone abroad starts following a predictable pattern that a study like this one must come to an end. Nevertheless, the 1640s and 1650s, marked by the Civil War and the Interregnum, are decades that must be treated with some sensitivity. War has a tendency to be a distraction from just about everything else in life, and the question of exile during the Puritan Republic also complicates the picture somewhat. My approach to this has been not to stop at 1640, which might have been a little more straightforward if ultimately less satisfying, but instead to include the two turbulent decades in order to demonstrate just how fully the ‘pattern of a method’ had become established.⁷⁹ Exiles, as we have already seen, are not necessarily just exiles, and extending the study to 1660 helps demonstrate just how much a method for curiosity travel was well in place by the 1640s, and just how hard it can be to distinguish their activities and writings from those of supposedly ‘pure’ travellers. By 1655, Thomas Culpeper could write that ‘the humour of the age I live in,... takes it for granted, that such as travel not, have scarce liberal education’.⁸⁰ Margaret Cavendish wrote cantankerously in 1662, that, ‘you think your Sons not well Bred, unless you send them to Travel into Forein Nations, to see and understand Fashions, Customs, and Manners of the World’.⁸¹ The practice of taking a tour abroad was so solidly in place by 1640 that not even two civil wars and eleven years of republican rule could shake it.

⁷⁹ While qualitative evidence will be drawn from throughout the period, the passport analysis from which all the quantitative data in this work are drawn will only go up to 1640, simply because *APC*, from which the majority of passes come after 1612, in effect ceases to exist after this date.

⁸⁰ T[homas] C[ulpeper], *Morall discourses and essayes* (London, 1655), p. 66.

⁸¹ Margaret Cavendish, *Orations of divers sorts, accommodated to divers places* (London, 1662), p. 73.

Indeed, one of the leitmotifs of this study is the suggestion that the years around 1660 saw, in the words of John Stoye, ‘the triumph of a convention’ and that it is important to look at the preceding century in order to understand how that came to be the case. However, it will be rapidly obvious that this is not a study that aims to present the story of English travellers between 1560 and 1660 as a narrative. Rather, the subject is considered thematically from one chapter to the next, though trends and developments are treated in a chronological fashion where appropriate. This is obviously not intended to suggest that the situation was the same in 1560 as it was in 1660, or to present the picture of a completed phenomenon. However, I have chosen to introduce chronological change only interstitially, rather than allow it to be a driving force in the presentation of the material. It is hoped that this decision will allow thematic questions to assert themselves more fully throughout.

The dissertation is divided into three broad sections. The first part will be devoted to answering some of the more basic questions about the tour itself. What, for instance, was the relationship of the traveller to the early modern State? Who actually travelled? Where did they go and what were their journeys actually like? Part Two moves us away from the descriptive and into the prescriptive, and takes a closer look at the debate over the value of travel for the young, and the active genre of advice literature that accompanied travellers at all stages of their adventures, with particular focus on the themes of curiosity and youth – both seen as dangerous aspects of the new phenomenon by its critics. Finally, the third part of this thesis is aimed at breaking out of the mould of the ‘Grand Tour’, and probing the cultural boundaries of the phenomenon laid out up to

that point. The last two chapters ask to what extent domestic travel, spas and baths, and travel to the East can be fitted into the 'pattern of a method'.

Indeed, when Dallington first used those words in 1604, referring to tours of France or 'other Countries wherein you shall travel', it is a safe bet that he was thinking of Italy and the Low Countries, rather than Persepolis or Tunbridge Wells. But within just a few years, the cat would be out of the bag, and English travel would begin to take on a form unimagined a generation or two earlier. How exactly this came to be the case seems a story worth telling.

PART ONE – THE FACTS

Chapter 1 – The Traveller and the State

Before actually going anywhere, the would-be traveller would have had to obtain a licence to travel. This had been the case at least since 1381, when the statute of 5 Richard II, stat.1, c.2, had made it unlawful for any common subject to ‘pass out of the... Realm without the King’s special Licence... except only the Lords and other Great Men of the Realm, and true and notable Merchants, and the King’s Soldiers... upon Pain of Forfeiture of all their Goods’.¹

The statute had been written and enacted as a way of controlling the flow of silver and gold out of the kingdom through the hands of unscrupulous merchants, but a strict reading of the law meant that, even 200 years later, anyone other than soldiers, noblemen, and established traders had a legal obligation to obtain the Crown’s permission before removing himself to parts ‘beyond the seas’. In practice, this limitation affected not only the casual traveller, but also his tutors and servants, as well as students, scientists, physicians, adventurers, musicians, occasional merchants, visiting family members, and even diplomatic emissaries and their servants. Since no trip could begin until this obligation had been met, it makes for an obvious starting point for our analysis of what was involved in travelling abroad.

The continuing applicability of this fourteenth-century statute raises a number of important questions for this study. To begin with, what exactly was the process of obtaining permission to go beyond seas? What kinds of people got involved in the issuing and inspecting of licences, for instance, and what did travellers have to do in order to obtain them? Moreover, why did early modern governments express so much concern over the regulation of travel? Why, in other words, would a 1381 mercantile statute suddenly become so extremely relevant in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries? Finally, did the

¹ *The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. A. Luders, T. Edlyn Tomlins, J. France, WE. Taunton, and J. Raithby, (12 vols., London, 1810-28), ii, 17-18.

government's attitude to travellers change over time, and if so, what might such a change tell us about changes in more general perceptions of the role of travel and travellers in society?

I – The licensing process

It is clear from the sources that the illegality of going beyond the seas without a licence was taken extremely seriously, and that 5 Rich II, stat.1, c.2, was not open to negotiation. What is less obvious from the records, though, is exactly how one was expected to go about obtaining such a licence. Nor is it always clear which authorities were invested with the power to issue licences, or who else was entrusted to become involved in the process of regulating travel abroad. The 1381 statute, with its reference to 'true and notable Merchants', had essentially been intended as little more than a handy rule of thumb for regulating the movements of shadowy traders who were not familiar to the authorities, and there are some signs well into the reign of Elizabeth of a residual tendency to think of unlicensed travel as a matter of mercantile activity. As late as August 1570, for instance, after a handful of English were apprehended for attempting to leave the country without a licence, it was the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers who was asked to provide evidence against them before an ecclesiastical commission. This was possibly because it had been his men who had noticed the irregularity in the first place, or possibly even because the transgressors had tried to pass themselves off as 'true and notable Merchants'.² But this sort of thing became less common as the Privy Council began to scrutinise the activities of unlicensed travellers more closely and more directly, and view their regulation as an essential question of state security.

The authority for issuing a licence to travel lay at least nominally with the Crown, and therefore in practice with the Council. Large numbers of such licences can be found recorded

² *APC*, 3 August 1570. For more on the history of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, see Douglas R. Bisson, *The Merchant Adventurers of England* (Newark, 1993).

in the *Acts of Privy Council* and the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*. The chain of command, however, could be a long one, and, just as the Council saw itself as an agent of the Crown, so too did England's several port authorities see themselves as agents of the Council.³ But the ultimate authority for issuing a passport always remained in the hands of monarch and Council, and they keenly resented any suggestion to the contrary. A particularly stinging letter of rebuke, for instance, was sent to Bennet Cubit and John Coldham, the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth, in 1578, when it was discovered that they had been issuing passports to travelling Scotsmen. The bailiffs were accused of 'great presumption, that they, being officers of an inferior place, shoulde take upon them to lycence... strangers for their passing throge the realme, th'authoritie whereof restethe onlie in her Majestie and those of her Privie Councell'. The letter went to on to add, rather menacingly, that 'they are therefore advertised of her Highnes' great misliking of their overboldnes in this behaulf, and withall advised to have regarde that hereafter the like faulte be not by them committed, as they... will answeare the contrary uppon their alleageance'.⁴ Apparently, the confused bailiffs had not realised that their licensing powers did not extend to travelling Scots. From the late 1620s especially, it seems the Council began keeping a more watchful eye on the activities of its deputies in the ports. In 1630, the mayor of Dover was strongly reprimanded for what was perceived to be his 'soft touch' on passports. The Council told him pointedly, 'you have diversely failed in the performance of that duety which your place requireth by granting licences to sundry persons to embarque at that Porte without examining them throughly [sic]'.⁵

While the actual issuing of the licences themselves was generally a matter for the Crown and its ministers, it is also clear that, as time went on, more and more people became

³ In fact, 5 Rich II, stat.1, c.2 had specifically authorised the ports of London, Sandwich, Dover, Southampton, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Bristol, Yarmouth, 'St Botolph', Hull, and Newcastle, 'and the other Ports and Passages towards Ireland' to issue licences.

⁴ *APC*, 15 October, 1578.

⁵ *APC*, 19 March, 1630.

involved in various subordinate aspects of the licensing process. In May 1595, the mayor and seven jurates of Fordwich, Kent, wrote to the suffragan bishop of Dover and the Dean of Canterbury, recommending one of the residents of their town, John Fynnett, ‘for a licence to travel into other countries, to better his knowledge in languages, he being a man of good religion, and well affected to prince and country’.⁶ Quite why such a correspondence should have taken place between these particular individuals is unclear, but is a strong indication that, if nothing else, the process of procuring a licence could sometimes involve a number of steps, or letters of reference. Moreover, it appears that, sometime around the turn of the century, commissions began to be issued for the examining of passengers at ports – something which was the *ex officio* responsibility of the Warden of the Cinque Ports – with the idea of catching unlicensed travellers pretending to be regular merchants. A 1599 letter from Lord Cobham to Cecil makes mention of ‘the Commissioners for the restraint of passengers’ at Sandwich, and in 1608 Cobham’s successor as Warden, the Earl of Northampton, was commissioned to examine all who passed the Cinque Ports, and to administer oaths.⁷ The following year, Northampton appointed a set of commissioners for Winchelsea, Brightlingsea, and Birchington, ‘to examine all persons who offer to embark or land in that neighbourhood, rather than at Dover, Rye, or Sandwich’. He also specified that the new commissioners should ‘bring such as they shall find suspicious before Sir Thomas Waller, Lieutenant of Dover Castle’.⁸ Often, though, it seemed the introduction of such commissioners created more problems for regular travellers and merchants than it solved for the State. In 1622, ‘diverse his Majestie’s poore subjectes that have dayly occasion to passe over the seas’ complained that there were never enough commissioners present at the custom house at the port of London to give permission, several having died and not been replaced.⁹

⁶ *CSPD*, 20 May 1595.

⁷ *CSPD*, 21 May 1608, 10 October 1608.

⁸ *CSPD 1598-1601*, 8 February 1599; *CSPD*, 21 January 1609.

⁹ *APC*, 20 November, 1622.

Over time, port authorities such as the Lieutenant of Dover Castle or the mayors of port towns appear to have become something like *de facto* regional passport offices, as the Council began resorting to a number of measures for the subcontracting of the licensing process.¹⁰ Passes were still being issued by the Council itself, but more and more port authorities and lesser officials were granted commissions for the writing of licences, as the Council sought to distance itself from what must have increasingly seemed a cumbersome process. Commissions for the port of London were granted in 1606, and a special proclamation clarifying that merchants and ‘men of quality’ were exempt from taking the oath of allegiance upon their return there was issued in 1608.¹¹

After 1630, especially, the process of commissioning port authorities for the issuing of licences seems to have gathered momentum, as significant steps were being taken towards standardising the entire process and making it more efficient. In February 1630, the Mayors and other Officers of Bristol, Beaumaris, Chester, Liverpool, and Workington were added to a growing list of authorities with the power to administer oaths and grant licences to travellers, ‘causing their names to be entered in a book’.¹² And increasingly the Council took an interest in ensuring that the process was the same all over the country.¹³ In April 1630, for instance, Secretary Dorchester wrote to the Attorney General, asking that a recent grant of the office of Clerk of the Passes that had been given to Patrick Crawford and Matthew Birkenhead for Bristol, Beaumaris, Chester, Liverpool, and Workington, should be rewritten with the specific stipulation that ‘the fees should be the same as in London, and that the clerks should take a certain oath’.¹⁴ In 1631, Crawford and Birkenhead asked for their commissions to be renewed, and by 1634, they had appointed their own deputies for ports of

¹⁰ CSPD, 27 July 1630.

¹¹ CSPD, 29 August 1606, 29 April 1608.

¹² CSPD, 11 February 1630.

¹³ CSPD, 11 February 1630.

¹⁴ CSPD, 24 April 1630.

‘North and South Wales,... Chester,... Neston, Helbury, and other places’.¹⁵ An exasperated and overwhelmed Crawford even asked the Lords of the Admiralty to authorise ministers, constables and churchwardens with the power to administer the oath of allegiance, ‘by reason that the former commissioners are far distant from the places where passengers continually embark’.¹⁶

Despite the accelerating pace of delegation, of course, it was always clear who was in charge, as the lesser authorities did not hesitate to refer questionable cases back to the central government. In 1624, Secretary Conway was informed that ‘Lord Zouch refuses a pass to Sir Kenelm Digby and Simon Digby to join the Earl of Bristol at Calais, unless they can obtain a licence from one of the King’s secretaries’. The Digby brothers’ ‘earnestness in pressing for a passage, and their attempts to bribe the searcher to wink at their going over without licence, make his Lordship the more suspicious’.¹⁷ Moreover, the whole system could always be vulnerable to the periodic fits of paranoia experienced at Westminster. In November 1630, for example, the Council, with the King present, decreed that new rules of engagement were about to be enacted: sons of noblemen would have to receive their licences ‘under his Majesties signature’, while gentry and lesser travellers would now have to be interviewed in Council by one of the King’s principal secretaries before being given a licence.¹⁸ And occasionally, perhaps just in a nod to tradition, a licence issued under the Privy Seal would be written to sound as if it came directly from the King’s person, as in 1637, when ‘safe conduct under the King’s hand and seal’ was given to one ‘George Porter, gentleman, about to travel into France, Spain, and other parts beyond seas’.¹⁹

What is more striking is that, even as the passport process was being farmed out to far-flung port authorities, the Council was also working on improving its own central

¹⁵ *CSPD*, 23 June 1631, 14 July 1634

¹⁶ *CSPD*, 14 July 1634.

¹⁷ *CSPD*, 1 May 1624.

¹⁸ *APC*, 8 November, 1630.

¹⁹ *CSPD*, 13 October 1637.

machinery for the issuing of licences. In 1630, it created the office of a resident clerk in Westminster whose sole job it would be to write up licences ‘to persons going abroad’, naming Edward Thoroughgood as the first occupant of the office.²⁰ In January 1636, however, the Council’s experiment with devolution came to an end, as a nasty turf war broke out over who exactly was responsible for what. On one side of the battle were Patrick Crawford’s widow, Millicent Birkenhead, her brother Matthew, and Thoroughgood, who apparently sided with them. Crawford and Birkenhead had been a thorn in the side of the Council for several years, complaining that they had sunk their life savings into obtaining the newly created posts, but that widespread abuse of the licensing process had meant that they had seen little or no return. Crawford especially had made unusual demands from time to time, such as asking for a law requiring innkeepers to send written details of their guests’ travel plans to the clerks of the passes. Now, it seemed, one Thomas Mayhew had had enough of the whingeing, and was determined the Council should give him Thoroughgood’s job. Thoroughgood and the Birkenheads petitioned the King directly over the matter, claiming Mayhew had trumped up ‘some unjust pretence’ to press his case forward.

In the end, the Council settled the matter in Mayhew’s favour, giving him a 21-year grant for ‘the office of writing and entering passes granted in all the ports of England and Wales... and for keeping a register of such persons as depart this kingdom, with such fees as have heretofore been received for the same’.²¹ At least part of Mayhew’s motivation might be guessed at: about five months after he took over his new role, just about the time the popular Spa season would have been getting underway, the Council received a complaint that ‘passports... have of late been very much enhanced in price’.²² Though the details of this dispute remain murky, what is clear is that the licensing of travellers had become a rather significant, even lucrative, function of the State, but one which had grown too unwieldy and

²⁰ *CSPD*, 19 November 1630.

²¹ *CSPD*, 4 January 1636, 21 January 1636.

²² *CSPD*, 25 June 1636.

too complicated to occupy the day-to-day business of the Council itself. Though unusual cases were still heard by Privy Councillors, who would anyway have retained ultimate authority over the process, their main concern was now with how best to automate the system and make it function smoothly. Mayhew, apparently, was in the right place at the right time.

Perhaps it is inevitable that with more standardisation and more subcontracting came a greater degree of carelessness and dishonesty. In March 1630, charges were brought against William Jones, clerk of the passage at Dover, to the effect that ‘he did not keep a proper register; that he allowed women and children to pass without licences; that he offered passes to men of quality, befriended priests’. The charges against Jones were brought by Sir Edward Dering, the lieutenant of Dover Castle, who claimed that, on top of everything, Jones had even accepted a counterfeit licence purportedly written out by Dering himself.²³ Patrick Crawford could constantly be heard complaining to the Council or to the Lords of the Admiralty of ‘the obstinate disobedience of owners and masters of ships’, and begging that ‘all shipmasters may be bound in 100*l.* not to transport passengers without their having taken [the oath of allegiance]’.²⁴ Crawford later downgraded the request to £50, but still was ignored.²⁵ By 1636, as we have seen, Crawford had died, and his responsibilities, along with those of port authorities throughout the kingdom, reverted to the central government under the stewardship of Thomas Mayhew. Throughout the 1630s, the Council was engaged in a delicate balancing act, measuring its desire to automate, devolve, and simplify the process of licensing travellers, against its very real desire not to lose accountability or allow widespread abuse of the system. It is a fascinating glimpse into how the State was eventually forced to deal with the growing popularity of foreign travel.

²³ *CSPD*, March 1630.

²⁴ *CSPD*, 14 July 1634.

²⁵ *CSPD*, August 1634.

II – *Fear and loathing*

While it is sometimes less than clear who was issuing the licences, it is readily apparent that the growing numbers of travellers was making the enforcement of 5 Rich II, stat.1, c.2, a considerable task, occupying a significant portion of the government's time and energy. It is worth stopping here to ask what might have motivated the State to be so rigid in its control of travellers, and so strenuous in its enforcement of a 200-year-old statute. What exactly was the government so worried about?

Of course, far and away the greatest fear that the idea of travelling gentlemen inspired in Elizabethan and early Stuart governments came from the possibility that they might be attracted to Catholicism while abroad, and tempted to convert, thus effectively breaking their bond of allegiance to their King and country. Hence the repeated emphasis on the Oath of Allegiance. Of the 1,900-plus travel licences recorded in the State Papers and Acts of Privy Council throughout the period, 1,049 went out of their way to rule out explicitly any travel to Rome. Those records that did not mention the proviso, it must be assumed, would have contained it on the actual licence itself, the scribe perhaps being too lazy to copy such routine information into the State Papers or the Council Register. Travel to Rome was, at least officially, out of the question, and a vast network of spies ensured that any Englishman spotted taking in the sights of the Eternal City would be swiftly reported to the authorities back home.²⁶

The degree of fear exhibited by the State oscillated during the century under consideration, largely as a reflection of changes in political events. In the uncertain early years of Elizabeth's reign, for instance, passports tended to carry the proviso that the traveller was not to 'resort into the territories or company of the queen's enemies', and cautioned that

²⁶ Alan Haynes, *The Elizabethan Secret Services* (Stroud, 2000), p. 183, *et passim*.

‘after one year he may be recalled by letters of the queen, her ambassadors or six of the Privy Council’.²⁷ Within a few years, though, the language was toned down, and licences carried only the simple proviso that the traveller was not to go to Rome. After the cessation of hostilities with Spain in 1604, there appears to have been a significant spike in the numbers of subjects requesting, and being granted, permission to travel beyond seas. So much so that in April 1608, a proclamation was issued requiring all travellers to take the Oath of Allegiance on their return into English ports, with the exception of ‘knowen Merchants or men of some qualitie’ (the latter would have already taken the oath before their departure).²⁸ Two years earlier, the Council had begun entrusting local worthies around London and the Cinque Ports with the task of administering the Oath of Allegiance to women and children going abroad, as well as just to adult male travellers.²⁹ And from 1610, all travellers over 18 had to swear their allegiance to James I (7 James I, c.6). From around 1626, as England again plunged into war against Spain, licences began carrying the expanded proviso that the traveller should not go ‘to Rome nor to any partes within the dominions of the king of Spaine’. And in the 1630s, there again seemed to be an enormous concern with the religious conformity of travellers – enough for the Council to issue an order reminding its members that when approving a licence for travel, ‘to speake with the partie who demandes it, and take particular information of his Religion and condition’.³⁰ By the middle years of the 1630s, the State Papers were increasingly filled with special certificates issued to indicate that a traveller had taken the oath of allegiance. The certificates can usually be found recorded in the State Papers a couple of days before the pass itself is issued, and set down as separate and distinct documents – a strong signal that the oath was no longer to be thought of as a casual

²⁷ See, for instance, *CPR, Elizabeth*, i, 54, 288.

²⁸ *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, ed. James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (Oxford, 1973), i, 184-5.

²⁹ *CSPD*, 29 August 1606. It was not unheard-of for female travellers to exploit their special status in the service of dubious aims. In 1570, Etheldred Thorneborough was apprehended for attempting to transport herself, one Nicholas Thorneborough, and others, without a licence. She was examined as the ringleader by the ecclesiastical authorities. *APC*, 3 August 1570.

³⁰ *APC*, 8 November, 1630.

formality.³¹ These new certificates of allegiance appear to have been administered by one William Gifford, indicating that the Council saw the administration of the oath as a significant enough task to be farmed out.³²

It would be unfair, of course, to dismiss the fears of Elizabethan and early Stuart rulers and councils as simply a fluctuating and, in the end, ill-founded sense of paranoia about the religious conformity of their subjects. The history of Europe throughout this period is marked by a long-simmering cold war between Christian confessions, punctuated rather frequently by overt hostilities between nations. And it should be remembered that the tightly knit communities of English religious exiles were all too willing to provide a nurturing home from home to any potential or recusant English Catholic going beyond seas. Conversions while abroad were not uncommon, and impressionable youths often returned telling stories of caring priests who had changed their lives.³³

It is not hard to find examples of young travellers who turn out to be recusant Catholics setting out to deceive the authorities about the exact nature of their travels. An abstract of the Privy Council Register for December 1594 notes that ‘about this time diverse youthes [were] intercepted that were about to passe over the seas to bee brought upp in Seminaries there’.³⁴ And in 1599, ‘a yonge youth, one Edward Hinges’, was apprehended at Dover for trying to return to England without taking the oath of allegiance, after a period at the Catholic seminary in Douai. What is striking about Hinges’ case is that he appears to have sneaked off to Douai for six months, without his parents or anyone else even knowing about it: ‘his parentes being persons well knowne do affirme his going over to be without their privyete and seeme to be desirous of his conformyete’, reads the letter from the Council to the

³¹ Previously a traveller’s sworn allegiance would have been recorded as an afterthought to the licence, if it was mentioned at all.

³² *CSPD* 1635-1636, *passim*.

³³ Cardinal Barberini, for instance, was especially well-known for his kindness and courtesy to English travellers in Rome. See, e.g., Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion* (Geneva, 1985), pp. 41-2.

³⁴ BL Additional MS 11402, fol. 62v.

Bishop of London.³⁵ In November 1618, James I revoked an earlier licence granted to the Earl of Argyll to go to Spa, and demanded his immediate return, ‘because whilst abroad, he has renounced the Protestant religion, and associated with the King’s rebels’.³⁶ In January 1630, John Good, esquire, had been issued with a licence ‘to travill in forraigne partes’ for three years. His pass was recorded with those of two other travelling gentlemen, and bore all the hallmarks of a licence for tourism, but it soon became clear that his intentions were far less innocent. At the end of August, only three months after leaving England, Good was apprehended at Dover, trying to return without first taking the oath of allegiance to James. Two other disloyal subjects were arrested the same day at Dover, ‘pretend[ing] to be merchants’.³⁷

Though catching slippery recusants was an important priority for the Council, it was also not unusual for a young man to initiate his travels out of a heartfelt curiosity for foreign lands, and find himself gradually and unexpectedly taken in by the temptations of Catholicism while abroad. How typical, one is left to wonder, was the advice of Henry Slingsby’s father in 1610, when he openly encouraged his son’s tutor to allow him to attend Catholic mass while on his travels ‘when he cannot have meanes to goe to the protestante’, in the belief that the opportunity to hear good French spoken was more important than a strict adherence to liturgical niceties?³⁸ This easy intermingling of faiths on the Continent surely justified the Council’s worst fears.

Probably the most detailed and revealing glimpse into how a young man’s religious scruples could be compromised on his tour comes from the confessions of Tobie Matthew. Son of the Archbishop of York, and a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford, and Gray’s Inn, the young Tobie had always been suspected by his mother of harbouring a secret affinity for the

³⁵ *APC*, 28 March 1599. This, of course, might well be a lie on the part of the parents, but the fact that it could be employed as a credible excuse gives some idea of the extent of secretive travel on the part of Catholics.

³⁶ *CSPD*, 15 November 1618.

³⁷ *APC*, 30 January 1630; *CSPD*, 1 September 1630.

³⁸ *Diary of Henry Slingsby*, ed. Daniel Parsons (London, 1836), p. 261.

Catholic faith. But she was ‘puritanically inclined’, as the *DNB* puts it, and the young man insists that when he set sail, he ‘had not then the least inclination to the catholic religion’.³⁹ Throughout his confessions, he says again and again that his only interest in going to Italy was ‘to gratify his wandering curiosity’, and that when he ran into English Catholic exiles in Florence, some ‘began to speak to him about religion: but he would never so much as hear them’.⁴⁰ He claims that he first began to doubt his faith when he came across a country peasant openly weeping during his afternoon prayers in a ‘mean little church’ – a church, he hastens to add, that he had visited only ‘to satisfy his curiosity’. He was then further struck at hearing the account of a Protestant Englishman, who swore he had been eyewitness to a minor miracle – the liquefaction of St Januarius’ blood in Naples.⁴¹ Matthew then relates the kindnesses of Robert Parsons, the great English Jesuit priest in Rome, and the extraordinary courtesy that Cardinal Pinelli, the head inquisitor of the city, paid to him. Matthew again insists that ‘amusements and the curiosities of the city took up his time here’, and that it was only after reading a book recommended by Parsons that he found himself struggling, ‘in his heart no earnest Protestant, though not a catholic’ either.⁴² It was only after he went to hear Lenten sermons – though, again, simply ‘out of curiosity and a desire of learning the language’ – that he eventually found he could resist the true faith no longer.⁴³

Matthew’s confessions should obviously be taken with a large tablespoon of salt, as it would have been in his interest to convince the authorities that he had not travelled in open defiance of his sworn allegiance to the King, and that his conversion had only come about with the greatest of reluctance and resistance on his part. However, if nothing else, a narrative like Matthew’s would have made a powerful impression on the Privy Council, and would no

³⁹ *DNB* (Matthew); *The Life of Sir Tobie Maethews* [sic], ed. Alban Butler (London, 1795), p. 4.

⁴⁰ Butler, *Maethews*, pp. 3, 4. Butler’s ‘description’ of Tobie Matthew’s confession is all that remains of the original MS. As a result, all quotes from Butler here, even when Matthew appears to be speaking, are in the third person.

⁴¹ Butler, *Maethews*, pp. 4, 5.

⁴² Butler, *Maethews*, pp. 7, 9.

⁴³ Butler, *Maethews*, p. 9.

doubt have served as a convenient piece of ammunition for those who maintained that no good could come of travelling to satisfy one's 'curiosity'.

III – *Change over time*

Early modern governments, and especially those of the Tudor period, had a relationship with their subjects that we would today consider rather strikingly paternalistic. The so-called 'Jacobethan consensus', which lasted well into the reign of James I, saw the King consistently described as a father figure in an extended family, or, in some analogies, the head of a body, with his subjects compared to his limbs – a view of allegiance still strongly held in some quarters well into the Civil War and beyond.⁴⁴ Much of the history of early modern travel seems to tempt us towards a rather neat conclusion: that the years between 1560 and 1660 saw the act of foreign travel move from being part of a relationship of servitude between monarch and subject to a more individual act of self-improvement for young gentlemen – from, as Lawrence Stone puts it, 'public duty to private oration'.⁴⁵ And indeed, at first glance, much of the evidence seems to support this conclusion. It is, for instance, true that Elizabethan travellers went abroad more explicitly at the monarch's pleasure and grace, and could be recalled at any time, whereas the sheer number of travellers from, especially, the 1610s onwards meant that the regulation and control of travel became a necessarily more bureaucratic and less personal affair. This allowed more breathing room to travellers who had no real ambition to pursue a career at court the chance to explore foreign

⁴⁴ See, for instance, Edward Forset, *A comparative discourse of the bodies naturall and politique* (London 1606); James I, *The true lawe of free monarchies* (London, 1598); Lancelot Andrewes, 'A sermon preached before his maiestie, on Sunday the fifth of August last [1610]', in *XCVI Sermons by the Right Honourable and Reverence Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes* (London, 1641) p. 798; John Buckeridge, *De potestate papae in rebus temporalibus* (London, 1614) p. 531; George Carleton, *Jurisdiction regall, episcopall, papall* (London, 1610) pp. 12-13. For more on patriarchy and kingship see Kevin Sharpe, 'Private Conscience and Public Duty in the Writings of James VI and I', in John Morrill, Paul Slack, and Daniel Woolf, eds., *Public Duty and Private Conscience* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 77-100; also Johann Sommerville, *Politics and Ideology* (London, 1986). And for the changing language of allegiance under Charles I, see Michael Mendle, *Henry Parker and the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1995); and Glen Burgess, *Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution* (New Haven, 1996).

⁴⁵ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 692-4.

lands and seek self-improvement. John Stoye is in no doubt that what he calls the ‘vigilant paternalism of Tudor and early Stuart administration’ quickly waned over the course of the seventeenth century. He notes that the ‘incidental intelligence’ demanded about the movement of travellers became ‘rare indeed’ after the 1620s, and argues that

The change is a simple indication that during the first half of the seventeenth century the historian seems to be moving steadily away from a period in which public and private affairs were hardly distinguishable to the government and the dominant classes of society and into a period in which the distinction was accepted.⁴⁶

The exact degree to which this picture of things survives under further scrutiny, however, is a question worth exploring in greater depth.

Certainly it is true that under Elizabeth, the traveller’s first official duty remained to his Queen and country. Upon his return, particularly if he came from the higher orders of society, he was expected to apply his newly developed skills, such as his command of foreign languages and his knowledge of other systems of government, in the service of his country – whether through a prominent position at Court, or in some other way. While abroad, some travellers might even be expected to send back regular intelligence reports to the Privy Council, detailing everything from political developments to foreign troop movements to the activities of other English subjects abroad. It was on this tacit understanding, after all, that most Tudor travellers had been allowed to venture abroad in the first place.⁴⁷ By the middle of the seventeenth century, the State had largely abandoned the idea that foreign travel was exclusively a training ground for a later career in the foreign service or that its travelling subjects might form some vast espionage network. It would be easy to assume, therefore, that by some point in the middle of James’ reign the Council had essentially stopped paying much attention to the activities of gentlemen travellers, and that the act of spending time abroad had

⁴⁶ John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad* (London, 1952), p. 17.

⁴⁷ See, for instance, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith (2 vols., Oxford, 1907), i, 8; *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding (7 vols., London, 1861-72), vi, 43; Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902), pp. 120, 123-5; Stoye, *English Travellers*, *passim*. Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden, 1995), p. 3, comments on how travellers might perform ‘freelance intelligence work for the Privy Council’ while abroad.

made the radical shift from being an act of national service to an act of personal improvement.

The exact degree to which this basic view of things holds up under examination can be clarified by a closer look at the mechanisms of control of travellers, and how they were or were not frustrated. Indeed, ‘paternalism’ may not be the best choice of word at all – ‘rigid control’ might be more appropriate. Throughout the period under question, various special measures had been taken to restrict travel, and control over travellers had taken many unusual and often rather random forms. Travellers were often singled out for special treatment if their activities raised suspicions, even if, as was often the case, they had already been issued with licences. In 1574, the Privy Council had taken a bond of £2000 from Lord Stourton, simply as a way of ensuring ‘that he shold not, for one yere to cum, departe the realme without her Majesties speciall licence’.⁴⁸ In 1590, a letter was sent by the Council to one Edward Mummings, esq., hastily retracting a licence, ‘requiring him not only to forbear to departe oute of the Realme by authorytie of a licence graunted him from the Quene’s Majesty to departe beyond the seas, but also uppon the receipt hereof to make his undelayed repaire hether to the Court to aunswer to suche matter as shalbe objected’.⁴⁹ And on 27 July, 1630, the King, ‘being informed of notable abuses at this time in licences for travel,... stops licences which have been granted since the beginning of the present progress, that is, from 14 July... and especially desires... to stay one granted to Lord Chaworth, or if it be delivered, to let his Lordship know that he is not to make use of it till his Majesty’s further pleasure be known’.⁵⁰

Although fully licensed travellers were occasionally recalled under unusual circumstances, far more of the Council’s energy went into disciplining unlicensed travel, and handling general abuses of the system. Frequent measures were taken to search out and punish unlicensed travellers, who were perceived to be a very large problem, and this was

⁴⁸ *APC*, 17 February, 1574.

⁴⁹ *APC*, 24 February, 1590.

⁵⁰ *CSPD*, 27 July 1630.

common across the whole period under consideration. In 1580, the Council sent a letter to all bishops in England and Wales, asking them ‘to take bondes of the parentes and frindes of suche yong gentlemen and others of her Majesties subjectes as are presentlie beyond the seas with out lycence’.⁵¹ In 1615, a lengthy letter was sent to the Attorney General, expressing concern that laws intended to keep recusant Catholics from going abroad to study at seminaries simply were not working. In an exasperated tone, the Council noted that ‘notwithstanding the strict lawes and statutes provided for restraynt of children and youthes to passe over beyond the seaes... the same is daylie practised’, and asked for a proclamation to be drawn up ‘for the putting the lawes in those cases provided in due execution’. In an unusual step, the letter even called for a reward to be offered to anyone who ‘shall at any tyme hereafter discover either the conveying away or exportacion of money or the unlawfull sending over of youthes and children’.⁵² In 1635, yet another proclamation was issued, this time clarifying that ‘all the King’s subjects (other than soldiers, mariners, merchants and their factors, and apprentices,) are prohibited to pass out of England, without licence of the King, or of six or more of the Council, whereof one of the King’s principal secretaries to be one, under such corporal and other pains and penalties as by law may be inflicted upon them’.⁵³ Nearly a year later, the Council reminded ‘all customers and officers of ports throughout England and Wales’ of the same proclamation, and asked for their special assistance in upholding the law.⁵⁴ And again in 1636, the Council wrote to all port authorities in England and Wales, asking them to be particularly vigilant with captains of ships passing through port, and insisting that, ‘before they deliver them cockets [i.e., permission to pass] they shall take bond in 100*l.* to carry over no passengers but such as shall take the oath of allegiance’.⁵⁵

⁵¹ *APC*, 16 December, 1580.

⁵² *APC*, 24 February 1615.

⁵³ *CSPD*, 21 July 1635.

⁵⁴ *CSPD*, 1 June 1636.

⁵⁵ *CSPD 1636-37*, p.283 [n.d.].

Lest we be tempted to accuse the Council of paranoia, it is worth noting the frequency with which people were caught either trying to leave without licence, or trying to pass off counterfeit licences to the authorities. Abuses of the system were legion, as just a few examples will show. In 1573 the bailiffs and jurates of Hastings were forced to detain a number of travellers that ‘intended to passe the seas’ without licence.⁵⁶ In 1592, Sir Richard Barkley’s son was caught ‘enquir[ing] for shipping at the porte of Southampton with entent to have passed into Germany’ without a licence.⁵⁷ Six years later, the Warden of the Cinque Ports, Lord Cobham, was warned by the earl of Essex ‘to watch for counterfeit passes in all the ports’.⁵⁸ In 1615, the sum of £6 was paid to Matthew Young, the mayor of Rye, ‘for his charges in bringing up of Daniell Harris before their lordships, being apprehended at that porte for offering to goe beyond the seas, not being licensed’.⁵⁹ In 1627, one John Coytmore was taken before the Privy Council for selling counterfeit licences at a cost of up to £20 each.⁶⁰ And, perhaps most strikingly, in 1637, the Council wrote a letter to the mayor and jurates of Rye, expressing thanks for bringing to their attention a searcher who had abused his authority by ‘suffering two English gentlemen to pass without licence’. The Council noted that

It seems by your letter that it has been a common practice amongst the officers of that port to suffer gentlemen to pass without licences upon slender excuses, or upon a ticket only from the Farmers of the Customs at London, which is such an abuse as cannot be answered.⁶¹

One of the most revealing glimpses into what exactly was involved in the process of getting a licence, as well as how easy it could be to cheat the system, comes to us courtesy of Ann Fanshawe, a known royalist attempting to escape to her husband in Paris in the spring of 1659. Being told by her cousin Henry Neville, a justice on the High Court, that he had

⁵⁶ *APC*, 12 May, 1573.

⁵⁷ *APC*, 13 November 1592.

⁵⁸ *CSPD*, 11 February 1598.

⁵⁹ *APC*, 28 April 1615.

⁶⁰ *CSPD*, 17 July 1627.

⁶¹ *CSPD*, 30 September 1637.

consulted Richard Cromwell on her behalf, and that she should stay put and not bother trying to procure a pass, Fanshawe resolved to deceive the authorities. She went to Wallingford, where ‘the office was kept where they gave passes’, and tried to pass herself off as a commoner. ‘With as ill mien and tone as I could express’, Lady Fanshawe told the clerk of the passes that her name was Ann Harrison, and pretended that the sum of a crown that was asked for the licence was a great burden to her, but paid it anyway. Once granted the pass, Fanshawe explains how she doctored the letters to make ‘Harrison’ read ‘Fanshaw’. When she arrived at Dover, the searchers, who recognised her, expressed surprise that she had been granted a pass: ‘I little thought they would give [a] pass to so great a Malignant, especially in such a troublesome time as this’, she quotes one of them as saying. Lady Fanshawe’s experiences with the licensing system reveal how many different people could get involved in the process. Everyone from a clerk in Wallingford to a High Court justice to the Lord Protector himself could be implicated just in obtaining the pass, and then, of course, the searchers at Dover would have to ensure that the traveller was carrying one. Fanshawe’s story, of course, also reveals just how easy it could be for a determined dissident to circumvent the entire process of obtaining a licence to travel.⁶²

The evidence presented up to this point questions the assumption that the government gradually loosened its control over the activities of travellers over time. Indeed, we have already seen how, far from bringing about a *laissez-faire* approach from the authorities, the flourishing number of travellers in the early seventeenth century actually resulted in a more systematic passport and licensing process at the ports of England. But what are we to make of Stone’s suggestion that the government’s *attitude* to travellers gradually changed as time

⁶² *The Memoirs of Anne Lady Fanshawe*, ed. Herbert C Fanshawe (London, 1907), pp. 88-90

went on, and that travel became less a matter for the State and more a matter for private individuals seeking self-improvement and education?

An argument can to some extent be made for this thesis, just by tracing changes in the government's response to the idea of curiosity travel over the course of the century. It is striking, for instance, to look at a long letter from Peter Vannes to the Privy Council, written from Venice in 1551, when the idea of undertaking a foreign tour for pleasure was still relatively unknown. Vannes writes,

Here is arryved a gentilman out of Englande named George Throgmarten bothe (as he sayeth) for to lerne the speche and to get some worldly experience... and to have knowledge of cuntres: and forasmuche as his uncle is cheafe manne about Cardinall Polle I have gyven hym my beste advice howe to order hym selfe in his comunicacon and doinge avoidinge as becumes anne honeste manne, and trewe subyecte to the Kinge and as I canne iudge and perceve he ys of a very gentill nature and honeste conditions, and of a trewe harte towards his Cuntrey willinge to do well and haunt honeste comp[anie?] whereunto I have exhorted hym as mucche as I maye.⁶³

What is remarkable about this letter is that it could never have been written in 1600, or even in 1580. Certainly, as a Throckmorton, and therefore a member of a family with a history of Catholic loyalty, the young George was unlikely to have escaped attention altogether.

Nevertheless, this exchange reveals an unusual degree of interest and energy devoted to one traveller by the Privy Council. The sheer novelty for the Councillors of the idea that someone might travel abroad 'to get some worldly experience' is apparent, and made more so by the Council's response to Vannes, asking him to spy on 'one Dudgeon, a prebendary of Wells, at study either in Padua or some other university', on the assumption that he must be up to no good.⁶⁴ Even well into the 1560s, it was not unusual for a licence to remind its recipient in menacing terms that at any time, 'he may be recalled on account of affairs of state by letters of the queen'.⁶⁵

⁶³ PRO SP 68/7, no.354.

⁶⁴ CSPF, 10 June 1551.

⁶⁵ CPR, Eliz., i, 288.

In fact, it was still possible, even as late as 1579 or 1580, to receive a licence with the words ‘subject to recall at the Queen’s pleasure’ tacked on at the end, but this was becoming less common. By the 1570s, the mood had relaxed a little, and licences gradually began to be issued to what we might call ‘tourists’. The earliest record of such a licence, from 1 July 1576, indicated that it was so the gentlemen in question, William and Richard Harley, could ‘attend their studie’.⁶⁶ That probably was in fact what they were doing, but in later years, such an ‘explanation’ would not have been thought necessary before a pass could be issued to a traveller. As time went on, similar licences would simply make passing reference to ‘the learning of languages’ or ‘the knowledge of foreign parts’ as shorthand for what we would call tourism. As we have already noted elsewhere, out of over 1,900 licences recorded in the *Acts of Privy Council* and *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* between 1560 and 1640, this particular licence for the Harley brothers is the only one to make explicit mention of a formal education, and it is probably no accident that it occurs so early.

In the 1580s and 1590s, government paternalism towards travellers began to take a form far more often discussed by scholars of this subject – that of the expectation of correspondence, advice, and even outright espionage by travellers. ‘Commandments’ were issued by Walsingham and Burghley to young men abroad, and there was a general tenor in the correspondence between travellers and members of the Privy Council that the former were only abroad by the grace and favour of the latter.⁶⁷ In 1581, for instance, Elizabeth had ordered home within four months all Englishmen abroad without licence, and demanded intelligence on those who did not return immediately, an action which would probably have seemed bizarre and unenforceable to her Stuart successors.⁶⁸ And the State Papers are filled

⁶⁶ *APC*, 1 July 1576.

⁶⁷ For more on Walsingham’s espionage networks, esp. after 1581, see Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (3 vols., London, 1925), *passim* and esp. ii, 317-339, 370-1, 400, 419-21, and iii, 287-8; also Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I, A study in power and intellect* (London, 1974), p. 277, and Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveler* (Rutherford, 1986).

⁶⁸ *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (3 vols., New Haven, 1964-9), ii, 482.

with correspondence between travellers and the Privy Council about the movements of foreign armies, the latest continental political intrigues, or even the whereabouts and activities of suspect English travellers. Elizabethan travellers may well have been motivated by a desire to see foreign countries, but to the central organs of the State, they were also potentially part of an elaborate network of foreign intelligence, and they were never to forget their duties.⁶⁹ In July 1584, one traveller, William Stonhouse, wrote cringingly to Walsingham from Paris to thank him for obtaining the Queen's licence for him to travel, and adding that 'Walsyngham's commandments had been to him a buckler of defence and preserved him in all true service and religion towards God, and duty and obedience towards Her Majesty'.⁷⁰ A manuscript written shortly after Walsingham's death, in fact, reveals the extent to which the late principal secretary had relied on gentleman travellers for espionage reports. The author, presumed by Conyers Read to be Robert Beale, suggested that Walsingham's replacement would do well to continue the tradition of maintaining close contact with casual travellers: 'And if ther be anie English Gent[leman] that travelleth into those partes [i.e., Italy], you may require him to advertise you of what he shall heare and he will take it as a great favour at your handes'.⁷¹ And in the 1590s, as Jonathan Woolfson argues convincingly, the earl of Essex took many English travellers under his wing, in an effort to create his own foreign intelligence network and thus dominate the affairs of the Privy Council.⁷²

However, the picture is in reality a little more complicated than this, and we should not be too quick to invest Walsingham's espionage system with more importance than it actually deserves. It was, in many ways, far less developed than might appear initially. To begin with, there is a subtle but important distinction to be made between travellers who were

⁶⁹ For an interesting exposition of how various motivations could be at play, see Jose Bosworth *et al.*, 'William Middleton: Innocent Abroad or Government Spy?', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 72 (2000), 93-107.

⁷⁰ *CSPD*, 7 July 1584.

⁷¹ BL Additional MS 48151, fol. 177, transcribed in Read, *Walsingham*, p. 436.

⁷² Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 131-2.

called on to provide intelligence from time to time and professional agents of the Crown who went undercover and posed as gentleman travellers in Italy and elsewhere. The reality, as Conyers Read has shown, is that the latter probably far outnumbered the former at any given time.⁷³ The fact that Walsingham's spies in Italy posed as travellers, rather than the other way around, simply underscores the fact that there were many English travellers in Italy at the time. Moreover, as Paul Hammer has shown, in the end, travellers were travellers and spies were spies, and rarely the twain did meet.⁷⁴ Hammer shows how Essex occasionally 'enabled' travellers and scholars into a programme of usefulness to the State, and his work on Dr. Henry Hawkyns and Robert Naunton shows the awkwardness with which a potential traveller might be 'uncomfortably transformed into a paid agent'.⁷⁵ But the point is that the cases of men like Naunton are specific and exceptional, and it would be wrong to generalise from them into assuming that Elizabethan travellers were simply glorified agents, frequently or even regularly employed as spies. In fact, Essex's instructions to Naunton are very revealing. Essex took pains to make it clear to the young man that his foremost task was his professional employment as bearer of letters to Ambassador Unton in Paris and Antonio Perez, the Spanish ambassador, and his second most important duty was to prepare himself for future service back home. He was to forget his desire to be a casual traveller. Essex told Naunton to 'let novellanties goe lye in thoroughe feildes, and frequente Martes where they maye write newes and meere schollers seeke foraigne universities where they maye heare new professions and so other libraryes and discoursers or tellers of wonders wander up and downe to satisfye their curiositye'.⁷⁶ Naunton, in other words, had been specifically detached from his desire to be simply a private traveller and propelled into performing a service for Essex. However, such a transformation was not typical, and its 'uncomfortable'

⁷³ Read, *Walsingham*, iii, 287.

⁷⁴ Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Essex and Europe: Evidence from Confidential Instructions by the Earl of Essex, 1595-6', *EHR* 111 (1996), 357-81, and esp. 364-71.

⁷⁵ Hammer, 'Essex and Europe', p. 365.

⁷⁶ University of London Library, MS 187, fol.13r.

nature only serves to underscore its infrequency. The Earl of Essex in the 1590s may have felt the need to circumvent official channels, but Walsingham had enough of his own agents not to have to trifle with mere travellers.⁷⁷

Indeed, it gradually became harder and harder to maintain the fiction that travel abroad was merely a form of service to the State, though certainly many tried. In 1598, Hakluyt felt the balance had shifted enough that his readers needed reminding of their duties: ‘men are borne as well to seeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne private benefite’, he cautioned.⁷⁸ In 1607, James Cleland implored his reader to remember that travel could be both a patriotic duty as well as a voyage of personal discovery, saying that ‘travailing hath ever been esteemed and used, as the principal & best meanes, whereby a young Noble man, or anie other maie profit his Prince, his Countrey, and himselfe’.⁷⁹ By the middle years of the seventeenth century, though, travel abroad had become such a typical part of the upbringing of a gentleman, that no one could seriously pretend that it was simply a form of training for future courtiers or diplomats. In later life, Thomas Bodley sounded almost defensive when he described his decision to travel abroad in his youth as a form of dedication to public service.⁸⁰ And by 1668, Gilbert Burnet, writing on education, took for granted the ‘ordinary way of breeding young gentlemen by sending them to travel’.⁸¹

One rather convincing argument in favour of the idea that the government became less paternalistic towards travellers is the fact that the issuing of passports, and the regulation of travel generally, became more routine as time went on. The most striking illustration of this fact is the steady drift away from licences as a matter for State Papers, and towards seeing them more as a function administered by the Privy Council. Under Elizabeth, virtually

⁷⁷ See also Virginia Stern, *Sir Stephen Powle of Court and country* (Selinsgrove, 1992), pp. 60, 69-94, for another such ‘exception’.

⁷⁸ Richard Hakluyt, ‘Remembrances for Master S’, in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1598, repr. Glasgow, 1904), v, 231.

⁷⁹ James Cleland, *Ηρωπαιλεια, or the Institution of a Young Noble Man* (Oxford, 1607), p. 251.

⁸⁰ Thomas Bodley, *The Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, ... Written by Himselfe* (Oxford, 1647), p. 4.

⁸¹ Gilbert Burnet, *Thoughts on Education* (London, 1761), p. 89.

all licences for travel can be found recorded in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, implying that the activities of travellers were seen very much as a matter for the highest levels of statecraft – activities of which councillors such as Burghley would always want to stay informed. By the 1610s and 1620s, however, very few licences can be found in *CSPD*, with the overwhelming majority instead recorded in the *Acts of the Privy Council*. It is certainly possible to make too much of this fact, but the strong indication is that the granting of permission to travel was increasingly seen as a more formalised function of government – in theory still dispensed by the crown, but no longer a part of the correspondence of specific Council members.

An important watershed here is the death of Robert Cecil in 1612. Cecil, like his father before him, had taken a keen personal interest in the activities of travellers, but after his death, there is a palpable sense that no one was quite sure how to deal with the ever growing number of requests for passports, and the ever larger number of travelling gentlemen on the Continent. In addition to the various ways in which the Council tried to systematise the process, which we have already discussed, a number of official statements were issued, apparently in an attempt to ‘clarify’ for members of the Privy Council the exact procedures for the licensing of travellers – how many members needed to be present, who was authorised to sign a pass, etc. And certainly all such clarifications of the law were still recorded in the State Papers, but the decline in actual licences in the *CSPD* after 1612 is rather a sharp one. There are 16 licences recorded in the State Papers for 1611, but only three in 1612. There are two more in 1614, one in 1619, and then only a smattering in the years after that, concentrated in the later 1630s. The *APC*, by contrast, contains over a thousand passes for the three decades leading up to the Civil War, but fewer than a hundred for the years before the death of Salisbury. Of course, there is the complicating factor here of the lacuna in the *APC*

in 1601-13, which makes it almost impossible to come to any definitive conclusion.⁸² And anyway, we must be careful about how we read the evidence. It would be making a tenuous assumption to say that somehow the State simply cared less about the activities of individual travellers abroad, and the motivations for their trips after 1612 – after all, *APC* is in many ways a more ‘official’ and therefore more ‘important’ place for licences to be recorded. Instead, it seems more plausible to say that they simply needed a more streamlined way to deal with their ever-expanding numbers.

Indeed, if nothing else, the explosion in the sheer numbers of people taking foreign tours meant that the level of custodianship over travellers to which Elizabethan regimes had grown accustomed could not be sustained forever. However, is that the only explanation for why the Privy Council seemed to take a more routinized, even a more detached, view of travelling subjects over time? Are the death of Salisbury and the steady growth in the popularity of the foreign tour enough to explain why travellers were not watched as closely? Or is there some much larger social trend at work here – some great shift away from a ‘private’, patriarchal view of relations between King and subjects, and towards a more ‘public’ and institutional framework? Is it fair to say that late Tudor travellers felt bound by their duty of obedience and saw their travels as a form of service to their monarch, whilst Stuart travellers, freed of such constraints, merely sought to educate themselves about foreign cultures and improve their own personal sense of cultivation? Stone suggests a shift in ideas about the Grand Tour some time in the early seventeenth century – away from an emphasis on producing future statesmen and towards the idea of creating gentlemen. He cites three rather canonical texts of travel advice – Burghley’s precepts for the earl of Rutland (1571), Dallington’s *View of France* (1598), and Francis Bacon’s essay on travel (1597) – noting that ‘in them all the objective of turning out the future ruler is clearly uppermost’. These early

⁸² This lacuna, and ways of dealing with it, will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 3.

advice manuals, says Stone, ask the young man on his travels to take notes on other countries' 'administrative and judicial systems;... the characters and ages of leading courtiers; the state of royal finances; details of the monetary system, the university,... Roman antiquities' and so on. 'What is notable about this programme', he says, 'is the absence of any mention either of the acquisition of courtly accomplishments or an appreciation of contemporary art and architecture. The latter did not become a subject of serious study before the middle years of King James, when men like the Earl of Arundel at last began to look seriously at classical architecture and to make a collection of Renaissance paintings'.⁸³

Stone is probably a little too eager to let the shift in emphasis from public duty to private 'ornation' from 1550 to 1650 stand as fact, and perhaps too quick to accept certain statements at face value. He argues for what he calls 'a new generation of travellers', ushered in in the early years of the seventeenth century – a generation that took to heart what Thomas Palmer in 1606 called "qualities of ornation", namely weapon-handling, music, poetry, dancing, vaulting, running, and "dexterity", as well as to learn languages'. Certainly, it would not be my intention here to claim that a desire for self-improvement and interest in foreign cultures were the real motivating factors all along, or that late Tudor travellers were simply lying about their intentions so they could get passports. It would be wrong to ignore a very obvious shift in emphasis over the period. However, Stone rather casually assumes that, just because some Elizabethan travellers were told that the goal of their tour was to make them better servants to the Crown, then that was exactly the motivation behind most gentlemen's tours of the later sixteenth century. Certainly, the earlier generation of travellers, fewer in number and more on the frontiers of a new phenomenon, may have justified their trips in the context of some lofty desire to make themselves better servants of the crown. However, to pretend that an interest in self-improvement or travel for its own sake was completely absent

⁸³ Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 693-4.

until the seventeenth century seems naïve. It seems hard to understand how someone who argued so vocally that the years from 1560 to 1640 saw ‘the rise of the gentry’, and the subsequent enrolment of their sons in the universities, could then ignore the very real desire that so many gentry families might have had to have their sons sent to France for a bit of polish.

It is far too easy to dismiss or even ignore the role of curiosity as a motivating factor for foreign tours – even for the sixteenth century. Taking late Tudor texts at face value might well lead one to believe that travellers of that period were merely learning how to be future statesmen while Stuart travellers were learning how to be cultured gentlemen. What, though, just to take one example, are we to make of the letters of Henry Erskine to his father in the 1610s, almost all of which have two parts – an update on his personal growth and one on political affairs? The only thing one can say for certain is that for almost every young gentlemen or nobleman travelling at almost any time in this period, there existed both a desire to be a loyal subject and an interest in travel for travel’s sake. Any explanation that purports to show how early modern travellers simply switched from being courtiers in training to being cultured savants some time around 1600, is probably too simple.

Chapter 2 – The Traveller and the Journey

The complex and evolving nature of the traveller's relation with the State is only the first of the three basic questions that Part One attempts to answer about the nature of foreign travel in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Having begun to come to terms with the process of obtaining a passport, and all the historical implications of that process, it is time to turn our attention to who actually travelled and what happened once permission to go beyond seas had been secured.

I – Who travelled?

The first and perhaps easiest point to make about our travellers is that many exhibited what could be described as a generally shiftless, meandering personality. Obviously, it is impossible to generalise from a few descriptive sources, and make sweeping assertions about the thousands of travellers in this period. But one curiously consistent thread to emerge from a look into many travellers' lives is that they possessed a certain distractible and curious nature. Many, it appears, showed great promise as young students, along with striking intellectual capacities, but found themselves too easily distracted from their studies. Examples abound of bright young things who never quite settled into their studies and jetted off on foreign tours instead. John Hickson of Newtown, in the bishopric of Durham, for instance, 'was brought up at school, but disliking it, purposed to travel to get the French tongue'.¹ Arthur Throckmorton, who undertook a tour in 1580-1, had matriculated into Magdalen College, Oxford, at the age of fourteen, but described his time there as a period 'where I was sometime a too much

¹ *CSPD*, 8 February 1599.

careless and negligent student'.² George Courthop excelled at university, but 'did not make an end' of his studies and, despite successfully completing the requirements for his MA, did not bother to take the degree, and instead went off on his travels with the Lord Dacre.³ Sir Stephen Powle was described as a quiet and conscientious student at Oxford and the Middle Temple, but eventually, his legal studies began to seem like a waste of time to him. 'I have small liking for this study which I account for the knowledge rude, for the order confused, and for language barbarous', he wrote.⁴ He became determined to go to Geneva instead, writing to his father in January 1579, emphasising 'the contrarities of his natural disposition to the study of the law: his bashfulness instead of boldness and his taciturnity in place of garrulity'.⁵

William Temple's sister, Lady Giffard, believed her brother's tutor at Cambridge 'would have engaged him in the harsh studies of logick and phylosophy which his humor was too lively to pursue.... At nineteen hee returned home in order to go on his Travels'.⁶ Sir John Reresby explained his desire to travel by saying, 'though I loved reading, and kept what I had learnt, yet I found very little progress in my studies'.⁷ Sir Thomas Chaloner was educated at St Paul's school, and Magdalen College, Oxford, and the DNB notes that he was 'esteemed for his poetical abilities but took no degree'.⁸ Robert Bargrave entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1643 at the age of 14, but apparently showed little interest in his studies, taking the first opportunity to sail to the Levant in a

² A.L. Rowse, *Raleigh and the Throckmortons* (London, 1962), p. 58.

³ *Memoirs of Sir George Courthop*, ed. Sophie Lomas (Camden Miscellany, old ser., xi, 1907), p. 104.

⁴ Bodl. Tanner MS 169, fol. 48r.

⁵ Virginia F. Stern, *Sir Stephen Powle of court and country* (Selinsgrove, 1992), pp. 20-26.

⁶ G.C. Moore Smith, *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple* (Oxford, 1928), p. xx.

⁷ *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. Andrew Browning (London, 1991), pp. 5-6.

⁸ *DNB* (Chaloner).

merchant boat.⁹ Thomas Bodley took an MA at Magdalen in 1566, and became proctor shortly thereafter. By his own admission, though, he ‘bestowed my time in the study of sundry faculties, without any inclination to professe any one above the rest, insomuch as at last I waxed desirous to travell beyond the Seas’.¹⁰ Sir Henry Blount, who travelled to the Levant in 1636, was described by Aubrey as being ‘pretty wild when young, especially addicted to common wenches. He was a second brother....’¹¹ William Ashburnham’s travelling tutor, Isaac Basire, was warned that the young man

doth promise faire, but is more in apearance [sic] then in deed. You will finde him a trewant in his booke. Much hinderances he hath had, and much time he hath lost. What hath been bestowed on business, I will not say hath been ill spent, but might have been spent better.... In a word, what he hath, or shall acquire,... hath, and must be gotten, more by his tutor’s diligence then his owne.¹²

And John Chamberlain wrote to Alice Carleton in 1615 of her travelling cousin, Philip Lytton, that ‘I am still of the opinion that your cousen will prove but a fantastical youth’.¹³

Many travellers also portrayed themselves as having an inborn tendency to roam the world, and boasted of their status as natural-born travellers. The self-fashioning of characters such as Thomas Coryate and John Taylor, the ‘water-poet’, is legendary, but there were others of their ilk. Thomas Lorikin, who served as tutor to a number of high-profile travellers, lamented that ‘I am born, it seems, to a rolling, restless life’, when he was asked to accompany the young Thomas Carey to the Spa in 1619.¹⁴ Richard Flecknoe noted that ‘There are divers Birds that flie away, when Stormes and Winter comes, one of those Birds am I’.¹⁵ Wotton spoke of a ‘College of Travellers, wherein, if

⁹ Franz Babinger, ‘Robert Bargrave, un voyageur Anglais dans les pays Roumains du temps de Basile Lupu (1652)’, in *Academia Română, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* (Bucharest, 3rd ser., xvii, 1935), p. 144.

¹⁰ Thomas Bodley, *The life of Sir Thomas Bodley, ... written by himselfe* (Oxford, 1647), p. 4.

¹¹ *Aubrey’s Brief Lives*, ed. O.L. Dick (London, 1949), pp. 26-7.

¹² *The Correspondence of Isaac Basire, D.D.*, ed. W.N. Darnell (London, 1831), pp. 51-2.

¹³ *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N.E. McClure (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1939), i, 594.

the fruit of the time I have spent were answerable to the length, I might run for a Deacon at least'.¹⁶ That was in 1636. In 1589, he had described himself as 'less than a freshman in travel, because I never came at [that] University'.¹⁷

Indeed, the idea of a 'College of Travellers' was not just a clever turn of phrase on the part of Wotton. There is strong evidence that some young men became so enamoured of the idea that they turned into something resembling career travellers. Philip Stanhope, the second earl of Chesterfield (1633-1713), who spent virtually none of his life in England, was obviously just such a character.¹⁸ But looking beyond just the quasi-exiled pan-European nobility, one discovers individuals like Sir Roger Townshend of East Raynham, Norfolk, who was given a one-year pass to travel in 1619, and then three-year passes in 1620, and 1623.¹⁹ Sir John Culpeper appears to have spent most of his twenties travelling on the Continent, as three *APC* licences in his name suggest.²⁰ And Sir George Peeter of Devon was given no fewer than six passes to travel beyond seas between 1616 and 1626. There is even a 'Georgio Petreo' in the register book at Padua in 1635, suggesting possible evidence of yet more travel.²¹

Few repeat travellers give rise to more questions, though, than Bassett Cole. Nothing can be found on this rather curious figure in the standard prosopographical sources, but he turns up in no fewer than six different passport records over the span of twelve years, always travelling with different people. In 1615, he was given a licence by

¹⁴ Thomas Birch, ed., *The Court and Times of James the First* (2 vols., London, 1848), ii, 159.

¹⁵ Richard Flecknoe, *A relation of ten years travels in Europe, Asia, Affrique and America* (London, 1654?), p. 1.

¹⁶ *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith (2 vols., Oxford, 1907), ii, 365.

¹⁷ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 231.

¹⁸ See BL Additional MS 19253.

¹⁹ *APC*, 21 June 1619; *APC*, 30 May 1620; *APC*, 30 September 1623.

²⁰ *APC*, 26 May 1623; *APC*, 30 June 1626; *APC*, 30 October 1630.

²¹ *APC*, 5 June 1616; *APC*, 31 May 1617; *APC*, 30 June 1619; *APC*, July 1622; *APC*, 7 April 1623; *APC*, 22 August 1626; *Inglesi e Scozzesi all'Università di Padova*, ed. Horatio Brown (Venice, 1921), p. 149.

the Council to travel abroad for three years, but by 1617 he was apparently back in England, and about to depart with one John Jackson of Edderthorpe, Yorkshire, ‘to assist him in his travaile’.²² In this pass, Cole was recorded as a ‘gentleman’, which raises some interesting questions. Was he a tutor? Or just an informal helping hand willing to share his experience with a first-time traveller? Cole then appears in a licence issued in 1619, as a travelling companion to Sir John Smyth of Bromley, Kent.²³ Here, for the first time, Cole is recorded as being from Essex. His next appearance is in a passport dated April 1621 and issued to ‘Bassett Cole of Claveringe, Essex’, and Sir John Thornell, again of Bromley, Kent.²⁴ At this point, one begins to wonder if he had developed a reputation among the gentry of Bromley as a competent and reliable tutor. But then Cole makes two more appearances in the records, once as travelling with George Purfey, of Wadley, Berkshire, in March 1626, and again with Cranmer Harris, of Crixley, Essex, in January 1627.²⁵ The increasingly short duration of his companionship suggests perhaps that he was growing into the role of someone who had made a business for himself as a responsible, seasoned traveller, who, presumably for a fee, would see to it that young men were safely settled into their tours. Perhaps it was a budding business niche that Cole had discovered. We will, of course, never know.²⁶

A certain bravado was also a common feature of travellers. Coryate compared himself to Ulysses in a letter to his mother, and John Taylor the *soi-disant* ‘water poet’ was no more than a simple Thames wherry-man.²⁷ And then there was William Lithgow,

²² *APC*, 5 June 1615; *APC*, 28 October 1617.

²³ *APC*, 24 August 1619.

²⁴ *APC*, 9 April 1621.

²⁵ *APC*, 11 March 1626; *APC*, 2 January 1627.

²⁶ I have also not been able to find any reference to him in Essex or Kent wills.

²⁷ Thomas Coryate, *T. Coriate traveller for the English wits: greeting* (London, 1616), p. 6.

the rambunctious Scot who blatantly plagiarised whole sections of his travel account, but still tried to pass himself off as a rugged adventurer.²⁸ Lithgow spent much of his life travelling, claiming to have walked 36,000 miles, and eventually fell foul of the Inquisition in Spain, nearly precipitating a diplomatic incident. Even lesser known travellers began to adopt the tone of the likes of Coryate and Lithgow after it became clear that there was a certain degree of fame to be won. John Raymond began his travel account by explaining why it had no dedicatory preface: ‘A weather beaten Traveller needs no such Umbrilla as a Patron to shroud under’.²⁹

The overwhelming majority of early modern travellers of the type we are dealing with came from the ranks of the gentry or nobility. Of the more than 1,900 licensed travellers recorded between 1560 and 1640, hardly any can conclusively be shown to be of lesser rank. It would be foolhardy to suggest that taking tours abroad was anything other than the preserve of gentlemen in this period. Joseph Hall, the Bishop of Norwich, who was one the best known opponents of this type of travel, made it clear that he believed the phenomenon to be essentially a gentry one, ‘our Travellers being the middle-ranke of men, and therefore either followers of the great, or commanders of the meaner sort’.³⁰ But was this entirely true? There are at least isolated examples which might suggest otherwise. On 8 February 1599, the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* records

²⁸ I have found parts of Lithgow’s *A most delectable, and true, discourse of a peregrination* (London, 1614) to be lifted nearly word for word from John Cartwright’s *The preachers travels* (London, 1611). For more on his reputation as ‘lying Lithgow’, see James R. Burns, ‘William Lithgow’s *Total Discourse* (1632) and his “Science of the World”: a Seventeenth-Century Protestant traveller’s view of Europe and the Near East’ (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1997). Also see *APC*, 4 June 1624.

²⁹ John Raymond, *An itinerary, contayning a voyage made through Italy in the yeare 1646 and 1647* (London, 1648), fol. A4r.

³⁰ Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? a just censure of travell as it is commonly undertaken by gentlemen* (London, 1617), p. 48.

that one Mr. Hodgson, ‘the minister of Newton’, had been caught in Calais, where he had fallen sick and been discovered by some fellow Englishmen. Hodgson ‘intended to have seen Paris, Rouen, and other places, and learn the French tongue’.³¹ William Sancroft apparently acted, or considered acting, as travelling tutor to the son of ‘a rich merchant’ in 1645, though he didn’t refer to him by name.³² Most strikingly, John Greene of Worminghurst, Sussex, was issued with what was clearly a ‘tourist’ pass by the Council in 1621 (with all the usual language of ‘to travaile into forraine parts,... With provisoe not to goe to Rome...’), despite his being noted down in the record as a ‘yeoman’.³³ However, beyond these very isolated examples, there is no real indication that a leisurely tour of Europe was within the means of men of lesser rank.

One of the more difficult and more interesting questions is whether women travelled. In 1579, Thomas Stevens, a Goa merchant, remarked to his father that ‘many women also passe very well’ on the high seas.³⁴ And in 1634, William Brereton described his Channel crossing over to the Low Countries, noting that on the boat were ‘passengers 67, two women, four children’.³⁵ In Chapman and Shirley’s play *The ball*, published five years later, the character of Freshwater, recently returned from his own travels, seems to encourage Lady Rosamond and Honoria to travel, asking them ‘Did you never travell Ladies?’ Rosamund replies that ‘we are no Ladies errant, tis enough for such as you, that looke for State employment’, to which Freshwater comes back, ‘Yet there be Ladies ha

³¹ CSPD, 8 February 1599.

³² Bodl. Tanner MS 60, fol. 326.

³³ APC, 13 May 1621.

³⁴ Thomas Stevens, ‘A Letter written from Goa, the principall Citie of all the East Indies, by one Thomas Stevens an Englishman, and sent to his father, M. Thomas Stevens, An. 1579’, in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589, repr. Cambridge, 1965), p. 160.

³⁵ William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, United Provinces, England Scotland and Ireland 1634-5*, ed. Edward Hawkins (Manchester, 1844), p. 2.

your languages, and married to great men prove the better Statemen'.³⁶ It obviously wasn't completely beyond belief that a well-born lady might be tempted to make a trip of her own to satisfy curiosity, though there is no hard evidence that this ever happened. We are obviously still half a century away from Celia Fiennes or Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, but half a century is not a long time, and it would not be entirely idle to speculate about the likelihood of an independent female traveller or two in the early part of the seventeenth century. As Jane Robinson puts it, 'why should the traditional image of the species always be that of an intrepid Victorian spinster vigorously prodding the ends of the earth with her parasol?'³⁷

The existence of occasional passports issued to women indicates that they were certainly travelling, though it is likely that almost all were doing so for more mundane and practical reasons than simply to see the world or learn languages.³⁸ As early as 1573, a passport was issued 'for Clare Raven to repaier into Flaunders with intencion to retorne within three monithes'.³⁹ And over the years, a handful of such passes can be found scattered throughout the records.⁴⁰ But the language is always very different to that used for male travellers, and nearly always specifies a particular reason for the trip. Most often, of course, some sort of familial situation is invoked. In 1591, for instance, Katherine Poole, recently widowed, was given licence to go to Louvain to bring her three daughters back to England.⁴¹ In 1627, a pass was issued to an eight-year-old girl, Mary Wardly, to go to Russia to be with her parents, her father working as an apothecary

³⁶ George Chapman and James Shirley, *The ball* (London, 1639), fol. H3v.

³⁷ Jane Robinson, *Wayward Women* (Oxford, 1990), p. vii.

³⁸ Also, by the early seventeenth century, a growing number of Catholic women were going over to the Low Countries to live as nuns.

³⁹ *APC*, 24 July, 1573.

⁴⁰ See, for instance, *APC*, 7 October, 1574; *APC*, 5 July 1615, *APC*, 31 October, 1615); *APC*, 22 January, 1622; *APC*, 22 June 1626, *APC* 12 July, 1626; *APC*, 5 June 1627.

⁴¹ *APC*, 9 March, 1591.

there.⁴² In 1629, Anne Cademan was permitted to go to Brussels, where her husband lived and worked, ‘to bring over a daughter of theirs from thence’.⁴³ And in 1616, Elizabeth Cooke was given licence ‘to visit a sister of hers, married at Paris’.⁴⁴ Often, women can be found travelling on some form of private business, or for any number of fairly random reasons. In 1614, a pass was issued to ‘Avis Lambe, gentlewoman, to goe into France about her private businesse, for some convenient time’.⁴⁵ In 1626, Katherine Harvisse, ‘a poore distressed widowe’, was allowed to ‘passe over the seas to the citty of Prague with her three children to finde reliefe there from her late husband’s friends’.⁴⁶ In 1631, a pass was granted to Gertrude Lacon and Sara Bramford to go into ‘Barbar[y] with a brother of theirs, being a marchant who liveth in those parts’.⁴⁷ And in a slightly more unusual case, Ethelred Thornborough was arrested in 1570, apparently for acting as the ringleader of a group of Catholic recusants attempting to go beyond seas.⁴⁸

Never, though, does one find a woman given a pass to ‘travel beyond seas for three years, with proviso not to go to Rome’ – the kind of language that suggests a tour will be taking place. The closest one gets to this is a pass dated 22 June 1626, for ‘Susanna Bland, daughter of John Bland, of London, marchant, and Lucrecia le brune to goe into the Low Countries under the States of the United Provinces’. The language here suggests that, tourism, though unlikely, cannot absolutely be ruled out. Many passes, however, were issued to women for what, at first glance, might sound like tourism, but

⁴² *APC*, 15 June 1627.

⁴³ *APC*, 24 April, 1629.

⁴⁴ *APC*, 15 July 1616.

⁴⁵ *APC*, 19 April, 1614.

⁴⁶ *APC*, 7 February, 1626.

⁴⁷ *APC*, 21 March 1631.

⁴⁸ *APC*, 3 August, 1570.

this generally only occurred when a husband or other family members were also involved. In 1613, a pass was issued ‘for Sir William Jordan, knight, and his lady to goe unto Heildeberg [sic] and into the Lowe Countries for one yeare, with three servantes and provisions, etc.’⁴⁹ A similar pass was granted to Thomas and Dorothy Howard in 1574, ‘to rem[ain] beyonde the seas 2 years’.⁵⁰ And in 1623, the Council approved a pass for ‘the Ladie Rugeley, William Rugeley, John Rugeley and Odelia Rugeley, to goe over into the Low Countries and remayne there three yeares and to take with them three servantes’.⁵¹

In the end, of course, the picture is a necessarily complicated one. The sources on female travellers are severely limited, and so much has to be left to speculation. Fortunately, there exist records, such as that of Mabel Griffith, that make this type of speculation rather interesting. On 19 July 1611, Griffith was given permission to ‘pass beyond seas and live abroad, but not to repair to Rome’.⁵² The pass itself, like so many, didn’t bother to make clear what her reason for wanting to go abroad might have been, though the use of the word ‘live’ is an unusual one. The story becomes more interesting, however, when we learn that one ‘Mabella, widow of Dr John Griffith’ was picked up at Dover on the 8 August 1617. The government’s sources confirmed that she had been living at ‘Malines’ for the past six years, and was coming to Bath for her health. ‘Her crucifix, books, &c. are for her own use. Will not go to church, nor take the Oath of Allegiance’, says the Calendar. She obviously sounds like a recusant exile, but it is intriguing that, both times, she appears to be travelling alone. If it was possible for a

⁴⁹ *APC*, 30 June 1613.

⁵⁰ *PRO SP* 12/154, no.5.

⁵¹ *APC*, 24 May 1623.

female Catholic exile to undertake independent travel, is it so hard to imagine a gentlewoman doing the same, albeit for rather more innocent reasons?

II – *The journey*

It may seem that there is little that can be said about what the ins and outs of the actual journey itself might have been like for early modern travellers, particularly after the rather thorough investigation undertaken by Antoni Maćzak in *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, not to mention the somewhat older work of E.S. Bates and Clare Howard, as well as Jeremy Black's more recent work on the eighteenth century Grand Tour.⁵³ Certainly, what follows will aim to provide a broad overview of the nature of foreign travel in these years, highlighting some key facts, such as transportation, accommodation, dangers, and expenses. But this section will be a departure from the more traditional 'set piece' exposition in a couple of important ways.

Firstly, the minutiae of foreign travel can largely be ignored as not important to this analysis. For instance, it is not necessary to discuss how foreign food differed from its English counterparts, or what travellers made of it. Secondly, we can avoid presenting an exhaustive catalogue of the all various 'aspects' of foreign travel, instead focussing on those facets which might have been ignored by previous historians, but which tell us things we might find surprising. Finally, and most importantly, an effort has been made to present information that has some larger significance to the social and cultural development of travel in early modern England, beyond simply the level of anecdote. To

⁵² CSPD, 19 July 1611.

⁵³ Antoni Maćzak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995); E.S. Bates, *Touring in 1600* (London, 1911); Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London, 1914); Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1992).

purport to present a history of English travellers from 1560 to 1660 without some description of what that travel was actually *like* would, of course, seem absurd. However, such a description could easily occupy another volume, and here it is only necessary to present those facets of the tour that are either fresh or in some other way directly relevant to our understanding of travel's place in English history.

Routes and roads

The first question, of course, is where exactly did travellers go? Lawrence Stone makes some sweeping generalisations about how a 'concentration on the Loire valley and Paris was... the norm' by 1640, combined with a spring spent in Italy.⁵⁴ And it would be tempting to assume that travel in this period essentially consisted of a 'Grand Tour' of France and the '*Giro d'Italia*', in the words of Richard Lassels. But a careful look at the itineraries of English travellers reveals a startling amount of variety. There were certainly self-appointed 'experts' of travel who attempted to prescribe a normative route for travellers. James Cleland, writing in 1607, sketched out a detailed itinerary that began at Calais, and then went to Paris via Amiens, where the traveller was counselled not to waste his time gazing at the head of John the Baptist, as 'you maie see foure of them elsewhere'. From Paris, Cleland recommended continuing on to Orleans or Poitiers, 'two of the best Citties in France, in respect of the wholsomenes of the aire, the pleasantnes of the feilds; the goodnes of the French tongue, the commoditie of your exercises, the curtesie of the people'.⁵⁵ From Orleans, the young traveller was to avoid 'the common course of our Travellers', which was through Burgundy towards Lyons, and instead to go to Poitou

⁵⁴ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 696-7.

⁵⁵ James Cleland, *Ηρωπαιλεια, or the institution of a young noble man* (Oxford, 1607), pp. 263-4.

and make his way to Lyons via Gascony, Languedoc, Provence and the Rhone.⁵⁶ After cashing in bills of exchange at the bank in Lyons, Cleland's traveller was to make his way through Savoy to Geneva, where he was told to stay a while and observe 'that well ruled Comon weale', before going to Turin, Florence, and Venice. From Venice, Cleland suggests taking shipping, 'with some Embassadour', to Constantinople, where one might observe people different 'in faith, manners, apparel, and custome from al you ever saw before... which maie serve much for the bettering of your understanding'.⁵⁷ The return leg of the journey extended through Hungary and Germany, and up the Rhine to Flanders, Holland, and Zeland.⁵⁸

Cleland may have taken a tone of great authority on the subject, but there was no shortage of writers willing to advocate a completely different itinerary. John Evelyn, writing in 1652, argued for a route nothing like Cleland's:

The principall places of EUROPE, wherein a Gentleman may, *uno intuitu*, behold as in a Theater the chief and most signall Actions which... concerne this later Age and part of the World, are the Netherlands, comprehending Flanders, and the divided Provinces; which is a perfect Encycle and Synopsis of whatsoever one may elsewhere see in all the other Countreyes of Europe; And for this end, I willingly recommend them to be first visited,... From thence I would advise him to traverse Germany, (altogether contrary to the Vulgar Method) by reason of that so usefull Tongue, which he will find very difficult,... after the facill, and more smooth Languages are once throughly imbibed,... From this Region you naturally slide into Italy, and then Embarquing for Spain, return by a direct course unto Paris;...⁵⁹

Both Cleland's 'common course of our Travellers' and Evelyn's 'vulgar method', of course, suggest that certain canonical patterns had been established by previous travellers, and had even become something of a 'norm'. However, there is simply too much contradictory evidence to draw definitive conclusions, much as one might like to,

⁵⁶ Cleland, *Institution*, p. 265.

⁵⁷ Cleland, *Institution*, pp. 266-7.

⁵⁸ Cleland, *Institution*, p. 267.

⁵⁹ John Evelyn, *The state of France* (London, 1652), fol. B7v-B8v.

about a ‘typical route’.⁶⁰ Such a synthesis would have to come up with a convenient way to dismiss, for instance, the licence granted by the Privy Council in 1625 to one Thomas Rhodes, a student at Cambridge, ‘to travaile into Muscovia for three yeares (provided he repayre not to the cittie of Rome)’. As the following chapter will show, the language of this pass, along with the prohibition of travel to Rome, make it clear that Rhodes was not a merchant or a diplomat with some business in Russia, but rather an ‘ordinary’ traveller.⁶¹ But on an even more mundane level, it is hard to discern any really explicit rules about what route a traveller should take. For every young man who followed Cleland’s advice and went from Calais to Paris via Amiens, there was a Peter Heylyn or a Thomas Cecil or a John Reresby, who landed at Dieppe, and went to Paris via Rouen.⁶² For every traveller who went from Geneva straight to Turin, as Cleland recommended, there was a George Courthop, who was forced to make haste to Genoa instead, having learnt that his bill of exchange had fallen foul of the age-old Geneva/Genova confusion, and been misdirected.⁶³

Courthop even found time for a quick jaunt to Naples and Sicily, before taking shipping for Constantinople.⁶⁴ By no stretch of the imagination would the southern half of the Italian peninsula have been considered a canonical destination. Venice, by contrast, was very popular among English travellers, mostly owing to its location and the tradition of religious tolerance in the Veneto. Henry Erskine informed his father in 1618 that he

⁶⁰ John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad* (London, 1989), p. 89, draws a similar conclusion.

⁶¹ *APC*, 30 June, 1625.

⁶² Peter Heylyn, *Survey of the estate of France* (London, 1656); *CSPF*, 16 May 1561; Browning, *Reresby*, p. 7.

⁶³ Lomas, *Courthop*, p. 112.

⁶⁴ Lomas, *Courthop*, pp. 114-15.

and his brother were likely to spend some time in Venice, ‘because it is most seur remaining ther for straingers’.⁶⁵ And Sir Dudley Carleton wrote of Venice in 1612 that

the resort of English to this city and to Padua (which is the same thing) has become so great that instead of four or five, as formerly, there are now more than seventy here, some of them being young men of principal houses, who cause no scandal in matters of religion, and do not offend against the laws, as the Rectors can bear witness. There are not more than ten Englishmen in the rest of Italy, all the rest having come hither because one of them was seized in the city of Siena by the officers of the Inquisition...⁶⁶

Carleton was probably exaggerating for effect when he claimed that there were no more than ten Englishmen in the rest of Italy, but his point about the importance of Venice should still stand. Today we think of Venice as an impossibly romantic destination, famed for its canals and the Piazza San Marco. These must have had some appeal for early modern English travellers, but it must also be remembered that Venice was a major hub for commercial shipping, particularly to Constantinople, that it was perceived to have a model constitution, and that it provided a welcome refuge from the unpredictability of the Inquisition as well.

If Venice was an ‘obvious’ port of call for travellers, then there were certainly places in Europe that were widely considered to be off the beaten path. It may be hard for us today to imagine a Spain without tourists, but to the early modern imagination, the Iberian peninsula was a place of brutishness backwardness, where what little civilisation there was had been squashed by the terrifying regime of the Inquisition. William Sancroft typified the attitude in a letter to his father in 1645, in which he wrote that he was considering becoming a tutor to some rich merchant’s son, but would not accept the proposition until he knew ‘wh[i]ther he would have his sonne goe; for I will not venture

⁶⁵ HMC, *Mar and Kellie MSS.*, *Supplementary Report*, p. 84

⁶⁶ HMC, *Buccleuch MSS.*, i, 120-1.

into such a hote climate where my health is like to be endangered, much lesse where my religion will be a crime'.⁶⁷ Very few English travellers included Spain on their itineraries, although there were notable exceptions – perhaps even more of them than historians have noticed up till now. Arthur Hall in the 1560s was one such exception. His modern biographer notes that 'from France he may have proceeded to Spain', and his correspondence indicates that he had an acquaintance in Madrid.⁶⁸ More telling, though, are Hall's own words in later life, as he laments not having become more acquainted with his native England: 'I ranne to gaze upon Fraunce and knew not Kent: I vewed Spayne, and never was in Devonshyre'.⁶⁹ Spain, in fact, appears to have made it onto more English itineraries than historians may have realised, as the appearance in 1605 of Lewis Owen's grammar book, *The key of the Spanish tongue*, attests.⁷⁰ James Howell, who was one of the better-known proponents of travel, himself made time for Barcelona and Alicante in 1617, and in 1621, the *APC* recorded a licence given to Sir Maximilian Dalison to travel with three men to Spain, for his health.⁷¹ And we've already heard John Evelyn suggesting that travellers should include a visit to Spain on their way back from Italy. Even more striking, perhaps, was the advice of that well-seasoned traveller, Henry Wotton, when he was asked to guide the travels of a young Mr. Branthwaite and his friends in the 1630s. 'I continue mainly in the same opinion' declared Wotton. 'That after their imprinting in France I could wish them to mount the Pirenies into Spaine.... [T]here they may consolidate the French vivacity with a certain *sosiego* (as they call it), till they

⁶⁷ Bodl. Tanner MS 60, fol. 326.

⁶⁸ H.G. Wright, *The Life and Works of Arthur Hall of Grantham* (Manchester, 1919), p. 39-40.

⁶⁹ Wright, *Hall*, p.39.

⁷⁰ Lewis Owen, *The key of the Spanish tongue* (London, 1605).

⁷¹ *DNB* (Howell); *APC*, 14 July 1621.

shall afterwards pass from Barcelona over to Italy, where lies the true mean between the other two humours'.⁷²

It is not sufficient, of course, just to look at the advice literature and the claims of travellers themselves to get a sense of whether there might have been a typical or canonical itinerary. It is also helpful to look at some of the more sub-textual clues in travel accounts as well. The first thing that emerges from such an exercise is a strong sense that there were a handful of towns and cities which had become a very popular part of travellers' itineraries, and, even more interestingly, a rather limited number of inns and taverns to which English travellers resorted. Robert Boyle in Paris, for instance, refers unremarkably on the coffee house run by an Englishman in the Rue des Boucheries where he could always expect to catch up with classmates from Trinity College, Cambridge.⁷³ But one is also struck by just how much a traveller's itinerary could be determined by a combination of chance, exigency, or mundane practicality. We have already seen how a misdirected bill of exchange sent George Courthop reluctantly to Genoa from Geneva, and Courthop's travel narrative is filled with a number of such amusing anecdotes, many of which reveal just how malleable and provisional a traveller's route could be. Courthop describes how he took shipping in an English boat bound for Leghorn, 'where being arrived I there met an old acquaintance of mine at Oxford by name Mr Richard Jennings, son of Sr John Jennings, Knight of the Bath, living close by St Albans in Herts who had been some time in Italy and had learnt the

⁷² Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, ii, 365. For the names of a few more English travellers to Spain, see Stoye, *English Travellers* (1989 ed.), p. 260.

⁷³ Robert Iliffe, 'Foreign Bodies: Travel, Empire and the Early Royal Society of London. Part I. Englishmen on Tour', *Canadian Journal of History*, 33 (1998), 370-71.

language'.⁷⁴ Courthop and Jennings decided to travel together on to Florence, where Jennings then stayed behind and Courthop continued on to Rome. Once in Rome, Courthop ran into a number of Englishmen who told of their travels to Naples, and 'hearing them so much commend Naples and that being the last city in Italy and a Port-town, where I might take shipping for any place, I resolved to go and see it'.⁷⁵

During his two-week stay in Naples, Courthop ran into a merchant who had married his mother-in-law's sister. The merchant informed him that one Mr Tufton, apparently a mutual friend, wanted Courthop to travel to Messina with him, and then on to Malta, 'to see the island that did so annoy the Turks'. Finding another English sea-captain, who carried him to Messina 'for a pair of Naples perfumed gloves', Courthop and Tufton sat down to a meal and began exchanging travel stories. The more adventurous Tufton 'was always enticing me to go to Constantinople with him', but Courthop was reluctant, fearing that his father might discover that he had gone 'out of Christendom' without his consent. He suggested that he could probably make it to Malta and back before his father found out, but that a longer trip into Ottoman lands would surely spell disaster. Unfortunately for Courthop, of course, after supper, a pair of dice were brought out, along with 'two flasks of Syracuse wine which is the strongest wine that the Island of Sicily affords'. Our hero, naturally, came up short in the roll of the dice, and was therefore obliged to carry on to the Levant with Tufton. The story is a revealing one on a number of levels. Most striking, of course, is the sheer randomness with which an itinerary could be decided – there could be few travel plans less well thought out than those decided by a roll of the dice, and those wishing to argue for a canonical itinerary

⁷⁴ Lomas, *Courthop*, p. 112.

⁷⁵ Lomas, *Courthop*, p. 114.

would do well to bear this passage in mind. But Courthop's anecdote is also remarkable for the insight it provides into the tightly knit network of English travellers abroad – a community which could be found in the same inns and taverns along the way, and which also could be counted on to relay news to a stern-minded father back in England within a matter of days.

It would not seem right to conclude a discussion of routes and itineraries without also giving some brief mention to the logistical practicalities of transportation in early modern Europe. The time involved in traversing relatively short distances was, by today's standards, exasperatingly long. British travellers, especially, faced the curse of having to get off an island before they could go anywhere on the Continent, and the channel crossing alone could take anywhere from a couple of hours to several days, depending on the degree of cooperation that the weather afforded. Edward Browne, in 1664, took only four hours to cross the channel and arrive in Calais, 'having a fair winde'.⁷⁶ In 1634, by contrast, William Brereton took six days just to get out of the Thames estuary, before he could even think about crossing the Channel.⁷⁷ Many travellers, it seems, opted for the redeye, leaving Dover in the evening and arriving in Calais late the following morning – an option presumably made more appealing by the relative calm of night-time waters. In early 1644, Thomas Denne traversed the Channel in about fourteen hours, leaving at ten o'clock and arriving at noon the following day.⁷⁸ None of these stories, of course, could compare to that of the foolhardy soul who, in 1619, took on a dare to travel from

⁷⁶ BL Sloane MS 1906, fol. 66r.

⁷⁷ Brereton, *Travels*, pp. 1-4.

⁷⁸ BL Additional MS 28010, fol. 55

Southwark to Calais and back in one day, and, apparently, made it with an hour and a half to spare.⁷⁹

There is one rather curious entry in *Acts of Privy Council* on 24 June 1618 that reads, ‘A passe for William Rivett to goe from London to Hamborough in a payre of oares, he haveing undertaken a voyage upon adventure to goe thither’.⁸⁰ But this adventurous chancer was clearly the exception rather than the norm. Transport by sea would almost invariably be taken aboard merchant boats. English travellers tended to favour English shipping where possible, but a letter from Lord Cobham to Secretary Cecil in February 1599 gives a good idea of the sheer variety of merchant shipping from which an ordinary traveller could, and often did, choose. Cobham makes mention of one John Hickson of Durham who travelled from Newcastle to Calais ‘in a French hoy that carried coals’, as well as a John Camin of Shoe Lane in London, who ‘went from Billingsgate in a wherry to Gravesend, and thence on board a Fleming to Calais’. From the letter, we even learn a little more about Hickson, who, it turns out, ‘purposed to travel to get the French tongue’ and ‘intended to have seen Paris, Rouen, and other places’.⁸¹ And of course, it should be noted that the channel was not the only body of water a traveller might expect to encounter during his tour abroad. Canal and river transport was often far preferable to travelling by road, and the traveller interested in seeing Constantinople generally avoided a lengthy tour through the Balkans, instead taking shipping from Venice. Courthop described how it took his captain three months just to

⁷⁹ McClure, *Letters*, ii, 255.

⁸⁰ *APC*, 24 June 1618.

⁸¹ *CSPD*, 8 February 1599.

make it from Messina to Smyrna, adding ‘which voyage Sir Sackville Crow performed with a fair wind in thirty-five days’.⁸²

Ground transportation was perhaps a little more predictable, or at least less vulnerable to weather patterns, but even here the trip was always an arduous one. On good roads, on routes much travelled, sixty miles in a day would have been considered good going. Any deviation, however, from popular highways, and the traveller could expect a long, bumpy, muddy ride. Peter Heylyn expressed relief that his journey from Tôtes to Rouen had only taken ten hours, calling it ‘admirable speed’.⁸³ The distance between the two towns is barely twenty miles, and could almost be walked in less time. And, as if to complicate matters even further, the concept of a ‘mile’ was a fluid one, with different definitions in different countries. A book like the *Guide des Chemins de France*, first published in 1553, which converted between English and French miles, would have been indispensable for any English tourist. No wonder, then, that it had gone through 28 editions by 1668.⁸⁴

For most travellers, ground transport was a question of stagecoaches – a system of travel that required a large measure of patience. Some coach services, along the more popular routes, operated according to a fixed timetable. But more often, the coach would leave only when it had enough passengers to justify making the journey. And that could often mean a wait of not just hours, but sometimes days. Henry Wotton describes how, in December of 1589, he was kept waiting for over a week in Braunschweig (Brunswick), having just missed the previous coach for Frankfurt. Faced with a choice of hiring a private coach at the astronomical price of £5 15s 8d or hunting about for travelling

⁸² Lomas, *Courthop*, p. 116.

⁸³ Heylyn, *Survey*, p. 19.

⁸⁴ Maćzak, *Travel*, p. 25. For more on guidebooks and maps, see Maćzak, *Travel*, pp. 25-9.

companions, Wotton chose the latter option, noting that ‘the sum was full of persuasion to make me stay, which I did eight full days’. He eventually found ‘two companions good for nothing but to take down the price of travel’.⁸⁵

Disease, danger, and general misery

The line between general unpleasantness and real danger was a thin one in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and going abroad often put the young traveller at some considerable risk. Sir Arthur Capel, writing in the early seventeenth century, set down several reasons why he did not want his grandson travelling beyond seas. Chief among these was a genuine fear that he would not come back alive:

ther lyethe a greate penalty upon his deathe; for his brother is so younge, as in all probabylyty he is like to be a warde, which wil be a great hinderance unto the family, boathe by the impoverysinge the estate of the nexte heyer, and by the ill p’videing for the younge children his sisters, bothe for their educatyons and hopes of ther preferments in maryage.⁸⁶

Philemon Holland, meanwhile, justified the publication of his 1,300-page translation of Livy’s *Roman History* by saying that his readers would be able to ‘avoid the perill of that travaile’, and that he could now ‘bring Rome... home to them’.⁸⁷ It is worth examining, then, what exactly made travel in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such a risky proposition.

To begin with, there was always a possibility that a traveller’s coach might be ambushed by one of the many highway bandits who operated along the roads between major towns, or that he might fall foul of some other form of brigandage. Though the

⁸⁵ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 233. For more on the hiring of horses in Europe, see Maćzak, *Travel*, pp. 16-18.

⁸⁶ Robert Clutterbuck, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford* (3 vols., London, 1815-27), i, 238.

⁸⁷ Livius, Titus, *The Romane historie: also the breviaries of L. Florus*, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1600), p. 1346.

danger was always there on any given road, there was a common perception that certain highways were more notorious than others for the activities of bandits. Sir John Reresby, writing in the 1650s, complained that the route out of the Alps from Geneva through Brescia, Bergamo, and Verona was ‘the worst... of any other, and the danger the greatest for the banditti’. The situation along this stretch of road had apparently got so bad that a number of nearby citizens had fought a pitched battle against the local bandits and killed them, in an effort to ease the problem.⁸⁸ Robert Bargrave, meanwhile, travelling in Turkey, said of one stretch of road that it was ‘very subject to Robberies; insomuch that in many places are to be seen Memoriall Pillars or heaps of Stones’ – a chilling piece of news for any prospective traveller.⁸⁹ Nor were English roads necessarily any better. Jean Bernard felt the need to insert the following caution into his *Guide des Chemins d’Angleterre* in 1579: ‘Prenez garde à la plaine de Salesbury lieu fort dangereux à cause des voleurs & brigands qui y font leur repaire quasi journallement’.⁹⁰ And of course, sometimes, the bandits could even turn out to be one’s very own travelling companions. In his essay on travel in 1638, Henry Peacham shared with prospective travellers the story of how ‘a gentleman, and an acquaintance of mine, Master W.T. was pistold by his guide in the forrest of Ardenna, because riding in a suit laide thicke with gold lace, hee was supposed to have had store of crowns’.⁹¹ Peacham intended the anecdote to be a cautionary tale against lavish dress, but it is also striking for the picture it paints of the degree of lawlessness that could exist on highways.

⁸⁸ Browning, *Reresby*, p. 12.

⁸⁹ Bodl. Rawlinson MS 799, fol. 54v (‘Narration of a journey from Constantinople to Dunkirke overland’).

⁹⁰ Jean Bernard, *La Guide des Chemins d’Angleterre* (Paris, 1579), p. 73.

⁹¹ Henry Peacham, *The truth of our times* (London, 1638), p. 141.

We have already touched briefly on the sense of danger that the Inquisition could instil in Protestant travellers from England. The Inquisition could be unpredictable, proving threatening in places where one might least expect it. In 1581 Nicholas Faunt reported that the ‘humbling of our nation in Italy is daily worse,’ and that the Inquisition was alive and well in Venice, of all places. He also noted that in Rome ‘all... English of the least suspicion can be gathered up.’⁹² Edward Unton of Farringdon, Oxfordshire, was arrested by the Inquisition in Milan in 1583, and eventually released by ransom in 1584, his brother Henry having raised much of the money.⁹³ The risks were very real, and were taken seriously by travellers and their families. In 1619, Henry Erskine reassured his father that he and his brother were safely back in Padua after a tour of the rest of the Italian Peninsula, ‘so that now ther is no more denger of any Inquisition’. The young man also noted that his tutor had fallen ill, but added that ‘I am glad that being seike in Italie he is seike hire, for first ther is great libertie of religion, and then the best medicines in all Italie be hire’.⁹⁴

Erskine’s letter leads neatly into the other major source of danger for early modern travellers, which was that of illness, disease, and plague. Then as now, ‘illness’ could encompass anything from seasickness to terminal diseases. The channel crossing, for many travellers, was their initiation into the world of illness while abroad. Joseph Hall, in his typically understated style, noted that ‘the sea brooked not me, nor I it; an

⁹² Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 128-9.

⁹³ Woolfson, *Padua*, p. 279.

⁹⁴ HMC, *Mar and Kellie, Supp.*, p. 92.

unquiet element, made only for wonder and use, not for pleasure'.⁹⁵ Peter Heylyn was a little more colourful in his descriptions of his fellow passengers, with

their heads gidie, their joynts enfeebled, their stomachs loathing sustenance,... the Cabbins and Decks were but as so many Hospitals or Pesthouses filled with diseased persons,... spouting from their mouths such quantity of waters, as if they purposed to quench that fire which gave it.⁹⁶

Roger Ascham felt it was worth a special mention that he was the only one in his company in September 1550 not to be seasick on the passage.⁹⁷

Perhaps it was the timing of this seasickness, coming at the very outset of the trip, which made it something that so many travellers registered. It is highly unlikely that it was the last experience with illness that any of them had. Plague was rife throughout Europe at the time, and where travellers were not directly infected with it, frequent quarantining measures presented serious difficulties to the progress of their tours. George Courthop experienced great difficulty in getting out of Geneva in the late 1630s, because it was so plague-infested that no other town would permit entry to a traveller coming from Geneva without putting him through a 40-day quarantine period.⁹⁸ In 1561, Thomas Windebank informed William Cecil that he might have to retreat from Paris, since 'the people die in this town of the plague; and if it increases as it has began, [I] will be forced to go to Orleans'.⁹⁹ Robert Bargrave's description of the area around the river 'Bârlad' in Germany is particularly graphic:

All these parts were sadly infected with the Plague, insomuch that the Ground lay almost covred with Locusts, such as were of veneniferous Colour, some alive but most dead, having

⁹⁵ Joseph Hall, to Sir Thomas Challoner, 'A Report of some Observations in my Travel', Decade I, Epistle V, in *The Works of Joseph Hall* (Oxford, 1837), vi, 134.

⁹⁶ Heylyn, *Survey*, pp. 3-4.

⁹⁷ *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. Dr Giles (3 vols., London, 1865), i, 211.

⁹⁸ Lomas, *Courthop*, pp. 110-11.

⁹⁹ *CSPF*, 9 August 1561.

allready destroyd almost all the Grass in these parts: all which are most certein and fatall Signes of Pestilentious Aire.¹⁰⁰

John Reresby's account of his travels in the 1650s makes repeated mention of the plague.

In July 1656, 'the news came as we were ready to sett forward for Italy that the plague (which twas hoped would abate towards winter) did very much spred, and was now violent in Rome, which discouraged all the gentlemen from makeing that journey'.¹⁰¹ In October, Reresby was forced into an inferior route from Lyons to Padua, 'ther being noe other passage opon by reason of the plague'.¹⁰² And again in November, he describes how they arrived in Padua,

with great difficulty upon another account, for all places being very fearfull of infection in a time of the plague, we were stopped at every town and village till we produced our letters of health (or passes from one place to another), which we were forced to take from the officers of every town to show what way we had passed. And none was suffered to enter without thes, but he must make quarantain, or abide in the pest hous forty days, to show he was free from the plague.¹⁰³

And yet again, in April 1657, Reresby 'found it very difficult to travell by reason of the plague, every town wher we came refuseing us entrance, least we should have come from some infected place, till we produced our bills of health'. Reresby even stops here to tell the tale of a Dutchman who had been shot dead by the sentries at Bologna for trying to go through the town gates without a bill of health.¹⁰⁴

Seasickness and plague are only two of the most common forms of illness suffered by travellers. Illness and injury could be as random and unexpected as they were unpleasant for many. Perhaps it is not surprising that one of the most unusual and gruesome tales of malaise comes to us courtesy of George Courthop, who found himself

¹⁰⁰ Bodl., Rawlinson MS 799, fol. 58v-59r.

¹⁰¹ Browning, *Reresby*, p. 11.

¹⁰² Browning, *Reresby*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁰³ Browning, *Reresby*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁴ Browning, *Reresby*, p. 15.

the victim of a bizarre chain of events during his stay in Loudun in 1637. It began with a stumble down the stairs into a dark wine cellar late at night. Courthop had walked out of the house he was staying in and headed down an unlit passageway into the street, on his way 'to make water', as he puts it. As luck would have it, the maid of the house was at that moment in the cellar drawing wine and had left the door unbolted. Courthop 'found no place to sett my foot on, so that I fell down into the cellar; and my foot that found no bottom to fix on, was dashed violently against one of the stone stairs that went down into the cellar'. The accident dislocated his foot, and Courthop was forced to rest in bed for a period of time. During his convalescence, he was struck by a fever, 'which held me to the danger of my life for the space of four months'. The doctors, apparently, were alerted to the fact that the fever was over 'by a scurfe [scurvy] that came all over my body, under which were millions of lice; so that when the scurfe was peeled off from my body and the lice taken away, there was new flesh appeared as if I had been newly born'.¹⁰⁵

The number of possible ways in which travel abroad in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could be unpleasant, sickening, unsanitary, perilous, and altogether life-threatening were almost as legion as the lice on Courthop's belly. A few simple examples will illustrate the sheer diversity of misery that was available to travellers. Robert Bargrave, for instance, wrote of a truly horrific night he and his companions spent lost in a cold, dark and marshy Balkan forest, forced eventually to take refuge in a plague-infested town at two in the morning:

the Rhode Bridge being broken, we were forc'd to adventure our Carriage through the river: where having wearyd our horses to plunge it out and toild them and our selves till dark night; we were at last faine to wove the assistance of soome Boores, wo with :6: Oxen draggd it out: but no sooner deliverd from that Vexation, but we entred into a new One; for in this posture (Our Men wearyd, our horses spent) we lost our way, and wandred to and from in the

¹⁰⁵ Lomas, *Courthop*, pp. 105-6.

darksome night through mereish boggy Grounds, and over narrow bridges, where tis a little Miracle our Carriage fell not in: and thus in a cold night we went the wild Chace till two o Clock the next Morning, when by a Light we were guided to Wasselù¹⁰⁶ and there the Sharpness of our hunger and cold, together with our Tiredness and Vexation, drove us in; these having greater force to move us than the daunger of the Plague had to deterr us.¹⁰⁷

And in 1551, Richard Moryson wrote to the Council from Augsburg to inform them that ‘since July some parts of Tuscany have been so infested with wolves, that the country is a hell’. Moryson backed up his characterisation with a rather chilling statistic, noting that, in just three months, these wolves ‘have destroyed 250 persons, men, women, and children. They go into the cottages, and take the children out of the cradles’.¹⁰⁸

Packs of stray wolves actually come up rather frequently in the concerns of travellers, but, more often than not, peril arrived in the form of human beings. Disagreements and duels were almost as common a danger for travellers as highway banditry. Then as now, differences in cultural norms and expectations could easily result in misunderstandings, which often escalated rapidly into matters of honour. One of the better-known travellers of the period, William Slingsby, never returned to his native Yorkshire, having lost his life in a duel in Florence in 1617.¹⁰⁹ Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury became engaged in no fewer than four nasty arguments during his time in Paris.¹¹⁰ And John Reresby describes how in Saumur, he became acquainted with ‘Madam du Terra, wife to a gentleman of 4,000 livers a year’, and one day, while walking in the meadows with her, ‘a gentleman of the town (a Frenchman), being in drinke, lett fall some words which reflected upon her, speakeing them soe audebly that I see she heard as well as myselfe; but neither of us took notice of them to each other’.

¹⁰⁶ Vaslui, in modern-day eastern Romania, near Moldova, at the foot of the Carpathian Alps.

¹⁰⁷ Bodl. Rawlinson MS 799, fol. 59

¹⁰⁸ *CSPF*, 20 October 1551.

¹⁰⁹ Stoye, *English Travellers* (1989 ed.), pp. 88-9.

¹¹⁰ *The Life of Edward Herbert, First Lord of Cherbury*, ed. J.M. Shuttleworth (London, 1976), pp. 42-4.

Rather than confront the gentleman on the spot, Reresby decided to surprise him as he came out of mass the next morning, where he ‘gave him severall blows with a cudgell’. The next night, the Frenchman, along with a dozen of his friends, set upon Reresby’s party ‘with their swords drawn’, and the following day served Reresby with an arrest warrant, forcing him to take sanctuary for several days with the governor of the castle, and eventually flee Saumur altogether.¹¹¹

Nor should it be assumed that foreigners were the most common source of danger for English travellers, or that comfort could be found in the presence of their fellow countrymen. Quite to the contrary, the network of English spies meant that no traveller could ever feel completely at ease in the company of other Englishmen, particularly if he was engaging in any kind of activity that might possibly be construed as suspicious. Most notably, of course, this meant travel to Rome or any type of consorting with Catholics. Despite the putative ban on going to Rome, it is obvious from the sources that a great many English travellers did so anyway, and not just those who were sympathetic to Catholicism. This would have been a very risky activity, particularly in Elizabethan times, and required an enormous amount of sagacity on the part of travellers. Fynes Moryson describes his trepidation on visiting the English College in Rome, lest he run into someone he knew from Peterhouse, Cambridge. He gives a fascinating account of how he wrapped himself in Italian clothing,

...for if I had not been wary therein, the craftie spies of *Rome* would easily have knowne mee by some gesture or fashion of wearing my clothes, which they know to bee proper to the English, as the muffling a mans face with his cloke, or the like. But especially I tooke heede, not to gase on the Colledge walles, a manifest signe of a stranger, nor to looke stedfastly in the face of any Englishman chancing to meete mee, whereof some were like to have knowne mee in the Universitie of Cambridge, least by such beholding of them, I might draw their

¹¹¹ Browning, *Reresby*, pp. 9-10.

eyes to looke earnestly on mee, for one look invites another. And with these cautions, I did happily satisfie my curiositie.¹¹²

And Wotton relates the story of how he entered Rome ‘with a mighty blue feather in a black hat’, operating under the assumption that anyone who went out of his way to look so ridiculous could not possibly be suspected of anything.¹¹³ He then records how he was forced to flee Rome in a hurry after detecting that a Scotsman he had befriended there had unwittingly invited an English Catholic exile, a member of Northumberland’s circle, to have supper with them.¹¹⁴

With all the dangers inherent in a trip abroad, it is perhaps little wonder that travellers stood the very real risk of not returning home alive. The sources morbidly record the untimely ends of travellers like Robert Barnes, son of Sir William Barnes of Woolwich, Kent – ‘died on his travels in France’, or Edmund Coke, a Cambridge scholar – ‘became distracted; died on a sea voyage, 1619’.¹¹⁵ Francis Gofton died on his travels in France in 1642, though it is not known why.¹¹⁶ And in 1630, John Arrington of Yorkshire was forced to go to France, ‘having received an informacion that his elder brother Ephraim Arrington was deceased in his travelles in foreine partes and had left him his whole estate, the truth whereof he could not be assured of but by going’.¹¹⁷ In fact, travel was considered so risky an endeavour that it even appears to have spawned the rather ghastly practice of placing bets against the probability of one’s own survival. The frequency with which such a practice actually took place is questionable, and it is very possible that it simply became mythologized in the popular literature to a

¹¹² Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (3 vols., London, 1617), iii, 31.

¹¹³ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 272.

¹¹⁴ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 273.

¹¹⁵ McClure, *Letters*, ii, 238; Thomas Harwood, *Alumni Etonenses* (Birmingham, 1797).

¹¹⁶ John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses. Part I* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1922), ii, 228.

¹¹⁷ *APC*, 11 March 1630.

disproportionate degree. But there is little doubt that from time to time, travellers would put up a sum of money before leaving, on the understanding that, if they returned alive, they would get back several times that sum, and if they did not, then the person invested with the money would get to keep it. The odds offered against one's life, of course, depended on one's destination, as well as, presumably, one's bargaining position, but anything from 2:1 to 15:1 seems to have been considered. John Davies gives an idea of odds in a poem of 1595:

Lycus which lately is to Venice gone,
shall if he do returne gaine 3 for one:
but 10 to one, his knowledg and his wit,
wil not be bettered or increasde a whit.¹¹⁸

And Chapman and Shirley's 1632 play, *The ball*, contains a scene in which Freshwater, just back from his travels, and his patron Lord Rainbow discuss the 5:1 odds they had agreed upon.¹¹⁹

Despite the occasional mention in such popular literature, hard evidence detailing financial transactions of this kind is scant. Where it does exist, it seems to apply more to merchant adventurers or those travelling to far-flung destinations than to European tourists. Voyages to the Levant, for instance, seem to have been particularly prone to such acts of reverse insurance. Gerard de Malynes in 1622 wrote that

a traveller undertaking a voyage to Jerusalem or Babylon, delivering out money payable at his returne, will providently assure a sum of money upon his life, either to secure some men that do furnish him with money to perform his voyage, and to put forth the greater summe, or to leave some meanes unto his friends if he should die and never returne.¹²⁰

Hard evidence of such arrangements can be found in 1590, when *Acts of Privy Council* records the case of a London mercer, William Dennis, who, 'having delivered out divers

¹¹⁸ Sir John Davies, *Epigrammes and elegies*, (Middleburgh, 1590), no.42.

¹¹⁹ Chapman and Shirley, *The ball*, fol. C1v.

¹²⁰ Gerard de Malynes, *Consuetudo vel lex mercatoria, or the antient law-merchant* (London, 1622).

sommes of money to be repaid greater somes at his retorne from Jerusalem, and having made his voyage and come home, some persones to whome he delivered parte of his said money refus[e] to make him satisfactyon according to their composicion'.¹²¹

Interestingly, the plaintiff in the case resorted to 5 Rich II in his appeal, claiming that Dennis was not a 'usuall and notable merchante', and had left England without a licence, thus forfeiting his right to the money. It appears, in fact, that drawing the Council's attention to licensing irregularities was a convenient hiding place for unscrupulous parties who wanted to avoid paying returned travellers. In 1594, the State Papers recorded the restitution of a bond of £4 to one Clement Medley, who had previously been falsely convicted of travelling without a licence. Medley had initially been forced to forfeit the money to James Morne of Chipping Ongar, who had accused him of travelling without licence.¹²² In the end, it would appear that clear evidence for betting against one's own safe return can be found more often in situations involving travel to the east or mercantile voyages.

Lodging

To say that early modern accommodation was basic by modern standards would be to make a grotesque understatement. The quality of inns travellers found themselves bedding down in varied widely, but was never high. Sir Edward Unton, travelling from Strasbourg to Mainz in the 1560s, took the time to record in his diary that 'this kynd of travaill is not very plesaunt but rather very paynfull bothe by reson of colde and also because we wer forced to lodg in most places in villages and blynd [h]osteries wher we

¹²¹ *APC*, 11 February, 1590.

¹²² *CSPD*, 11 November 1594.

found ill chere and worse lodginge'.¹²³ Laurence Aldersey, going from Alexandria to Cairo, was duly impressed by the town of 'Rossetto', with its 13 'great churches', but noted that 'as for lodging, there is litle, except we bring it with us'.¹²⁴ Robert Bargrave, also travelling through Ottoman lands, recorded that 'by virtue of our Thundering Commands from Stamble' they were able to obtain lodging 'litle inferior' to that of the town's Qazi, but notes that 'we had almost roome enough for three Persons to lay on the Floore'.¹²⁵ In Şipote, meanwhile, in the 'exceeding pleasant Country' that is in the northeast corner of modern-day Romania, Bargrave relates how his party were 'forc'd to lie in an open Yard amongst Cattle, in a bitter frosty night'.¹²⁶ And Christopher Lowther wrote in 1629 of his journey into Scotland, where, at Langholm, 'we laid in a poor thatched house the wall of it being one course of stones, another of sods of earth, it had a door of wicker rods, and the spider webs hung over our heads as thick as might be in our bed'.¹²⁷

One of the more interesting facets of early modern accommodation, indeed of early modern travel in general, is the extent to which some of the traditional barriers between classes, nationalities, and sexes became more malleable to travelling gentlemen than they might have been at home. Simple logistics and the brute practicalities of travel with surprising frequency overtook any squeamishness about being seen sharing arrangements with the wrong sort of person, or the impropriety of having to procure one's own provisions. Occasionally, travellers would good-naturedly accept a certain

¹²³ BL Sloane MS 1813, fol. 55.

¹²⁴ 'The second voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey, to the Cities of Alexandria, and Cayro in Aegypt. Anno 1586', in Richard Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries* (1598, repr. Glasgow, 1904), vi, 44.

¹²⁵ Bodl. Rawlinson MS 799, fol. 56r.

¹²⁶ Bodl. Rawlinson MS 799, fol. 63r.

¹²⁷ Christopher Lowther, *Our journal into Scotland*, ed. W.D. (Edinburgh, 1894), p. 12.

blurring of boundaries or informal mingling with the *canaille* as a colourful part of the adventure of travel. Reresby, for example, expressed no reservation about sharing a house with some other Englishmen in Padua, even though his description of it as a place ‘wher everyone contributed soe much weekly, and performed the part of stuard and bought provision in their turns’ makes it sound rather like a latter-day hippy commune. Even more strikingly, Reresby describes such an arrangement as simply ‘the way of liveing for strangers in that place’.¹²⁸ Reresby may have been fascinated by the pitch-in pragmatism of his student flatshare in Padua, but far more often, travellers made a point of registering their disgust with any disruption of the social hierarchy, at least in their diaries and travel accounts. Sir Edward Unton was particularly struck by the fact that ‘in every inne where we came all the gests must sit to gether be they never such slaves’, and complained that he was ‘dryven in many places to syt with suche slaves that a man wold abhor to se such fylthye hands in his dyshe’.¹²⁹ Other travellers simply made note of any unusual lodging arrangements with neutrality or bemusement. George Courthop felt it worth mentioning that at Ephesus, his party lodged one night ‘upon the ground in a poor Turk’s house’.¹³⁰ For Bargrave, meanwhile, it was the blurring of gender boundaries that startled him about travelling in Ottoman lands. He remarks, with just a hint of admiration, on ‘a poore small Village, where I could only observe the extraordinary freedome Women have, even throughout the country, the married as well as th’unmarried, permitting us to lay in the same roomes, and neer the same bedds wth them’.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Browning, *Reresby*, p. 13.

¹²⁹ BL Sloane MS 1813, fol. 22.

¹³⁰ Lomas, *Courthop*, p. 117.

¹³¹ Bodl. Rawlinson MS 799, fol. 58r.

In fact, it seems, the various exigencies of early modern travel put travellers into unusual or unconventional situations of this kind with surprising regularity. Peter Heylyn expressed bemusement at the extraordinary diversity of his fellow passengers in a coach from Rouen to Pontoise, noting colourfully that just among the ten of them, there could be found ‘men and women, Lords and serving men, Scholars and Clowns, Ladies and Chambermaids, Priests and Laie-men, Gentlemen and Artificers, people of all sexes and almost all ages’.¹³² Henry Wotton was less amused by his experience, expressing indignation at having to share his coach with ‘two of the worst nature in the worst part of Germanye’.¹³³ Shipping placed travellers in with a colourful mix of characters even more so than stagecoaches. For most young gentlemen, being tossed by the waves on a creaking bark laden with rough-hewn sailors and merchant adventurers must have been an experience at least as ‘foreign’ as their time spent on land in various countries. Laurence Aldersey noted with fascination how he found himself sailing from Tripoli in ‘a smal barke... which boate was fraughted with Turkes, Moores, and Jewes’.¹³⁴ And Henry Blount describes how he set off from Venice ‘with a Caravan of Turkes, and Jewes bound for the Levant, not having Christian with them besides my selfe’.¹³⁵

Money

Travelling abroad was obviously not something every Englishman could expect to do, as a three-year, or even a six-month, tour on the Continent did not come cheaply. Even for many lesser gentry, it could be a significant burden, and many never managed to send

¹³² Heylyn, *Survey*, p. 26.

¹³³ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 233

¹³⁴ ‘Aldersey’, in Hakluyt, p. 43.

¹³⁵ Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London, 1636), p. 5.

their sons abroad. However, one of the reasons for the growing popularity of foreign travel over the period was the fact that, then as now, there existed a multitude of options for how a tour could be conducted, and vast differences between the cost of a nobleman's voyage and that of the son of a minor landowner. A brief word, therefore, is needed about the cost of travel abroad in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the kinds of financial arrangements that were required.

The general cost of living and travelling abroad varied immensely according to the wealth and status of the traveller. A high-ranking young nobleman could not seriously be expected to travel without several men in his train – generally between four and seven, though of course this varied. Lord Mountjoy took eight men with him in 1622, while the Earl of Southampton's licence in 1598 records 'ten servants, six horses, and 200*l.* in money'.¹³⁶ James Cleland, writing in 1607, advised nobles to travel light, and avoid taking more than a tutor, a purse-bearer and a page, noting that 'a greater traine wil hinder you from the knowledge of manie secrets, that more privately you may attaine unto', and that it might arouse jealousy or contempt.¹³⁷ Cleland suggested that a frugal nobleman who made do with only three men in his train could complete his tour for under £200.¹³⁸ And a cursory look at the evidence seems to support this conclusion. There are 44 passports recorded for noblemen in the *Calendar of State Papers* and *Acts of Privy Council* between the years 1560 and 1640, and of these, seven happen to record the amount of money the young traveller was taking out of the kingdom with him.¹³⁹

Richard, earl of Westmeath, was only issued with a one-year pass, and took £60 with him

¹³⁶ *APC*, 3 June 1618; *CSPD*, 6 February 1598.

¹³⁷ Cleland, *Institution*, 252.

¹³⁸ Cleland, *Institution*, 252-3.

¹³⁹ *CSPD*, 6 February 1598; *CSPD*, 25 June 1622; *CSPD*, 17 February 1635; *CSPD*, 12 March 1636 (two passes); *CSPD*, 30 January 1639 (two passes).

to support himself and six servants, while in 1622, the Countess of Rutland travelled to the Spa just for the summer, taking ‘as many servants as she pleases, and 100*l.* in money’. But if these two are left out, then, from the remaining five licences, the average amount of money for a nobleman’s tour works out at exactly £70.

This figure, however, probably underestimates how much the tour would actually have cost. It does not include the money that would have been spent beforehand by the young man’s family, in hiring a tutor or buying necessary travel supplies or providing horses. Nor does it take into account the fact that most travellers would receive money in the form of bills of exchange along the way. Rather, the figure of £70 should be taken as the initial reserve of pocket money taken along at the outset of the trip, and mostly intended for expenses incurred en route. Nicholas Throckmorton, for instance, the English ambassador in Paris, wrote to Cecil in 1561 to advise him of the cost of his son’s travels, suggesting that ‘besides the money that he brings over with him, it will not be amiss to give him a bill of credit for 200 or 300 crowns’.¹⁴⁰ The actual cost of most noblemen’s tours ran into the hundreds, and, in some cases, thousands. In the 1630s, the Earl of Cork gave his son £750 a year to travel on, while the Earl of Oxford in 1575 famously managed to consume over £4,500.¹⁴¹

For gentry, of course, the cost of a tour was much lower, and there seems to have been a common consensus that the whole thing could be managed for around £100 *per annum*. Many travellers, though, had trouble sticking to this guideline. In 1592, Robert Robinson complained that he could not live in Brussels for under £140 a year, lest he

¹⁴⁰ CSPF, 16 May, 1561.

¹⁴¹ Stone, *Crisis*, p. 701.

become ‘hindered by not being apparelled liked a Spaniard’.¹⁴² And in 1617, John Shaw, tutor to Henry and Alexander Erskine, wrote to their father from Paris to acknowledge receipt of £2400 that had been sent for the three of them.¹⁴³ Francis Carew was chided by his father in 1630 for having spent £150 in just the first three months of his tour.¹⁴⁴ Francis Davison’s tutor, Edward Smyth, complained endlessly to the young man’s father, writing just six months into the trip to say that £100 per year would not nearly be enough, and that they would need as much as £200. Smyth urged the elder Davison not to ‘be deceived any longer in Mr. Wo:[tton] and some other, who report they have lived in these parts for a hundred marks by the year;¹⁴⁵ for Mr Granger and some other merchants can prove the contrary by their wofull experience’¹⁴⁶. The reality, of course, was that Smyth, like so many tutors of his age, was stuck between the Scylla of a prodigal son and the Charybdis of a tight-fisted father. He even confessed to the father that ‘Mr Francis is now a man,... and not so easily ruled touching expences, about which we have had more brabblings than I will now speak of’. Nonetheless, it was an awkward position for a tutor to be in when the money ran out, as it left him with few options but to plead for more or simply cut short the young man’s once-in-a-lifetime trip. Davison and his tutor had been sent abroad in June 1595 with £100 for the first year, and expected to make it last. But by February 1596, Smyth was forced to admit that £160 had already been spent, and ‘whether 200*l.* yearly will suffice or not, I cannot tell’.¹⁴⁷ He implored the elder Davison to spare a little more money, noting that ‘the best and wisest of our nation’

¹⁴² *CSPD*, 1 May, 1592.

¹⁴³ *HMC, Mar and Kellie, Supp.*, p. 80.

¹⁴⁴ *BL Additional MS 29599*, fol.37.

¹⁴⁵ About £67.

¹⁴⁶ Francis Davison, *A Poetical Rhapsodie*, ed. Nicholas Harris Nicolas (2 vols., London, 1826), i, vii-viii.

¹⁴⁷ Davison, *Rhapsodie*, p. xi.

whom they met on their travels were ‘exceedingly astonished’ to hear of how little they were forced to live on.¹⁴⁸ Finally, Smyth laid down an ultimatum, writing with earnestness that, without additional funds, ‘I think we must make some beggarly shift to come home, for we cannot continue on these terms’.¹⁴⁹ Young Francis himself even piped up at one point, reminding his father that ‘whosoever, being a traveller, will feed his eyes and his mind, must starve his purse’.¹⁵⁰

The first expense that a would-be traveller would encounter was the cost of procuring a passport. In 1636, Dr Theodore Mayerne complained at the steep rise in the price of passes, claiming that he had been shocked when the clerk had asked him for ‘50 shillings, besides a fee to himself for having written it, a further sum which he said was required for the seal, and some gratuities for the porter and others’. Mayerne insisted that he had ‘on many previous occasions never paid more than 20s. for the licence of the Secretary of State, and 10s. for the seal’.¹⁵¹ Joseph Colston recorded around the same time that ‘our passe & other things at Rye cost 6s 6d’, indicating that Mayerne’s complaints were not unjustified.¹⁵² In 1592, Robert Robinson wrote to an associate that he had ‘laid out 26*l.* in coming and procuring passports’.¹⁵³ Unusually, the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* records in 1638 how much one William Worthington paid for his licence, saying ‘by Henry Kyme, messenger, 40s. has been sent for Mr Nicholas for this pass, and 10s. for his clerks’.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Davison, *Rhapsodie*, p. xii.

¹⁴⁹ Davison, *Rhapsodie*, p. xii.

¹⁵⁰ Davison, *Rhapsodie*, p. xxiii-xxiv.

¹⁵¹ *CSPD*, 25 June 1636.

¹⁵² BL Sloane MS 118, fol. 56.

¹⁵³ *CSPD*, 1 May, 1592.

¹⁵⁴ *CSPD*, 9 September, 1638.

Once the passport had been paid for, there was the cost of the Channel passage and port entry into, usually, France. And indeed, transportation costs, not surprisingly, made up a large share of the expenses of a typical tour. Edward Browne in 1664 paid five shillings to sail from Dover to Calais, and noted in his journal that ‘at our entryng of the port wee payd threepence a piece for our heads; they searched my portmantle at the gate and the custom house, for which I was to pay 5 sols’. From there, it was 40 French livres to Paris.¹⁵⁵ Lord William Howard in 1623 paid £11 4s 6d to get from London to Calais, and then ‘for fees at landing at Callis, and one night’s chargeis’, £4 12s 8d.¹⁵⁶ Wotton found himself paying the rather large sum of £5 15s 8d for the privilege of sharing a stagecoach from Brunswick to Frankfurt in 1589, while in 1623, Lord Howard paid a whopping £23 9s 6d to get from Calais to Spa.¹⁵⁷ And often, it was not just a question of transporting oneself and one’s immediate belongings. In 1630, Francis Carew wrote to his wife to ask her to send a trunk containing his velvet cloak, a suit, two beaver hats, two new pairs of boots, and linens. The request drew an furious response from Carew’s father, who reminded him that ‘it must be very chardgable to sende a trunke from London to Paris for it will cost you 4.^d a pounce from Roan to Paris and I knowe not what more from London to Roan’.¹⁵⁸ The elder Carew reminded his son to remember his station and not dress above it. ‘O stupified Iudgment with pride & vanety, which will not suffer you to be capable of the knowledge or consideration in what case you are in’, he wrote to his son angrily.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ BL Sloane MS 1906, fol. 66v.

¹⁵⁶ *Household Books of the Lord William Howard* (Surtees Soc., lxxviii, 1878), pp. 206-10.

¹⁵⁷ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 233; *William Howard*, pp. 206-10.

¹⁵⁸ BL Additional MS 29599, fol. 39r.

¹⁵⁹ BL Additional MS 29599, fol. 39r.

Indeed, clothing was what often broke the bank for young travellers. There was always a fine line to be trod between, on the one hand, the importance of being seen with all the right clothes, and on the other, the danger of looking ridiculous. This line was easy enough to walk at home, but no one ever quite seemed to know what to expect from foreign fashion, and anyway styles changed rapidly and varied from country to country. One nation's ostentation could always be another nation's raging fashion that season. Correspondingly, it seems, young English travellers ended up spending more than they wanted to, perhaps even more than they had to, on apparel. Secretary Windebank wrote to Cecil from Paris in 1561, just to inform him that in France, 'the fashion of gentlemen and of meaner men is to ride with foot-cloth, and therefore Mr Thomas must have his horse and foot-cloth'. Four shillings a week would have to be added to the young man's expenses, for the keeping of two horses. And, just to make matters worse, 'his furniture of apparel for the winter will stand almost 20*l.*'¹⁶⁰ The elder Cecil balked at the charges, prompting Windebank to remind him that 'a gentleman's estimation is less if he follow not the manner of the country; and if all the gentlemen ride, it is not meet that Mr Thomas go on foot'.¹⁶¹ The household accounts of Sir Henry Slingsby, meanwhile, give a revealing glimpse into just how much could be spent on clothing in preparation for a son's trip. They record, among other things, a white felt hat (13*s.*) with a white feather (4*s.*), a pair of white shoes (4*s.*), a horse described as a 'black nage for his iourney into Italie' (£3 10*s.*), three pair of boot hose (6*s.*), six pairs of socks (3*s.*), a dozen 'Russitt silke poynts' (2*s.*), a silver seal with the family arms engraved on it (5*s.*), a book called 'Italian Scholmaister' (28*s.*), another horse for going into France (3*s.* 8*d.*), repairs on the

¹⁶⁰ *CSPF*, 25 July 1561.

¹⁶¹ *CSPF*, 25 August 1561.

horse's saddle and stirrups (2s. 6d.), a perfumed satin bag embroidered with silk and gold and lined with taffeta, along with a comb case lined with green velvet and containing glass combs and a brush (£4). All these essential supplies, purchased over a two-month period before young William Slingsby's tour, came to a rather substantial £10 12s.¹⁶² Add to that another £20 in wages and tips for the young man's tutor, Mr Snell, and already Sir Henry had laid out over £30 before his son had even applied for a passport.

Such expenses may sound extravagant to modern ears, but one should not underestimate the very real importance of being dressed appropriately abroad. As Thomas Culpeper put it in 1655, care should be taken that the young traveller not spend too much, but a certain 'discreet plenty should be afforded to every one that pretends to travel for his advantage, that he may keep pace with Gentlemen, and men of parts'. And this was not just to avoid embarrassment or to 'fit in'. There were very real material advantages to travelling in style. Culpeper argued that the young man would gain nothing from his travels if he was 'confined to *Chambre Garnie*, or a poor *Pension*, where he shall converse with none, but persons ignorant of good manners, and of all things which a Traveller should be most ambitious to know or learn'. To be sent abroad without adequate funds, said Culpeper, was 'not to travel, but shift, which they would better do in their own Country, than in forein parts; where their hands are bound, and their tongues tied'.¹⁶³

Room and board along the way was another major expense. Edward Unton recorded in his travel journal in the 1560s that the cost of a meal in Germany could be anywhere from 10d. to 14d., but noted that Italy could be a little more expensive: 'our

¹⁶² *The Diary of Henry Slingsby*, ed. Daniel Parsons (London, 1836), pp. 272-4.

¹⁶³ T[homas] C[ulpeper], *Morall discourses and essayes* (London, 1655), pp. 73-4.

vittayles all the way and also for the moste parte of Italy is onely chykens and pogens painge ordinary for our horse and our selves after the rate of xiiii pence a man and horse at dyner and xxi^d.¹⁶⁴ Wotton, on the other hand, complained of how costly the food could be in Frankfurt, saying that ‘every meal stands a traveller in the third of a dollar [about 1s. 6d.] in that town’, a radically different figure from Unton’s.¹⁶⁵ In 1561, meanwhile, Windebank informed Cecil that with Throckmorton’s help, he had

found a gentleman, who, for 300 crowns a year, will lodge, board, and find them fire and candle, with other necessaries, and give them stable room for their horses, and allow them a fourth man as lackey. The monthly rate is twenty-five crowns, that is eight for Mr Thomas, eight for Windebank, seven for Thomas Kendall, and the rest for the fourth man, which he will not abate.¹⁶⁶

In 1623, William Howard noted that his ‘dyett at Spawe for 40 days’ came to £29 5s. 6d., while at Dunkirk, ‘six neights dyett and stable’ cost £9 18s. 4d.¹⁶⁷

While a certain amount of money would be dispatched in the traveller’s purse at the outset of his journey, this initial investment would often prove insufficient, and the traveller would need to ‘top up’ with extra funds along the way. This was accomplished by a system of bills of exchange – essentially an early modern form of traveller’s cheque – which could be presented to foreign bankers for an equivalent sum in local currency. Cleland told the traveller to ‘remember to take with you foure bills of exchange for the whole yeare’, to be paid quarterly in French crowns.¹⁶⁸ William Slingsby, meanwhile, was sent on his way with a bill of exchange for £50, ‘to be repaid againe at Florence the first of octobre next... for his Chardgs & expencis in Italie’.¹⁶⁹ Of course, things did not always go smoothly and, then as now, avaricious money-changers presented a constant

¹⁶⁴ BL Sloane MS 1813, fol. 40v-41.

¹⁶⁵ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 233.

¹⁶⁶ *CSPF*, 25 July 1561.

¹⁶⁷ *William Howard*, pp. 206-10.

¹⁶⁸ Cleland, *Institution*, p. 253.

¹⁶⁹ Parsons, *Slingsby*, pp. 273-4.

problem. Henry Wotton complained in 1589 of the steep commissions charged by currency merchants. He told his half-brother that he had purchased two bills of exchange worth £20 before leaving, but had specified that they could be presented abroad for ‘the like sum in the current money of that country, without any manner of “provision” [commission], as the merchants call it – a pacified word for it’. Wotton added that he had changed the rest of his money into French crowns, ‘but I lost one French crown in thirty’.¹⁷⁰

With all the expenses outlined here, and many more besides, it should probably not come as a surprise that, on some occasions, a young man’s tour really could be the ruin of his family. Sir Edward Unton’s son, Edward, set off for Europe in 1574, apparently in the footsteps of his father’s journey many years earlier. It was to be a disastrous venture. The young Unton fell foul of the Inquisition in Milan in 1583, precipitating a diplomatic incident between Leicester and the Spanish ambassador. Eventually, Edward’s younger brother Henry was forced to go abroad to negotiate a ransom, to the tune of 10,000 French crowns.¹⁷¹ Fortunately for the Untons, this was a sum they could afford. Francis Carew’s family, on the other hand, was not so fortunate. The young traveller’s frustrated father begged him not to bring any more shame to the family than he had already brought with his endless and mounting debts. It appeared that in 1630 Francis had slipped away to France unannounced with a friend, leaving his family to sort out his considerable financial obligations. The young man had left a trail of debt behind him big enough to ensure that he would be sent to prison on his return. His

¹⁷⁰ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 228. Several actual bills of exchange, associated with Dr Joseph Colston’s trip abroad in the early 1640s, still survive, and can be found scattered throughout BL Sloane MS 118, along with other details of his travel expenses.

¹⁷¹ *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1558-1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler (3 vols., London, 1981), iii, 540-41.

father advised him, while abroad, to ‘be warrye of youre livinge there, and to live as privately as you can, yea though it were to the changinge of youre name and the cuttinge of youre longe heayre’.¹⁷² In a subsequent letter, Francis was told by his father that ‘divers of youre suerties are nowe sued for youre debts, and are like to be clapped up in prison for them... which will be... the greatest disgrace that ever befell me, bothe for the clamore of the cuntry, and the crye both of theire wives and children’.¹⁷³ Six months later, the exasperated father told his son that ‘my lande is all so ingaged, for Joynters and Intaylled, that no man will deale with me upon any termes’.¹⁷⁴

Companionship

One aspect of the tour not often remarked on is the role of companionship in travel. Rare was the traveller who left his home in England alone and returned alone, without spending any portion of his travels in the company of other travellers. Given the dangers of early modern travel already outlined, it should not be a surprise to find that young men generally travelled in pairs or groups.

The most common form this took was that of brothers travelling together. There are so many examples of this from the passport records that it seems hardly worth citing specific ones. Suffice it to say that, of the over 1,900 licences issued to pleasure travellers from 1560 to 1640, and recorded in *Acts of Privy Council* or the other calendared sources, 160 were part of a grouping or pairing of brothers touring in tandem. However, the practicalities of life and young gentlemen’s educations meant that brothers could not always set out and return at the same time. Sometimes one brother, generally the younger

¹⁷² BL Additional MS 29599, fol. 38r.

¹⁷³ BL Additional MS 29599, fol. 39v.

¹⁷⁴ BL Additional MS 29599, fol. 37.

one, would have to join the other mid-trip, as was the case in 1618 when Edward and Robert Guildford were joined, three years into their trip, by their younger brother Henry, who was to travel with them for a further three years, and presumably benefit from their experience.¹⁷⁵

One of the more surprising things to emerge from the passport records, though, is the fact that the traditional model of travelling brothers was not the only type of family grouping that was undertaken. There are a fair number of examples of fathers travelling with their sons as well, though obviously this was far less common, no more than a dozen passes reflecting this type of arrangement. John and Edward Franck travelled with their father in 1616-18, as did the Leicestershire gentleman Thomas Smyth, who took his father Sir Francis along with him in 1624.¹⁷⁶ William and Charles Terrill of Sussex travelled with their father to France in 1638.¹⁷⁷ And Sir Edward Unton travelled abroad around 1564, but then ten years later appears to have accompanied his son Edward for at least a part of his own tour.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, when a father did accompany his son abroad, it often seemed to be only for a short time, as if he felt the need to ‘drop off’ the young man in France and come back. In 1616, the Council granted a pass to ‘Sir Henry Frankland, of Aldeworke, in the county of Yorke, knight, and for Anthoney Frankland, his sonne, to passe into the partes beyound the seas’, noting that ‘his sonne is to remayne there for the space of three yeares’. The strong implication, of course, was that the father would return as soon as he was assured of his son’s safe placement.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, in 1621, Thomas Messingham was given permission ‘to goe over into France and to carrie with him his

¹⁷⁵ *APC*, 23 June, 1618.

¹⁷⁶ *APC*, 16 April 1616; *APC*, 30 June 1624.

¹⁷⁷ *PCR*, 15 May 1638.

¹⁷⁸ *PRO SP 12/154*, no.5 (September 1574).

¹⁷⁹ *APC*, 6 June, 1616.

sonne, William Messingham, whom hee desireth to place there for a time to learne the language etc.’¹⁸⁰

Occasionally, one finds evidence of married couples, or even entire families, travelling together. In 1611, the Council issued a pass to Sir Robert Drury, of Hawstead, Suffolk, and ‘his wife and family, to travel for three years’.¹⁸¹ It was not unheard of for women to be given passes to go and visit their husbands while they were working abroad. But the Drury pass is something altogether different. For one thing, it is issued to a gentleman. But more importantly, it follows the conventions of a tourist pass, specifying a three-year window, and ‘travel’ rather than ‘go over into’. In short, in the Drurys, we may very well have England’s first recorded example of a family holiday. Meanwhile, John Napper of Preston, Dorset, and his wife Francis were issued with a three-year licence to travel together at the end of 1614. The licence was renewed in 1618, and again in 1620.¹⁸² We know nothing of the Nappers or their station in life, but we do know that five years later, one William Napper, also of Preston, and almost certainly a relative of John and Francis, was issued with a tourist pass. This Napper was recorded as being a ‘gentleman’, indicating that John and Francis, too, were probably not travelling to conduct business.

Even more common than such examples of families travelling together are those situations in which travel seems to have become a sort of family activity, passed down from one generation to the next. In some families, travelling had clearly just become the thing to do, with the men of every generation embarking on a tour abroad when they came of age. One such family were the Spekes of White Lackington, Somerset. In 1577,

¹⁸⁰ *APC*, 6 April 1621.

¹⁸¹ *CSPD*, 2 July 1611.

¹⁸² *APC*, 31 December 1614; *APC*, 20 January 1618; *APC*, 31 October 1620.

Sir George Speke undertook a tour of the Continent, which included a visit to Paris. His grandson George travelled in the mid-1630s, along with his brother-in-law George Pye. The pair were tutored by John Beale, who was Pye's cousin.¹⁸³ Sir George Speke's half-brother Hugh and his son George were also on the Continent on several occasions, though it appears this half of the family, based in Wiltshire and increasingly estranged, were motivated by their recusancy. Another such family were the Lyttons of Knebworth, Hertfordshire. Sir Rowland Lytton's three sons, William, Rowland and Philip, all took tours abroad around 1610, and William's son Rowland also travelled in 1638. Occasionally, the younger brother would even travel well before the older. Edward Browne's younger brother Thomas went on his tour in 1660 at the age of fourteen, two years before Edward himself had the opportunity.¹⁸⁴

It was also not unusual to find the presence of local networks reflected in the travelling patterns of young gentlemen. Sons of the various gentry families of one area would often travel together. One good example of this that of the Lyttons, the Smyths, the Harvys, and the Nodeses of Hertfordshire in the 1610s. In 1611, a licence was issued to Sir Rowland Lytton and his brother Philip, of Knebworth, just south of Stevenage, to travel with George Smyth of Wheathampstead, about halfway between Harpenden and Welwyn, George Nodes of Shephall, a suburb of Stevenage, and Samuel Harvy of Shenley, between St Albans and Barnet.¹⁸⁵ As it turns out, George Smyth was not only a neighbour to the Lytton brothers, but also their brother-in-law, being married to their older sister Judith. It is impossible to know for certain, but the evidence suggests that

¹⁸³ *Copy-Book of Sir Amias Poulet's Letters, Written During his Embassy to France*, ed. Octavius Ogle (London, 1866), pp. 16-17; *CSPD*, 31 May 1639; *The Four Visitations of Berkshire. Vol.I* (Harleian Soc., lvi, 1907), p. 270; *DNB* (Beale).

¹⁸⁴ *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, ed. Simon Wilkin (London, 1836).

¹⁸⁵ *CSPD*, 11 July 1611.

Smyth may have been a little older than his travelling companions since he was already married and died in 1620. It is likely that he acted as a sort of *de facto* tutor to the group. Samuel Harvy, meanwhile, became a sea captain in later life, and in 1618, appeared to be planning a trip to Guyana with none other than Sir Rowland Lytton.¹⁸⁶

Nor was it just local family networks that became replicated in the companionship patterns of travelling gentlemen. Young gentry who knew one another from university could also be found travelling in groups when they had completed their studies. Philip Parsons, William Wiseman, and Edward Randall, for example, were all recorded separately in the *Acts of Privy Council* as having been granted licence to travel in late summer 1626. However, all three signed their names in the University of Padua's visitors' book on 22 April 1627, indicating that they had certainly been travelling together. They would surely have become acquainted at Oxford, from whence they had all graduated MA before receiving permission to travel abroad.¹⁸⁷ Young men travelling together did not always stay together, for reasons that are too often lost to history. Thomas Covert and William Hipplesley were given licence by the Council to travel together for two years, along with two servants, yet their names turn up on the Padua register a full two years apart, suggesting that they must have parted company for whatever reason fairly early on.¹⁸⁸ Similarly Edmund Wilson and William Rawson received their passports together in 1638, but Wilson appears to have turned up alone in Padua at the end of 1640.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ *The Visitations of Hertfordshire* (Harleian Soc., xxii, 1886), pp. 10, 18, 80; *VCH Hertfordshire*, ii, 308, 444.

¹⁸⁷ *APC*, 30 August 1626, 15 September 1626; Brown, *Inglesi e Scozzesi*, p. 146.

¹⁸⁸ *PCR*, 27 March 1638; Brown, *Inglesi e Scozzesi*, p. 149, 150.

¹⁸⁹ *PCR*, 4 June 1638; Brown, *Inglesi e Scozzesi*, p. 152.

Probably the most important travelling companions were the tutors, and, for those more fortunate, their servants. The role of travelling tutors will be discussed in greater depth in a later chapter, but it is worth noting here that not everyone could afford a tutor, and that sometimes tutors, like younger brothers, would join the trip halfway through, or, alternatively, leave early once the young man had become settled into his travels safely. A portion of the register book from the port of Rye from the 1630s happens to have survived, and its contents been recorded in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*. On 6 March 1636, it mentions a departing passenger called ‘John Metcalf, English servant to Mr Noy, now in Paris’, and on 18 March, a ‘John Barter, governor to Mr Noy, now in Paris, and Francis Chantler, servant to the said Mr Noy’. However, Noy himself, interestingly, had departed from Rye the previous September.¹⁹⁰ Conversely, Robert Leche, who served as tutor to John Reresby in the 1650s, had to cut short his tutelage and return home to England in July 1656, when Reresby was forced to cut his costs.¹⁹¹

Language

A final word must be said about one of the most timeless of travel practicalities – communication in foreign languages. What is perhaps most striking to a modern observer is just how marginal a language English was considered to be in Europe at the time, and just what pains English travellers took to become fluent in foreign languages. For an early modern traveller, setting out on a journey without having made some effort to acquire languages was no better than setting out without any money. In fact, the analogy was often made, as in 1656 by Richard Flecknoe, who noted that it was ‘as necessary for

¹⁹⁰ *CSPD*, entry under 4 April 1636.

¹⁹¹ Browning, *Reresby*, p. 10.

those who travel to make provision of Languages as of money'.¹⁹² Flecknoe, like most travellers, felt that French was the most important language for a young man to learn, followed by Italian and German. French, he said, would 'serve you thorough all Flanders, Spain, Savoy... as through the Neitherland up to Sweadland, Denmark and Poland,... where almost all the people of quality speak French'. Italian, meanwhile, would be useful 'not only through all Italy, but Sicily, Malta, and almost all the Isles of the Archipelago and Medditerranean Sea, up to Constantinople, where your Language begins to change, and fails you in travelling further Levant... It serves thorough all Dalmatia, and beyond the Venetians Territory up to Austria'.¹⁹³ And German, he noted, would serve the traveller in Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, Denmark, and Sweden. 'Lastly', added Flecknoe, English was useless, 'the English Language out of our Dominions being like our English money current in neighbouring Countries who traffick with us; but farther off you must go to Banquiers of your own Nation, or none will take it of your hands'.¹⁹⁴ The importance of French was widely agreed upon, but there were disagreements about what a traveller's third and fourth languages should be. Francis Osborne, for instance, advised his son that 'Next to Experience, Languages are the richest lading of a Traveller, among which French is most usefull; Italian and Spanish not being so fruitfull in Learning'.¹⁹⁵ While Hubert Languet told a young Philip Sidney that he found it 'almost laughable that your countrymen should strive so energetically for eloquence in Italian, though from the Italians you get nothing advantageous that I know of... perhaps you are afraid that you will not be able to persuade them to take your

¹⁹² Flecknoe, *Relation*, p. 103-4.

¹⁹³ Flecknoe, *Relation*, p. 104.

¹⁹⁴ Flecknoe, *Relation*, p. 105.

¹⁹⁵ Francis Osborne, *Advice to a son* (Oxford, 1656), pp. 85-6.

money unless you are very fluent'.¹⁹⁶ Languet felt that German would be far more useful to an Englishman.

The degree of proficiency in languages varied from traveller to traveller, and depended on the language in question. Courthop was probably not unusual for a English traveller in Ottoman lands when he noted that, for a period of twenty days, on his way to Constantinople, he spoke to no one, for 'we understood not their language'.¹⁹⁷ Thomas Coryate, by contrast, claimed to have delivered a speech in Persian to Shah Abbas I. Of course, one has to wonder at the outlandish claims made by some travellers that they spoke foreign languages so well as to go undetected as foreigners. Reresby, for instance, claims he spoke French to the Princess of Orange so as not to reveal himself an Englishman, and then further described how, in Brussels, he lodged at a *pension*, 'wher I passed for a Frenchman'.¹⁹⁸

Hubert Languet's advice to Sidney provides some clues as to how hard a traveller might have to work at language proficiency. Languet encouraged the young man 'to make an effort to improve your pronunciation', prescribing the following regimen:

Find yourself a learned man whose pronunciation you approve, and talk with him every day for half an hour in private. ¶ At first take the pronunciation of only the letter *A* for correction, and tell your man to criticize you as often as you mispronounce it, and whenever you are corrected, you should pay him a little money, or something of the sort, as a penalty. I am sure that within five or six days you will feel that you have not wasted your efforts, and you will go on to the rest more quickly.¹⁹⁹

Indeed, the proliferation of foreign-language grammar books, study manuals and dictionaries available in England from the later sixteenth century attests to how hard travellers were willing to work on acquiring linguistic skills even before their departures.

¹⁹⁶ Peter Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney* (New Haven, 1972), p. 140.

¹⁹⁷ Lomas, *Courthop*, p. 119.

¹⁹⁸ Browning, *Reresby*, p. 19.

¹⁹⁹ Osborn, *Sidney*, p. 145.

William Thomas' *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer* (1550) and John Florio's *Firste Frutes* (1578) and *Second Frutes* (1591) are only the most well-known of the crop.²⁰⁰

There is evidence that, around the end of the sixteenth century, foreign language tutors began making their services available to gentry students enrolled at the ancient universities, on an extra-curricular basis. Jacopo Castelvetro, for instance, was quite active as an Italian tutor in Cambridge, and Florio himself counted a number of English travellers among his pupils.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Others include: Claudius Hollyband, *The Frenche schoolemaister* (London, 1573); H.G., *An Italian grammer* (London, 1575) and *Campo di fior or else the flourie field of foure languages* (London, 1583).

²⁰¹ Jason Lawrence, 'The Siren songs of Italie: Italian Literary Forms in Elizabethan and Jacobean England' (Oxford University DPhil. thesis, 2000). For more on Castelvetro, see Kathleen T. Butler, 'Giacomo Castelvetro, 1546-1616', *Italian Studies* 5 (1960), 1-42; and Eleanor Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro: Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 6 (1943), 119-148.

Chapter 3 – The Numbers

Even those historians who have looked at early modern travel rarely seem aware of its actual extent. Sara Warneke has written that ‘during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many thousands of Englishmen travelled abroad in order to learn foreign languages and to observe the cultures, manners and societies of foreign nations’, but she is only guessing.¹ It therefore becomes important for a study like this one to make at least some attempt to produce statistical data about the actual number of English people who travelled abroad before 1660. Though it will be seen that any firm or reliable figures are impossible to deliver, this chapter will attempt to present data that might give us at least a better idea of the prevalence of travel over the course of the period under question, as well as some further clues about the types of people who were travelling. Incomplete though such a study must necessarily be, it is important to undertake, if only because it shows that the sheer extent of ‘curiosity’ travel in this period was far greater than previously thought. The data presented below will show, fairly comfortably, that at least 2,000, and possibly as many as 10,000, young Englishmen undertook some form of travel abroad in the century leading up to the Restoration.

I – Qualitative evidence

Before embarking on a statistical survey of the evidence for the numbers of travellers, it seems worth examining some of the more contextual and incidental clues we have for the popularity of travelling abroad in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We have a number of helpful hints from a variety of contemporary sources. We have already seen

¹ Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden, 1995), p. 1.

the lengths that Fynes Moryson went to in the 1590s to avoid being recognised in Rome by anyone who knew him from Cambridge.² Around the same time, Sir Thomas Chaloner complained to the Earl of Essex that ‘such a rabble of English roam now in Italy that it would seem as though the English laws did not forbid the voyage’.³ Philemon Holland wrote in 1600 that fascination with Roman antiquities ‘hath moved many a man to undertake a voiage to Rome’, a sentiment echoed by John Barclay in 1614 when he grumbled that Rome ‘remaines even at this day, an example of life and breeding to many Nations; our people supposing that to be the only place for the polishing of youth, and the nursery of all humanity’.⁴ In 1612, Dudley Carleton attested to the presence of around 70 English travellers in Padua alone.⁵ The character of Monsieur D’Olive in the 1606 George Chapman play of the same name, set in Paris, complains of the steady stream of English travellers being sent to him ‘to learne fashions’. ‘I can not looke into the Cittie, but one or other makes tender of his good partes to me’, he exclaims, though clearly this is literary hyperbole.⁶ John Evelyn wrote in 1652 that the main impetus for his trip had been the sight of so many of his countrymen travelling – a motive which he mocked as being ‘a certain vaine Emulation’.⁷ By the mid-seventeenth century, Archibald Campbell could take for granted that travel ‘hath been all along the practise of this Nation’, and Margaret Cavendish, in her 1662 ‘Oration concerning the Forein Travels of Young Gentlemen’ complained that ‘You think your Sons not well Bred, unless you send them to Travel into Forein Nations, to see and understand Fashions, Customs, and Manners of

² Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (3 vols., London, 1617), iii, 31.

³ HMC, *Salisbury MSS* (24 vols., London, 1883-1976), vii, 10.

⁴ Livius, Titus, *The Romane historie: also the breviaries of L. Florus*, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1600), p. 1346; John Barclay, *The mirrour of mindes. Englished by T.M[ay]* (London, 1631), p. 136.

⁵ HMC, *Bucleuch MSS* (3 vols., London, 1899-1926), i, 120-1.

⁶ George Chapman, *Monsieur D’Olive* (London, 1606), fol. F1r.

⁷ J[ohn] E[velyn], *The state of France* (London, 1652), fol. A5v.

the World, by which they may Learn the better to Know themselves, and to Judge of others'.⁸ Writing in 1668, Clarendon moaned that 'We can all remember when very few Men travelled beyond the Seas, except it was to be a Soldier... Now very few stay at Home, or think they are fit for good Company if they have not been beyond the Seas'.⁹ Many contemporaries also commented on the growing popularity of travel literature. In the preface to his published *Itinerary* in 1648, John Raymond wrote that 'though this Booke was not writ to bee Printed, yet the worst (infallibly) are printed to be read', and noted with mock weariness that he expected his travel account would 'expose some Novelties which I question not but this age will disgest'.¹⁰

We may also draw upon studies already undertaken by other historians, many of which offer at least partial clues about the popularity of travel in this period. J.T. Cliffe writes that 'During the period 1558-1642 over a hundred Yorkshire gentlemen travelled on the Continent for their "better experience", most of these in the early seventeenth century', though he gives no indication of how he established that figure.¹¹ Based on the data that will be presented in the remainder of this chapter, Cliffe's estimate, if anything, seems conservative. Then there is Lawrence Stone who took the trouble of putting together a chart of the number of noblemen travelling abroad, arranged by decade, from 1560 to 1640. Stone's total reckoning for the eighty-year period is 68 noblemen who travelled, 41 of the examples concentrated in the decades from 1600 to 1619, and 1630-39.¹²

⁸ Archibald Campbell, *Instructions to a son* (Edinburgh, 1661), p. 69; Margaret Cavendish, *Oration of divers sorts, accommodated to divers places* (London, 1662), pp. 73-4.

⁹ Edward Hyde, *A dialogue concerning education* (Glasgow, 1764), p. 336.

¹⁰ John Raymond, *An itinerary, contayning a voyage made through Italy in the yeare 1646 and 1647* (London, 1648), fol. A4r-v.

¹¹ J.T. Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry* (London, 1969), p. 77.

¹² Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1965), p. 793.

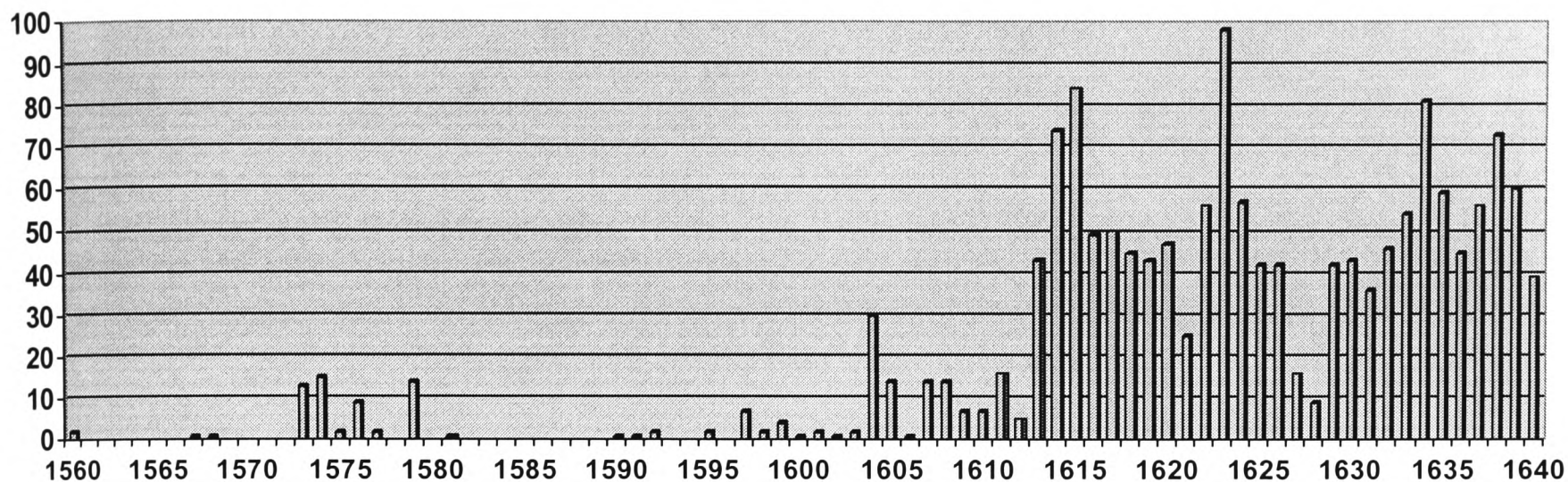
The nobility, though, represented only a small fraction of those travelling abroad in this period, and the real question here is, how many young gentlemen of lesser rank went abroad? Any sort of speculation on the number of travellers, either from contemporary or secondary sources, is just that. To come up with a realistic estimate for the popularity of foreign travel, we must try to come up with some hard data, and that is the project to which the remainder of this chapter will be devoted.

II – *Passport data*

We already know that, since 1381, every subject leaving the realm had, at least in theory, been required to obtain permission to travel. So it seems that the most obvious place to begin any statistical survey of travellers is with the passport records themselves. It will be seen that there are limitations on the usefulness of any such survey, but these limitations are not so severe as to render the exercise meaningless. Table 3.1 accumulates all the data gathered in the course of a detailed survey of licences and passes recorded in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, the *Acts of Privy Council*, the manuscript Privy Council Registers, and the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* for the years from 1560 to 1640.¹³

¹³ The *CPR* contains only seven passes for the years under question. These have been included for greater comprehensiveness.

Table 3.1 - Total Recorded 'Tourist' Licences by Year (excludes Spa licences)



The immediate point to be made about the data presented in this graph is that they are the result of combining *APC*, *CSPD*, *PCR* and *CPR*, so it is not very useful for getting a sense of trends over time. For that, we are better off using each of the major sources of recorded licences individually:

Table 3.2 - Privy Council (APC/PCR) Licences 1560-1640 (excluding Spa licences)

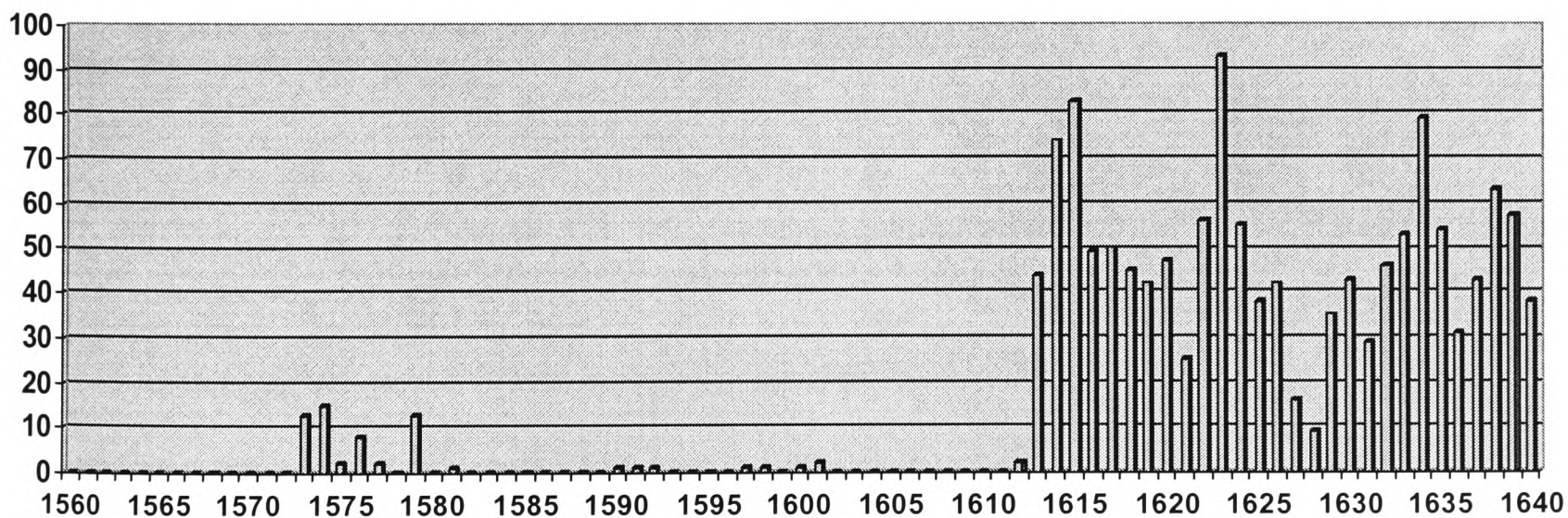
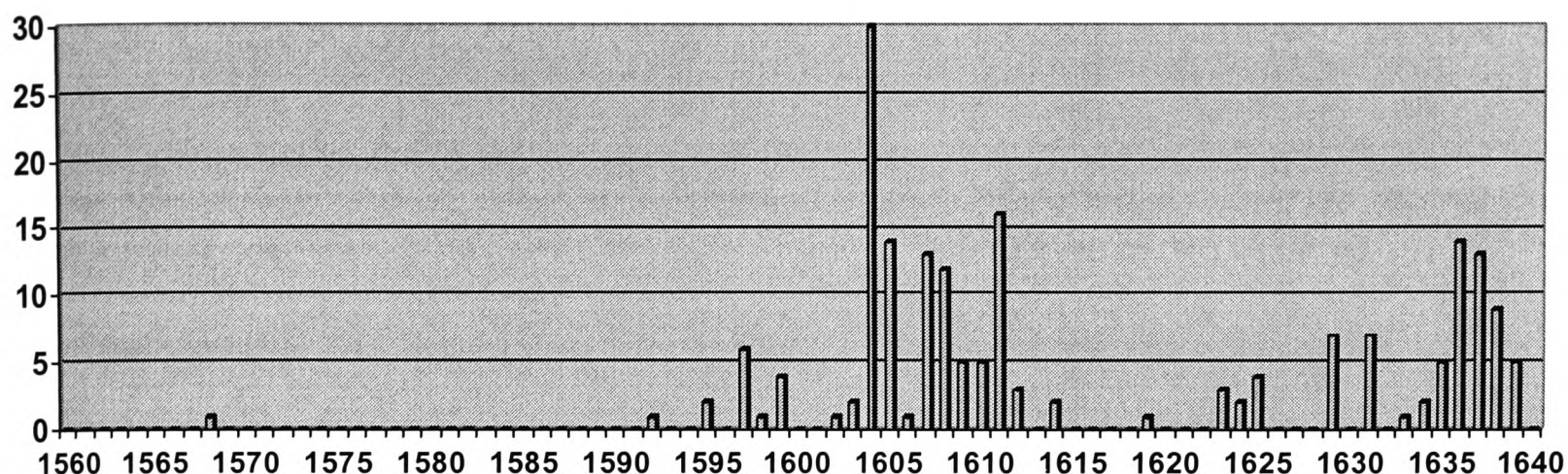
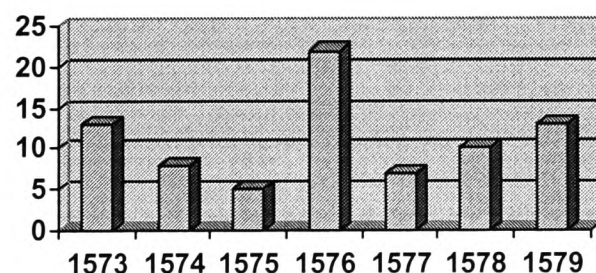


Table 3.3 - CSPD Licences 1560-1640 (excluding Spa licences)

It is also worth mentioning that a register of passes survives from the 1570s, and is kept at the Public Record Office, under PRO SP 12/154. It contains a total of 101 licences from 1574 to 1579, of which 78 can comfortably be classed as ‘tourist’ licences according to criteria that will be explained later in this chapter. All of these data have been left out of the three previous charts, in order to avoid skewing the evidence and making the 1570s appear a heyday of foreign travel. However, they are worth presenting on their own here, if only as a reminder that travel abroad did not begin in 1604, and that any lack of records in *APC* and *CSPD* from the sixteenth century is just that – a lack of records.

Table 3.4 - 'Tourist' Licences from PRO SP 12/154 (excluding Spa licences)

III – *Passport data analysis: gaps and lacunae*

The first thing that must be explained about these graphs is their terminal dates. Though the decision to begin the survey in 1560 seems obvious enough, coinciding as it does with the start date of this dissertation, the decision to stop in 1640 is simply a reflection of the fact that the political turbulence of the 1640s and 1650s makes it increasingly more difficult to draw a sharp line between ‘tourists’ and ‘exiles’. It has already been established in the introductory chapter that this distinction can be a difficult one to make, and it is even more difficult when we are dealing not with characters about whom we know a great deal, like John Reresby, but with comparatively obscure names recorded in passport records. Furthermore, 1640 is when the printed *Acts of Privy Council* more-or-less expires and ceases to be of value. To be more precise, the *APC* actually stops in June 1631, but it can be supplemented for the years from June 1631 to the end of 1640 by making use of the unpublished manuscripts of the Privy Council Registers (PRO PC2/41-53) – effectively the same thing as *APC*, but not transcribed, edited, or calendared in any way.¹⁴ Although the *CSPD* certainly continues well past 1640, the unfortunate fact is that, from around 1612 onwards, the overwhelming majority of passes were recorded in the *APC* rather than the *CSPD*, making any attempt to continue the survey beyond 1640 fairly pointless.

The second point to be made about this data is that, as a result of a fire in 1618 that destroyed many of the records kept at Whitehall, *APC* has several lacunae: July 1582 to mid-February 1586, September 1593 to the end of 1594, and, most crucially, January

¹⁴ The PCR does continue for 1640-45, but in a far more compressed and incomplete manner. To use this volume would have risked grossly underrepresenting the extent of travel during these five years.

1602 to the end of April 1613. This latter gap in the records is a particularly difficult one for our purposes, as it coincides directly with the period in which licences to travel must have seen their most significant and rapid increase. In the years from 1597 to 1602 put together, there are only five licences recorded in *APC* and seventeen in the *CSPD*. By contrast, in 1613, there are nearly 50 in the *APC* alone. In 1614, that number jumps to around 75, and rises again to nearly 90 in the following year. It would, of course, be very interesting to try to sketch when this growth spurt begins, and whether it is gradual or sudden. Obviously, a massive watershed takes place at some point between 1602 and 1613. Not only did the number of licences issued jump substantially, but it also became standard practice for all licences to make some reference to ‘with the usual provisos’, indicating that at some point, the issuing of a pass had become a very routine job for the Privy Council.

The natural conclusion would be that the change in tone and the large growth in numbers was a result of the end of war with Spain in 1604. However, there is some reason to believe that this might not be the case. The British Library’s Additional 11402 manuscript contains a copy of the Privy Council Register for the years 1602 to 1611. The first two years of this have been transcribed and published in volume thirty-two of the *APC*, and for our purposes are therefore included in *APC* data. But the years from 1604 to 1611 have never been put into print. What is striking about this manuscript is that it reveals a mere eight licences recorded for the years 1604 to 1611 – many fewer than one would expect operating under the assumption that the end of the war with Spain was the major watershed in recorded licences. Instead, it appears that it is sometime between 1611 and 1613 that the Privy Council begins recording licences in much larger numbers,

suggesting that it is actually the death of Robert Cecil in 1612 to which we should be directing our attention. It is quite possible that, while he was still alive, Cecil literally *owned* the licensing process, and that it was only after his death that it became a regular (and more regularly *recorded*) feature of the Council's business, explaining the sudden jump in *APC* passes after 1612. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that Additional 11402 is only a very partial record of Council business and that many passes from this period are simply permanently lost to history. Moreover, Additional 11402 only goes up to 1611, and the *APC* picks up again in May 1613, making it even more difficult to map any shift in licensing patterns to the death of Robert Cecil in 1612. In the end, the whole frustrating exercise is simply a reminder that too much should not be made of the licence records themselves, as they only paint the most partial of pictures.

IV – Passport data analysis: limitations of the evidence

Having established start and end dates and accounted for gaps and lacunae in the records, it becomes tempting to assume that, simply by counting the number of licences in *CSPD*, *APC*, *PCR*, and *CPR*, one might arrive at a fairly accurate impression of the number of people travelling abroad. If only it were so simple. To begin with, it must be kept in mind that passport records paint a very incomplete picture of the prevalence of foreign travel. An earlier chapter has already shown that there existed a serious problem with unlicensed travel throughout the period, and that most actions that the government tried to take against it proved ineffectual. But a detailed trawl through the passport records reveals just how widespread the problem might have been, and just how little overlap there is between those whose names are recorded in the passport registers and

those we know from other sources to have been travellers. For instance, Logan Pearsall Smith points out quite rightly that there is no record of a licence ever having been issued to Henry Wotton for his travels.¹⁵ But Wotton is not the only well-known traveller about whom we can say this. Lord Herbert of Cherbury travelled in 1608-09, yet there is no licence recorded for him anywhere.¹⁶ Indeed, there is no licence on record even for such a figure as John Evelyn. William Brereton penned a well-known account of his travels in 1634-35, yet we only have a licence issued to him in 1637.¹⁷ We know that the elder George Speake, of White Lackington, Somerset, travelled in the late 1570s, because a letter from Sir Amias Paulet to his father in 1577 notes that he is at Paris and is behaving well, but there is no sign of a passport anywhere.¹⁸ And Sir Robert Boyle, the earl of Cork, recorded in his diary on 28 October 1639 that his sons Francis and Robert and their companions ‘departed London this day, having his Ma^{ty} licence under his hand and privy signett for to continew abrode 3 yeares’.¹⁹ There is, again, no record of any such licence.

And it is not only famous or well-born travellers who fail to appear in the passport records. Close attention to the sources reveals a rather high frequency of inconsistencies and discontinuities among the licence records of travellers of all rank. Most often, the inconsistencies have to do with renewals of licences. Permission to go beyond seas was almost never given for more than three years at a time, and travellers wishing to extend their stays beyond this point would have had to apply to have their passports renewed. So why, for instance, does Augustine Holl turn up in the register of students at Padua in

¹⁵ *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith (2 vols., London, 1907), i, 227.

¹⁶ There is a license for an ‘Edward Herbert’ in *CSPD* in 1636, but it is impossible to say whether this is the same person.

¹⁷ PCR, 10 October 1637; William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, United Provinces, England Scotland and Ireland 1634-5*, ed. Edward Hawkins (Manchester, 1844).

¹⁸ *Copy-Book of Sir Amias Poulet's Letters, Written During his Embassy to France (A.D. 1577)*, ed. Octavius Ogle (London, 1866), pp. 16-17.

¹⁹ *The Lismore Papers*, ed. Alexander Grosart, (1st ser., v, 1886), p. 113.

1633, when we only have a record of his 1618 licence?²⁰ And why is there no record of a renewal for Philip Lytton, even though John Chamberlain's letters indicate he was still abroad well past 1614, when his licence would have expired? And the same question can be asked for John Pory, whose licence was issued on 21 May 1611, but who was mentioned by Chamberlain as having just come back to London in February 1618.²¹ And this is not even to mention the large numbers of travellers who turn up in the Padua register, but make no appearance whatsoever in any of the passport records.

Renewals of expired licences were often recorded when the original licences do not seem to have been. This raises even more questions about the completeness of the passport records. For instance, The Pierpoint brothers, Robert and Jervase, were issued with a pass 'to go into France for three years' in 1640. However, there is a 'Gervas Pierrepont' who turns up in the Padua register on 1 March 1636, immediately proximate to one Robert. Obviously the 1640 jaunt to France was not the first time the young men had been abroad.²² The same can be said for Charles Bostock, who was given permission to travel in March 1639, but whose name appears as 'Carolus Bostoike Anglo Britannus' in the Padua register three years earlier.²³ We have a licence for Robert Pye and George Speake, issued in May 1639, but none for the trip they took in 1636-8, tutored by John Beale, which we know took place from the work of Mayling Stubbs.²⁴ Interestingly, a letter from Beale to John Evelyn, written in 1664, indicates that a trip was made 'incognito' and 'with some secrete Royall recomend[ation]s for better Credite', a fact

²⁰ *APC*, 6 February 1618; *Inglesi e Scozzesi all'Università di Padova*, ed. Horatio Brown (Venice, 1921), p. 147.

²¹ *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N.E. McClure (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1939), ii, 139.

²² *PCR*, 7 September 1640; *CSPD*, 9 September 1640; Brown, *Inglesi e Scozzesi*, p. 149.

²³ *PCR*, 21 March 1639; Brown, *Inglesi e Scozzesi*, p. 149.

²⁴ *PCR*, 31 May 1639, *CSPD*, 31 May 1639; Mayling Stubbs, 'John Beale, Philosophical Gardener of Herefordshire. Part I. Prelude to the Royal Society (1608-1663)', *Annals of Science*, 39 (1982), 474.

which might explain the lacuna.²⁵ Though Beale doesn't specify a date for this secret trip, it is quite possible that he is referring to this earlier one.

In fact, it would be tempting to assume that most gaps in the records are the result of secret trips like Pye and Speake's, and that the bulk of unlicensed travel was undertaken by those with dubious motives – i.e. recusants or troublemakers rather than tourists. After all, it was observed from Pisa in 1597 that 'every week fugitives from [England] arrive in vast numbers'.²⁶ However, while it is certainly likely that significant numbers of refugees slipped through the cracks and travelled without licence, or with counterfeit licences, this is probably not the best explanation for the rather widespread deficiencies in the passport records. It would be dangerous to assume that any traveller we know about whose name doesn't turn up in the *APC* or *CSPD* must surely have been a recusant, or travelling on the sly, and in fact, close inspection reveals no correlation between the traveller's motives and whether the pass was recorded. The more likely explanation is that, for whatever reason, there are simply wide gaps in the recording of licences to travel abroad, and this is an unfortunate but major limitation for any systematic study of passport records such as this one.

One further problem is the fact that the consent of the entire Council was not always required for a passport to be issued, particularly in the earlier years of this study. It is worth recalling, for example, that in a letter of rebuke to the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth in 1578, the Council reminds them that only 'those of her Privie Councill' have the right to issue passes.²⁷ Though many thousands of licences are recorded as having been issued by the Council as a whole when it met, it also seems to be the case

²⁵ BL John Evelyn Papers JE A13 (formerly Christ Church Evelyn Correspondence, fol. 40).

²⁶ HMC, *Salisbury*, vii, 10.

²⁷ *APC*, 15 October, 1578.

that any individual member of the Council had the right to issue a pass. Thus in 1594, Ralph Winwood's passport was issued and signed by the earl of Essex and Lord Howard, and subsequently preserved not in *APC* or *CSPD*, but in the manuscript collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.²⁸ This wreaks havoc on our analysis, especially for the earlier period, as it means, again, that the *APC* and *CSPD* can only provide a very partial picture of the number of licences issued. As time went on *APC* became more thorough, and it seems safe to say that, for the Jacobean and Caroline periods, the passport records come at least a bit closer to an accurate representation of reality. Furthermore, for reasons that can only be speculated on, almost all records of licences set down in the Privy Council Registers in the later 1630s were also duplicated in the *CSPD*, making this run of data especially dependable.

Then there is the rather vexed question of servants and tutors, who are harder to distinguish in the records than one might expect. Many passes include some reference to 'with one man' or 'with three men', etc. One generally wants to assume that these would have been servants, but the fact that virtually no specific references are ever made to tutors militates against this notion. In an effort to maintain consistency, any person who was not mentioned by name in the passport records has been omitted. There is no doubt that by doing so, a fair number of tutors have been excluded, but the only possible corrective to this would have been to assume that every 'man' that was mentioned was a tutor, which seems a far more dangerous assumption, since the overwhelming majority were probably servants of some sort or another. And just to complicate matters even further, there are a handful of actual tutors who receive mentions in the passport records –

²⁸ HMC, *Buccleuch*, i, 26.

around 42 to be exact, and most of them in the PCR records of 1631-40. Simply for the sake of consistency and simplicity, these people are left out of any final tabulations.

Finally, of course, there are some men whose status as traveller, tutor, or servant is hard to discern. The case of Bassett Cole, who appeared to start life as a gentleman traveller, but later became a sort of *de facto* tutor, was discussed at length in the previous chapter. Goddard Oxenbridge was another interesting case. In April 1608, the *CSPD* records a pass given to ‘Oliver and Mrs. Butler’ to travel, along with Oxenbridge.²⁹ Then in July 1614, another pass was granted to ‘Henry Sherley, esquire, to goe to the Spawe, by advise of his phisitians, for some convenient time, and to take with him three men, viz.: Goddard Oxenbridge, Tirlagh Connick and William Barrey, with trunkes of apparrell and other needefull provisions’, seeming to imply that Oxenbridge was in some form of employment or servitude to Sherley. And then, in 1615, the *APC* records a licence for one ‘Godward Oxenberg’, gentleman of the Inner Temple, to travel abroad ‘with one man’, suggesting that Oxenbridge was now taking a trip of his own with a servant.³⁰ And, lest Oxenbridge’s status as a gentleman be in any doubt, the register book of students in Padua records a ‘Harrico Oxenbregge, “Gentillhomme inglese”’ and a ‘Roberto Oxenbregge, “Cavaliero inglese”’ in 1618.³¹ It’s likely that this gentleman and this knight were relatives of Goddard. The situations of people like Bassett Cole and Goddard Oxenbridge, as well as the general vagueness of the passport records on the subject of tutors and man-servants, makes it nearly impossible to draw any meaningful numerical data about the prevalence of tutors.

²⁹ *CSPD*, 24 April 1608.

³⁰ *APC*, 6 July 1614.

³¹ Brown, *Inglesi e Scozzesi*, p. 143.

III – *passport data analysis: how to spot a tourist*

Scattered throughout the 41 volumes of the *Acts of Privy Council* and the 30 volumes of the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* (not to mention several volumes of the Privy Council Registers), are recorded well over 2,000 licences of one kind or another granted to English subjects to depart the kingdom between the years of 1560 and 1640. Not all of these, of course, represent licences given to the types of travellers who are the subject of this study. Some are licences for occasional traders or merchant adventurers, others are for diplomats or special envoys or various ranks of ambassadorial staff. Yet others are for the relatives of these traders and diplomats. The challenge, as one leafs through the more than 35,000 pages of records, is to determine, as far as possible, who is who. Given the frustratingly laconic form that most licences took, how does one distinguish between, on the one hand, an Antwerp cloth trader or a musician being sent to a royal court, and on the other, a young gentleman travelling for his better experience? How, in other words, do you spot a tourist in early modern England?

The statute of 5 Richard II, as we have seen, forbade any common subject to ‘pass out of the... Realm without the King’s special Licence... except only the Lords and other Great Men of the Realm, and true and notable Merchants, and the King’s Soldiers... upon Pain of Forfeiture of all their Goods’. This obviously excludes from our figures such ‘routine’ travel by traders and soldiers, but it is still a far cry from proving that every licence we come across is a tourist licence. After all, the statute says nothing about diplomatic staff, scientists, students, travelling musicians, or the like. It does not even guarantee that the majority of passes were not being issued to ‘occasional’ merchants. Distinguishing the man of leisure wanting to see the world and learn languages from just

about every other conceivable type of traveller is a formidable, though not impossible, task.

Probably the simplest and most obvious place to start is with the status of the traveller and his companions. A young gentleman or 'esquire', or the 'son of' somebody or other – particularly if that person is himself identified as a knight – is almost invariably a tourist. Moreover, anyone at the Inns of Court or one of the universities, and anyone identified as 'MA' or a 'student', may well be travelling to satisfy curiosity and seek self-improvement, though this is not always the case and care should be taken with these kinds of licences, as they often suggest a scholar heading directly to a foreign university. Fortunately, though, they make up a tiny percentage of the totals, so their inclusion is not likely to skew the results excessively. Travellers with aristocratic titles, meanwhile, can be a little trickier. Generally, if a nobleman is young – that is, if he's identified as the son of somebody – it is more than likely that he is travelling on a Grand Tour of sorts. If, however, he appears to be older and more established, and the actual present holder of the title, then questions might be raised about whether he is part of an embassy, or whether he is travelling to gain experience in foreign affairs so he might be of better service to the monarch. Again, though, such cases are rare, they tend to stand out, and can be tested from other evidence. In addition to what we are told about each individual traveller, of course, something can also be discerned from his companions. Brothers travelling together, for instance, are almost certainly tourists, as are groups of young gentlemen.

But differences in the status of the traveller and his companions are not the only form of available evidence. Fortunately, there are a number of fairly specific cues in the language and tone of passports that tell us a great deal about those to whom they were

issued. Some of these linguistic clues are blatantly obvious. Any licence that mentions the 'learning of languages' or says the traveller is going abroad 'for his better experience', for instance, falls clearly into the remit of this study. By contrast, a licence granted to someone wishing to go abroad 'about certain his affairs there' can be taken as a definitive indication of some form of material motivation. Similarly, phrases such as 'about his private business' or 'on occasion of some...' are an unmistakeable indication that the person in question does not claim to be travelling out of a fascination with foreign countries.

Other differences in the language of passports are more subtle, but none the less every bit as powerful. One of the most important distinctions made in the records was between permission 'to go over into' a particular country and permission 'to travel in foreign parts'. When a licence, such as the one given to Thomas Disney in 1637, specified that the traveller was being allowed 'to goe over into France', it becomes more difficult to say with certainty whether he was embarking on a leisurely tour of that country, or whether he may have been involved in some sort of business dealings that took him to France instead.³² Similarly, the use of the word 'travel' in licences was also not accidental, and when a pass, such as that of William Worthington in 1638, specifies that the young man is being allowed 'to travell into forraigne partes for the terme of three yeares for bettering of his knowledge and experience in Languages and otherwise', it is abundantly clear what type of traveller we are looking at.³³ Therefore, to be safe side, passes that use the words 'go over into' have been excluded from this study.

³² PCR, 18 June 1637.

³³ PCR, 9 September 1638.

It may seem unduly pedantic to devote so much attention to the difference between ‘travel’ and ‘go over into’, but the distinction is actually a crucial one for our purposes, and proves invaluable in differentiating between men of leisure and men of business. There is concrete proof that contemporaries saw ‘travel’ and ‘going over into’ as two distinct categories of travel. In the original indexes to every volume of the untranscribed Privy Council Registers for the years 1631-40, there are separate entries made under *travel* and *passes*. Without exception, any entry that is indexed under ‘travel’ refers to a licence issued for a passenger ‘to travel beyond seas’ or ‘to travel into foreign parts’, whilst every pass indexed under ‘passes’ refers to an entry giving permission to a subject to ‘go over into’ another country. This is a striking and critical piece of information, because it makes it clear that the choice of language was never accidental, and that a pass to go abroad was not thought of in the same way as licence to travel around in foreign countries. It is a distinction which, when applied to the entire period under consideration, is of enormous help in ensuring that occasional merchants or diplomats do not get included in any final calculations of leisure travellers.

In fact, the indexes to the PCR tell us even more than that. Up to now, words such as ‘pass’, ‘passport’, ‘licence’, ‘permission’, etc., have been used more or less interchangeably in this dissertation, but it appears that, as time went on, the authorities became more fastidious about the precise legal categories assigned to such words. It is telling that all those who were recorded in the PCR as being given permission to ‘go over into’ were classified in the index under the word *passes*, rather than under ‘licences’. An examination of those entries shows that, in fact, every one takes the form of ‘a passe for [name] to go over into...’. This, of course, raises an obvious question: do those records

which include the word ‘travel’ (rather than ‘go over into’) make use of some other synonym for ‘pass’? Again, an investigation reveals that every entry indexed under the word *travel* in the PCR begins ‘a licence for [name]’ and usually says something about ‘travel’. There is nothing in statute law to indicate that there was a difference between a ‘pass’ and a ‘licence’, but over time it appears that the two words took on rather precise characteristics. Indeed, a simple reflection on the connotative difference between the idea of ‘passage’ and that of ‘licence’ would not be out of place at this point. For it is common sense that being given ‘licence’ to wander about abroad implies something a little more far ranging than merely a ‘pass’, which implies a short-term, one-time permit to pass out of port for a specific purpose.

Having made much of the differences between licences and passes, and between travelling and going abroad, some of the limitations of basing one’s methodology entirely on semantic distinctions like these must be noted. There is no shortage of ‘passes to go over’ given to people who are obviously tourists; nor do we lack for examples of traders granted ‘licence to travel’ on some very precise matter of business. In 1628, for example, the Council issued ‘a Passe for Nathaniel Chamberlain, a yong youth, to goe over unto the Universitie of Leyden in Holland, and to spend some tyme ther for the gaineing of the language etc’.³⁴ Here, since the young man has obviously specified a very precise reason for his trip to the Council, the words ‘passe’ and ‘goe over unto’ are employed. Yet there is a clear sense that Chamberlain was more of a gentleman traveller than a man of business. Similarly, it is not unusual to find a passport like that of John Ketchwich in 1613, which reads, ‘A passe for John Kechewich, of Ketchfrench in the county of Cornwall, esquire, to goe into the Lowe Countries, and to take with him two men and

³⁴ *APC*, 12 August 1628.

necessaries not prohibited, with a proviso not to [go] to Rome'.³⁵ Here, the first part of the pass, using words like 'passe' and 'goe into', gives the impression that Ketchwich has been granted a very limited pass to go over into the Low Countries on some matter of business. But then, there is the rather telling proviso against travel to Rome, which might simply indicate that the Council were aware that those travelling ostensibly on 'business' might decide to extend their trips into longer tours of the Continent, and were exercising due caution. But it could also mean that the line between a licence to travel abroad and a pass to go over into France or the Low Countries, or wherever, may not have been as clear as all that. In fact, we should not conclude too hastily that the mere mention of a specific country meant that a particular matter of business was being pursued. Often the licence would be issued for an individual country, but it was still obvious that the traveller in question was a man of leisure. In May 1614, for instance, John Curling was issued with a 'passe... to goe into France for some convenient tyme, to learne the language: with a proviso not to goe to Rome'.³⁶ And in the same month, another 'passe' was granted to 'John Mallett, esquire, to goe into Fraunce, and to remayne for a convenient tyme to learne the language'.³⁷ In both these cases, we have a 'passe' being issued for a specific country, yet the traveller is clearly not a man of business.

By the same token, of course, the use of words such as 'travel', 'licence', or 'foreign parts' should not automatically be allowed to stand as proof that the traveller is a young gentleman setting off to see the world. In 1626, William Wiseman, an Oxford MA, was given permission 'to travaile into forraine parts... to studie physicke there'.³⁸ Again,

³⁵ *APC*, 27 November, 1613.

³⁶ *APC*, 13 May, 1614.

³⁷ *APC*, 28 May, 1614.

³⁸ *APC*, 30 August 1626.

though the use of the word 'travaile' might suggest a certain degree of haphazardness to Wiseman's trip, the qualification that he is travelling specifically to study medicine makes this the kind of passport record we would leave out of our analysis. Just as in the records of travellers like Chamberlain and Ketchwich it would be foolish to let words such as 'pass' and 'go over into' trick us into believing they were merchants, so too would it be a mistake to include a traveller like Wiseman in our analysis simply because he was given a licence to 'travel'.

Records such as those of Chamberlain, Wiseman, and Ketchwich are, however, the exceptions that prove the rule, and it seems safe to assume that unless the pass or licence goes out of its way to record additional clarifications, then the 'travel' vs. 'go over into' distinction can be used as a helpful rule of thumb in cases where there is some doubt about the motivations of the traveller. Nevertheless, in an attempt to be as safe as possible, all records that are even somewhat unclear have been omitted from the overall survey. In other words, any licence that uses the words 'to go over into', particularly if it makes mention of a specific country, has been omitted from the final calculations. More controversially, though, any record like Wiseman's, which describes the young man as a traveller but which also qualifies the description by making reference to a university or course of study, has also been omitted from any statistical analysis. The introductory chapter tried to draw a distinction between education in the narrow sense of pursuing a course of study at a university and 'education' in the broader sense of gentlemanly polish, arguing that most early modern travel fell under the latter category. In an effort to remain consistent with this assertion, it seems only right to exclude people like Wiseman on the

basis that they were part of that small minority of travellers whose trips were centred on a very specific course of study.

Of course, language evolves over the course of a century, and it is worth pausing here to present some more illuminating examples of the different ways in which passports could be worded, as well as to look at how things changed over time. Some of the earliest examples of passport records seemed less at ease with why anyone would want to be travelling abroad in the first place, and this uncertainty can be seen reflected in the language. In 1576, for instance, a passport was issued by the Privy Council ‘to William and Richard Harley, the yonger sonnes of John Harley of the countie of Hereford esquier, scholars of the New Colledge in Oxford, to passe beyond the seas to attend their studie’.³⁹ And the following year, the Council granted ‘a pasporte for Arthure and Andrewe Bassany, brethern, and his man servauntes, to passe with her Highnes’ favor to Venice, and thence to returne withe all diligence, with licence to carrie with them their necessary bagges and baggages, without staie or molestacion to the contrarye’.⁴⁰ At first glance, licences like these might seem a little questionable, as they specify cities or a course of study. However, as one continues examining the *APC*, it becomes obvious that the craft of writing out a licence was still evolving in the 1570s, and that these awkwardly phrased passes were just the precursors to a much more efficient and standardised type of language that would eventually be developed for the purpose. In fact, it was not until 1601 that the Council became sufficiently at ease with the idea of young gentlemen travelling abroad for experience to be able to issue ‘a passe or warrant for Richard Stroode and John Yarde of the countie of Devon, gentlemen, to travaile beyonde the seas

³⁹ *APC*, 1 July 1576.

⁴⁰ *APC*, 7 August, 1577.

for the learning of languages and enabling themselves in the affaires of the worlde abroade'.⁴¹ This was the first explicit tourist visa to be recorded in *APC*, but very shortly thereafter, a sort of shorthand developed, in which travellers were routinely given permission to 'travel beyond seas for three years', or some variation thereof. Occasionally the scribe would take the time to specify the 'learning of languages' or 'better experience', but if he did not bother, there is a palpable sense that it was out of laziness and a sense of routine more than anything else.

In the end, after looking in detail at over 2,000 licences to travel, one begins to develop a sort of sixth sense about them, and a certain confidence about how to classify them. It should not, for instance, come as any surprise that a pass issued to a gentleman of leisure in 1576 would look different from its counterpart in 1636. By the 1630s, the practice of going abroad for experience had become so routine that any pass which deviates from the standard typology of 'licence to travel in foreign parts for the space of three years' automatically raises suspicions and would probably be left out of this survey, on a conservative assumption that some special circumstances were at work. By contrast, in the 1570s, when the practice was relatively new and unheard of, one needs to give the records a much wider berth, and the pass given to the Harley brothers, for instance, 'to attend their studie', or the pass given to the Bassany brothers just to go to Venice and back, can safely be taken as the 1570s equivalent of the 1630s catch-all, 'licence to travel in foreign parts'. And, if there were any further doubt, it is worth stressing the fact that both licences were for a pair of brothers, and gentlemen at that. There is, in other words, a fairly subtle and complex interplay of factors involved in making the determination, and, though I will not claim anything like scientific accuracy, I can say with some

⁴¹ *APC*, 19 June, 1601.

confidence that the numbers presented above are well within an acceptable margin of error.

It may appear that some of the decisions being described here are excessively conservative, and even risk seriously underestimating the number of travellers. However, the aim of this survey has been to err on the side of caution rather than inflate the prevalence of leisure travel artificially. As a result, any numbers drawn from a survey like this can never be anything more than a suggested *minimum*, and any impression of the popularity of travel will necessarily be an underestimate. Certainly, a figure such as Wiseman may very well have been a curious young man, setting off to see Europe, but because his passport makes it clear that he is to study medicine, then he must not be included in this survey. In the end, a line must be drawn somewhere, and, because the aim here is to suggest only a minimum number of travellers, the line has been drawn rather conservatively. It is very safe to say, therefore, that between 1560 and 1640, at least 1,954 English subjects travelled abroad in search of 'better experience' and a broad education in foreign countries and languages.

PART TWO – THE DEBATE

To the history of English travel between 1560 and 1660 we have thus far offered an entirely *descriptive* contribution, drawn mainly from the factual evidence of passport records and travel accounts. It is time now to offer one drawn from *prescription*. The following two chapters, therefore, will attempt to move beyond a simple exposition of who travelled in early modern England and what that travel might have been like, and towards an analysis of the very vigorous debates that were taking place over the value of travel for the young, and the rather lively genre of advice literature that sprang up during these years concerning the ‘right’ way to travel.

Such a discourse comes in a number of forms. It can be found in letters written by stern-minded, disapproving, or simply anxious parents to their travelling sons, advising them on what they believed to be the ‘right way’ to conduct their tours. Sometimes such kernels of wisdom were based on the father’s own experiences abroad, but more often simply reflected commonplace perceptions and misperceptions about travel abroad, and as such are invaluable to us. Prescriptive advice can also be found in the copybooks that travellers carried with them, in which they studiously wrote out nuggets of truth gleaned from authorities on the subject of travel. Unfortunately, though, the number of these copybooks to survive is very small. Even more helpful are the large number of published tracts on the subject of foreign travel, beginning with Roger Ascham’s *Scholemaster* in 1570, and steadily proliferating in ensuing years. These publications ran the gamut – from learned tracts on how to apply a scholarly eye to one’s travels, to spirited broadsides about why everyone would just be better off staying at home; from books defending the importance of travel to a young man’s education, to pamphlets outlining the dangers that awaited foolhardy youngsters; from mundane checklists of what to wear and bring and pack and eat, to morality tales about wayward wandering youths. There were even early modern guidebooks and phrasebooks,

proto-Baedekers of a sort, which outlined distances between cities, provided currency and mileage conversion tables, and offered small pieces of advice about particular places. All of these sources taken together comprise a formidable body of what might loosely be termed ‘travel advice literature’, and it is this genre of writing that will form the backbone of the evidence presented in the next two chapters.

Some of this advice was mundane and miscellaneous in nature, even absurd. Obadiah Walker suggested that ‘in travelling, especially in hot weather, drink as little as you can’, and ‘mixe water with wine [because] water alone to one subject to thirst, makes him more thirsty’.¹ Dr. Thomas Browne reminded his travelling son to ‘be carefull you eat very few grapes and fruits, for they cause diseases in strangers’, and added that it was important to pack lightly. ‘You must not carry much luggage about for that is chargeable and apt to be stolen’, he explained.² James Cleland also emphasised the importance of travelling light, saying, ‘I would not have you to trouble your selfe with too much carriage: for a light burthen fare borne, becometh heavy, & you shal finde books, as al other things at a far better rate there, then here’.³ Archibald Campbell wrote in his published volume of travel advice that the young man was ‘not to travail without store of money to be ready at all occasions’, while Francis Carew’s father reminded him that ‘you shal doe very well when you take up any money to write a letter of advise with the bill of exchange, either to youre wife or to my selfe that it may be knowne you have received it’.⁴

But much travel advice literature focussed on themes far more interesting than how many books to pack and how much cash to carry. Some of it revealed important things about attitudes to young people in early modern England, and responses to the evolving nature of travel abroad in this period. And the advice on offer could vary considerably. Philip Sidney’s

¹ Obadiah Walker, *Of education, especially of young gentlemen* (Oxford, 1673), pp. 197-8.

² *Sir Thomas Browne’s Works*, ed. Simon Wilkin (2 vols., London, 1836), i, 11-12.

³ James Cleland, *Ηρωπαιλεια, or the institution of a young noble man* (Oxford, 1607), p. 254.

⁴ Archibald Campbell, *Instructions to a son* (Edinburgh, 1661), p. 76; British Museum Additional MS 29599, fol. 37r.

advice to his brother was almost completely consumed with scholarly tips about what to read while abroad, whilst most parents had lower expectations, and just tried to ensure that their sons returned home in one piece, with some ornament of language to show for their time overseas. The two chapters which follow argue that, despite the dizzyingly multivalent nature of travel advice literature and debates over the value of travel, there were two general themes that recur – two broad rubrics, in fact, under which the great majority of travel advice can reasonably be filed.

The first was the question of idle curiosity – the idea that ever-increasing numbers of young gentlemen saw fit to undertake voyages abroad with no other justification than simply their personal desire to see other countries and learn about the world first-hand. In a society in which travel had rarely ever been undertaken for any reason other than diplomacy, trade, war, religious pilgrimage, or exploration, this new aspect to the practice became a source of great debate and scrutiny. The second broad theme that recurred in the contemporary literature on travel was that of youth, with enormous concern shown over how young most travellers were, and into what pitfalls their impressionable youth would lead them. Each of these themes will be discussed in turn below, under the broad headings of ‘curiosity’ and ‘youth’. What is even more striking is that under each of these two rubrics can be seen a stark reflection of what was fundamentally new and different about the early modern fashion for travel among the English, and what aspects of it sparked the greatest amount of anxiety among stentorian traditionalists and worried parents alike. Indeed, for most early modern observers, the idea of large numbers of young, impressionable youths spending one, two or three years of their lives roaming around in foreign countries virtually unsupervised instilled a potent combination of terror and loathing in their hearts. But there were also those who objected to travel in more subtle and thoughtful ways – sometimes to specific aspects of the way it was typically conducted, sometimes just to the very principle of going abroad.

There were a handful of major figures in the world of advice literature – canonical writers, whose observations and admonitions would have been well known to all travellers. One of the best known of these is Roger Ascham, whose 1570 book, *The Scholemaster*, was the first to critique the English tendency to send a young gentleman abroad only to have him return, famously, ‘*Inglese Italianato, Diabolo Incarnato*’. In 1581, for instance, Bartholomew Batty praised ‘that worthie man maister Aschan’ in his own writing about the dangers of travel.⁵ However, perhaps even more influential, and certainly far more prolific, on the subject than Ascham was Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter and later of Norwich. Hall, writing two or three generations after Ascham, detested what he saw going on around him, as large numbers of young men undertook fanciful journeys justified by nothing more than a heartfelt desire to see foreign lands. Copies of Hall’s *Quo Vadis? A Just Censure of Travell* were probably carried abroad in the bags of many a traveller, despite its vehement condemnation of all pleasure travel out of hand. Its very extremism, it seems, made it a more forceful form of advice for the traveller to take to heart – never mind its conclusions. William Dillingham wrote to his friend William Sancroft, in 1648, when they were both young fellows at Cambridge, saying,

Good Mr Sandcroft, My love to you; I have a request which you must not deny mee, that you would lend mee some of your thoughts concerning direction to travaile, in France, Italy & Spaine. I have a friend who is takeing his course within 3 weekes, & am very desirous to send him out with the best instructions possibly I can, promising both myselfe & you, much benefit by his observations; pray send mee BP. Halls quo vadis... & I will procure you another. & put downe your owne advise, noe matter how loosly; pray, Sir assist mee herin.⁶

The importance of the bishop’s writings to contemporaries cannot be underestimated, and continued to grow even beyond his death. Edward Waterhouse, writing in 1665 on the subject of travel among gentlemen and noblemen, referred repeatedly and liberally to the works of both Ascham and Hall, the latter of whom he called ‘the late Learned, Holy, and Eloquent Bishop Norwich, (whom I must to all the world own, to be the first provoker of me to

⁵ Bartholomaeus Batty, *The christian mans closet* (Cambridge, 1581), fol. 52r.

⁶ Bodl. Tanner MS 58, fol. 690

compose and write, my Virgin penn being the Pedisequa of his devout Meditations'.⁷

Similarly, Cecil's advice to 'suffer not thy sons to passe the Alps' was often cited by advice-givers. Together, Hall, Ascham, and others formed something of a travel advice canon, and their writing comes up again and again in copybooks, letters, and debates about the value of travel.

It is also worth noting that many of the most outspoken writers on the subject of travel spoke from experience, as many had themselves taken tours in their younger days. Ascham himself based his hatred of all things Italian on only nine days spent in Venice.⁸ Hall, at least, gave foreign travel more of a chance before forming his conclusions – he undertook his first trip to the Continent in 1603-4, accompanied by Sir Edmund Bacon, and keen to see 'the state and practice of the Romish church, the knowledge whereof might be of no small use to me in my holy station'.⁹ He was later sent to France with the embassy of Viscount Doncaster in 1616, and there is even a curious pass recorded in 1633 for one 'Joseph Hall Esqr to goe to the Spawe, with twoe Servants, upon bond given to retourne within six monethes'.¹⁰ Hall also, as bishop, would have been closely involved with families who sent their children abroad. We know, for instance, that he was a very close friend of Sir Thomas Browne.¹¹ John Heydon, who was well in favour of foreign travel, and published some advice on how to go about doing it, mentioned in passing that 'I my self have travelled Greece, Egypt, Arabia, and part of Africa, besides Italy, Spain, France, and Germany...'.¹²

There is certainly a limit to the usefulness of advice literature as historical evidence, since it tends to reflect disproportionately the opinions of those who had a particular concern or

⁷ Edward Waterhouse, *The gentlemans monitor* (London, 1665), p. 351 *et passim*.

⁸ A.H.S. Yeames, *The Grand Tour of an Elizabethan*, (Papers of the British School at Rome, vii, 1914), p. 93.

⁹ *The Works of Joseph Hall* (London, 1863), i, xxix.

¹⁰ PCR, 10 June 1633.

¹¹ *DNB* (Browne).

¹² John Heydon, *Advice to a daughter* (London, 1658), p. 104.

agenda regarding travel, and who bothered to express it. But there is no question that such advice was taken seriously by parents, patrons, and travellers, as part of the discourse over a method for travel, and the collecting of advice letters into copybooks was a major part of the traveller's experience.

Chapter 4 – Curiosity

It has already been established, in the introductory chapter, that a growing number of young men were undertaking travel abroad for reasons that had nothing to do with the traditional motivations of diplomacy, warfare, trade, exploration, or religious pilgrimage, and that it was this rapid growth in the popularity of ‘educational’ travel, in the broadest sense, that was new and different in the early modern period. The desire for self-improvement and practice in languages, the time-honoured, possibly even ‘timeless’, tradition of youthful wanderlust, the genuine, spirited yearning to go abroad – a combination of motives which, for lack of a better shorthand, we are compelled to call ‘curiosity’ – was for the first time openly admitted by travellers, directly scrutinised and criticised by detractors, and pinpointed repeatedly by advice-givers. To date, however, few scholars have appreciated the extent or the impact of this growing and rather generalised interest in visiting foreign places, choosing instead to treat this facet of early modern travel as something of a sideshow. This chapter is intended as a corrective to that tendency.

An initial question is how far travellers became comfortable admitting to, and even insisting on, their curiosity about foreign places as their prime motivation in travelling abroad. It will be seen that the criticisms of contemporaries often focussed on this very outspoken desire to satisfy curiosity – so much so that the debate over whether travel without a specified ‘purpose’ was acceptable became a major aspect of the argument over the value of travel for the young. From the debate over travel, we move to the advice literature, which also reveals an anxiety about the expression of idle curiosity as an impetus to travel. It will be seen that advice to young travellers from their parents

and elders consequently focussed on ensuring that the thin line between satisfying curiosity and indulging pure idleness was never crossed. Finally, we will return to the debate over travel, and look briefly at how arguments about satisfying curiosity spilled over into debates about direct observation and academic learning.

I – ‘*a meere instinct of nature*’

Travellers themselves were the first to admit that their journeys were often motivated by little more than an innate desire to see foreign parts. As early as the 1560s, according to his biographer, Arthur Hall was filled with ‘roving instincts’ and a ‘longing for travel’, which he finally was able to satisfy when he came into a little money in 1567.¹ A few years later, the young Arthur Throckmorton agitated for the chance to go abroad following his time at Oxford, and finally got his way in 1576, when he was permitted to follow the embassy of Sir Amias Paulet to Paris.²

As the years wore on, such energetic displays of youthful curiosity became less unseemly and therefore less exceptional. Arthur Capel of Hertfordshire was described by those who knew him as having an ‘inclination... at an early age for travel’, which had to be vetoed by his grandfather.³ Peter Heylyn wrote of his trip to France in the 1620s that ‘I undertook the... Journey,... only to satisfie my self in taking a brief view of the pleasures and delights of France’, admitting that he ‘thought of nothing else then a self-complacency, and the contentment of indulging to mine own affections’.⁴ A few pages later, as if to reinforce the point, Heylyn offers a poem about leaving England, in which

¹ *The Life and Works of Arthur Hall of Grantham*, ed. H.G. Wright (Manchester, 1919), p. 39.

² *Raleigh and the Throckmortons*, ed. A.L. Rowse (London, 1962), pp. 62-3.

³ *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, ed. R. Clutterbuck (3 vols., London, 1815-27), i, 238.

⁴ Peter Heylyn, *Survey of the estate of France* (London, 1656), fol. A3.

he freely professes that 'Only a needlesse curiositie / Hath made him leap thy ditch'.⁵

Edward Browne expressed great dismay when his father asked him to come back from Paris early, a fact

which put mee into Dolefull dumps and spoild all the fine Chymara's and Geographical Ideas that I had forme'd in my braine of Seeing Spaine, Italy, Germany, and I cannot tell how many countreys and People. This letter quite spoil'd all the high Conceits of my Travailes, yet I could hardly beat out of my braines the desire of seeing Italy.⁶

In 1607, even the deputy governor of Flushing found nothing awkward about informing his patron that 'I purpose next week to lead my wife into Holland to take pleasure for 14 days'.⁷

Fynes Moryson, one of the better known travellers of the age, was even more open about his motivations, to the point of pride. 'So I say the fruit of travell is travell it selfe,' he declared at the very outset of his *Itinerary*. Moryson added that he left not only to learn more about the law (he was funded on his journey by his college, Peterhouse, Cambridge, and so would have had to say this), but also out of his 'innated desire to gaine experience by travelling into forraigne parts.'⁸ Though he set out on his travels in 1596, Moryson did not publish his story until over twenty years later, in 1617. The delay gave him (and us) the unique perspective of a middle-aged man candidly confessing the escapades of his youth. 'From my tender youth,' he recalls, 'I had great desire to see forraine Countries'.⁹ But even at the age of 50, Moryson showed an undying love of travel for travel's sake. 'Let us imitate the Storckes, Swallows, and Cranes, which like the Nomades yeerely fetch their circuits, and follow the Sunne... Running water is sweet, but

⁵ Heylyn, pp. 3-4.

⁶ Edward Browne, *A journal of a visit to Paris in the year 1664*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes. (London, 1923), p. 22.

⁷ HMC, *De L'Isle & Dudley MSS* (6 vols., London, 1925-66) iii, 397.

⁸ Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary* (3 vols., London, 1617), i, 1.

⁹ Moryson, *Itinerary*, i, 197.

standing pooles stinke...’. And there is a charming echo of his youthful daydreams in the assertion that ‘Men were created to move, as birds to flie.’¹⁰

In fact, it was often the older, wiser man looking back on his travels during his younger days who revealed the degree to which curiosity was a prime mover. Sir Philip Sidney admitted that ‘a great number of us never thought in our selves why we went, but a certain tickling humour’.¹¹ Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his autobiography, told of how he decided to travel abroad ‘so I might satisfy that curiosity I long since had to see foreign countries’.¹² John Evelyn admitted to the ‘Apodemick [i.e., travelling] humour’ of his youth, which he called ‘a certain vaine Emulation’ and ‘a Ridiculous affectation’, adding that he had been ‘so fondly transported with the pleasure onely, and temptation of Novelties, the very instrumental causes of this unsetled extravagancy’.¹³ Tobie Matthew, in his confessions, claimed to have ‘conceived a strong desire’ to make a tour of Italy, ‘and wanted only the consent of his parents’, for which he begged. They finally relented, but only allowed him to go to France and not to Italy or Spain. The young man gave his word, but ‘resolved in his mind, if he got once abroad, to gratify his wandering curiosity’.¹⁴

But perhaps the most colourful example of an unquenchable zeal for travel was the impossibly eccentric figure of Thomas Coryate, author of *Coryat’s Crudities, hastily gobbled up in five months travel...*, an account of his tour in Europe. Coryate, the resident wit at the court of James I, also undertook a journey on foot all the way to Ajmeer, in India (and can count the introduction of the spoon into England from Italy as one of his

¹⁰ Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 8, 10-11.

¹¹ Robert Devereux, *Profitable instructions* (London, 1633), fol. F7v.

¹² *The Autobiography of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, ed. C.H. Herford (1928), p. 32.

¹³ J[ohn] E[velyn], *The state of France* (London, 1652), fol. A5v-A6r.

¹⁴ Alban Butler, *The Life of Sir Tobie Maethews* [sic] (London 1795), p. 3.

more modest accomplishments). In the preface to his *Traveller for the English Wits*, Coryate expressed strongly his sheer love for travel, of which he wrote, ‘For all my life shall be endeared to that most lov’d, most fortunate end.’ He insisted apologetically to his mother that his journeys would not be over until their duration had reached the seven years of Ulysses’ wanderings.¹⁵

Coryate seemed to enjoy a certain position of playful prominence at James’ court, as well as the ready affection of a number of well-known figures. This much is attested by the litany of panegyric verses attached to the beginning of his *Crudities* – over a hundred pages from the likes of Ben Jonson, John Donne, and Inigo Jones. From these panegyrics, we get a clear sense of Coryate’s genuine love of travel. ‘He is a *Species* of a Traveller,’ writes Jonson,

But a *Dutch-Post* doth ravish him. The meere *superscription* of a letter from *Zurich* sets him up like a top: *Basil* or *Heidelberg* makes him spinne. And at seeing the word *Frankford*, or *Venice*,... he is readie to breake doublet, cracke elbowes, and overflowe the roome with his murmure.¹⁶

John Donne calls him the ‘great Lunatique,’ and John Hoskins, the man ‘whom no delight of travels toyle dismaies.’¹⁷ John Scory keys into Coryate’s seemingly in-born wanderlust: ‘Some say, when thou wert borne (O wondrous hap)/ First time thou pist thy clouts, thou drew’st a map.’¹⁸ This theme of micturition is revisited by William Baker, who writes,

When thou wast borne, some say, & all do thinke,
The urine that thou mad’st, was perfect inke.
Cosmographers bespoken have thy head,
(The eares first pared off, and polished)
For a terrestriall Globe: and *Coryate*,

¹⁵ Thomas Coryate, *T. Coriate traveller for the English wits: greeting* (London, 1616), fol. A3r, and p. 6.

¹⁶ Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities; hastily gobled up in five moneths travels* (London, 1611), fol. B2r.

¹⁷ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. D3r, E6r.

¹⁸ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. D2v.

Thy ----- shall serve to be a Promontorie at...¹⁹

In addition to the panegyric verses, Coryate attaches a translation of an oration on travel given by one Hermann Kirchner, a professor of civil law at Marburg. Kirchner writes that

howbeit such is the sweetnesse of travelling and seeing the world, such the pleasure, such the delight, that I thinke that man voyde of all sense, and of a stony hardnes, which cannot be said to be moved with so great pleasure, that he had rather remaine in his owne house.²⁰

The sense of sheer indulgence is unmistakable. It would be easy to dismiss Coryate as a special case (which he certainly was) rather than think of his eccentric character as simply a slightly more extreme version of a not unusual tendency among young men in early modern England. One historian even quotes Coryate saying that travel was the ‘sweetest and most delightful’ pleasure, but then dismisses him as ‘a rare occurrence in the lore of 17th-century travel’.²¹ Such po-faced abnegations of Coryate’s typicality, however, fail to appreciate just how much he was a product of his times, rather than a total aberration from them.

Of course, it is not enough just to take the travellers at their own words about the extent to which curiosity motivated their decisions to go abroad. After all, if anything, they would have been likely to play down their curiosity and cloak their decisions in the language of patriotic duty. The real clues to the role that curiosity played in early modern travel are contained in the observations, both kind and unkind, of contemporaries writing on the subject of travel.

¹⁹ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. G2v.

²⁰ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. C4r.

²¹ Luigi Monga, ‘Travel and Travel Writing: An Historical Overview of Hodoeporics’, *Annali d’Italianistica* 14 (1996), 40.

Much of the time, the open curiosity displayed by the new breed of travellers was simply noted and commented on with interest, and occasionally even encouraged. Archibald Campbell made a distinction between travelling for personal interest, out of ‘a humour and curiosity only’, and travelling as a soldier going to war. The former he described approvingly, saying ‘it hath been all along the practise of this Nation... and I cannot conceive any better divertisement... for your present condition’. On the latter he was less keen, calling it ‘rather a transplantation then travel, passing only out of the bounds of one Country, into the confinements and limits of another’.²² Sir Thomas Palmer explained that there were two kinds of travel, ‘regular’ and ‘irregular,’ and thus two types of travellers.²³ By 1598, even Hakluyt, while maintaining the importance of the national cause, was forced to admit that ‘God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discover all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen.’²⁴ Margaret Cavendish has her fictional ‘dying traveller’ admit in his farewell speech that ‘I had the Curiosity to see the several Countries, Kingdomes, and Places in the several parts of the World’.²⁵ When Philip Stubbes’ character of the traveller, in his play *The Anatomie of Abuses*, is asked why he went abroad, he replies,

Truely, to see fashions, to acquaint my selfe with the natures, qualities, properties, and conditions of all men, to breake my selfe to the worlde, to learne nurture, good demeanour, and civil behaviour: to se the goodly scituation of Cities, Townes, & countreis, with their prospects, and commodities: and finally, to learne the state of all things in generall: al which I could never have learned in my owne countrey.²⁶

Occasionally such an attitude was not only sanctioned, but openly encouraged, as when Cleland wrote to his audience of travelling noblemen that ‘I would councell you to bee

²² Archibald Campbell, *Instructions to a son* (Edinburgh, 1661), p. 69.

²³ Sir Thomas Palmer, *An essay of the meanes how to make our travailes more profitable* (London, 1606), p. 1.

²⁴ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations*, (1598, repr. Glasgow, 1904) i, xxxv.

²⁵ Margaret Cavendish, *Orations of divers sorts, accommodated to divers places* (London, 1662), p. 136.

²⁶ Phillip Stubbes, *The anatomie of abuses* (London, 1583), fol. B4r.

discreetlie curious in al things'.²⁷ And Robert Johnson wrote that 'travell entertaineth a man with delight, neyther is there any so confirmed in a contempt of all worldly thinges, who findeth not himselfe out of a meere instinct of nature, infinitely pleased with the statelie representation and Maiestie of strange and famous cities'.²⁸

II – Criticism

Of course, not everyone could be expected to be so accommodating. Many of the sharpest critics of travel reserved their greatest opprobrium for the brazen new tendency to cite simple curiosity as a motivation for travel, believing that no good could come of trips taken for no apparent reason other than self-satisfaction. Matthew Griffith mocked the self-indulgence of such travellers, saying that 'now they walke in the wayes of their hearts, and in the sight of their eyes'.²⁹ Philip Sidney cautioned against the idea of not having a clear purpose to one's tour, warning that 'if you should travell but to travell, or to say you had travelled, certainly you should prove a pilgrim, no more'.³⁰ Thomas Culpeper thought most of the travel undertaken by his contemporaries was a waste of time, 'for it is observable of many novices, when they travel, that at best they do but spend their curiosity, in gazing upon sensible Objects, Towns, Palaces, Bridges, and the like, as if they were only sent for silly spies, to view the situation of the Country'.³¹ Thomas Gainsford accused travellers of being 'carried away with present shadowes, or

²⁷ James Cleland, *Ηρωπαιδεια, or the institution of a young noble man* (Oxford, 1607), p. 258.

²⁸ Robert Johnson, *Essaies* (London, 1601), fol. E2r.

²⁹ Matthew Griffith, *Bethel: or a forme for families* (London, 1633), p. 161.

³⁰ Devereux, *Profitable instructions*, fol. F7.

³¹ T[homas] C[ulpeper], *Morall discourses and essayes* (London, 1655), p. 67.

transported with a cursory vanity of some stately edifices', led around by their own 'present contentment'.³²

The idea of travelling abroad out of curiosity or even for pleasure instilled a potent fear in many elders. Sir Francis Fane was advised by his grandmother to 'use thy pleasure for recreation for health not for their owne sakes'.³³ And his mother chimed in to caution against 'Idle fruitlesnesse' on his journey.³⁴ Dudley North, in 1645, cautioned that a good gentleman will 'mingle pleasure with profit, but will make recreation his servant, not his master'.³⁵ John Holles cautioned that a young traveller should not be led around by 'a bad stomack, to certain curiosities of diett, but [by] judgement, and understanding'.³⁶ Richard Brathwait complained of 'this giddy age' in which a traveller 'culls out some humorous Observance or other from every Countrey, to make his fruitles freight more valued'. Brathwait accused Paris of teaching the English traveller how to be 'phantastically humorous'.³⁷ Indeed, the character of Monsieur D'Olive, a French tutor in the George Chapman play of the same name, was made to exclaim, 'Heaven I beseech thee, what an abominable sort of Followers have I put upon mee... Gentlemen send me their younger Sonnes furnisht in compleat... with-child with the travailing humor, as if an Asse for going to Paris, could come home a Courser of Naples'.³⁸ Gilbert Burnet felt that travel should only be undertaken by those who were not afflicted, as so many were, by a 'light or gadding mind'.³⁹ And Richard Mulcaster complained about the 'fantsies' of young travellers, asking, 'But what is this travelling? I meane it not in marchauntes,

³² Thomas Gainsford, *The glory of England* (London, 1618), p. 5r.

³³ Folger Library MS V.a.180 (Sir Francis Fane's Copybook), fol. 6v.

³⁴ Folger Library MS V.a.180, fol. 14.

³⁵ Dudley North, *Forest of varieties* (London, 1645), p. 90.

³⁶ *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637*, ed. P.R. Seddon (Thoroton Soc., xxxi, 1975) p. 55.

³⁷ Richard Brathwait. *Whimzies or a new cast of characters* (London, 1631), pp. 149, 150.

³⁸ George Chapman, *Monsieur D'Olive* (London, 1606), fol. E4v – F1r.

³⁹ Gilbert Burnet, *Thoughts on Education* (London, 1761), p. 93.

whom necessitie for their owne trade, and oftentimes neede for our use, enforceth to travell, and tarie long from home. Neither yet in souldiers, whom peace at home sendes abroad for skill in forraine warres...'. Mulcaster reminded his readers that 'Platoes journey into Sicile proceeded not of his minde to travell, but upon hope to do some good [for] Dionisius the tyrant'.⁴⁰

For Mulcaster, as for many other critics, the idea of curiosity travel was not just a troublesome development because it encouraged an unfocussed or frivolous approach to travel among youngsters, but rather because it flew so directly in the face of the ideal of travelling to serve the public good. Increasingly, and especially in the years after 1605, an older generation, reared on the unspoken assumption that a trip abroad should always be justified by an earnest undertaking to be 'of better service to Queen and country', appeared threatened by the ever more brazen declarations of self-indulgent youths who saw no need to pay lip-service to an outdated ideal. It would be too much to claim that a generation gap of sorts opened up, but there is a clear sense that many older writers, clinging fast to the expectations they had grown up with, were affronted by what they saw as the unchecked individualism of younger travellers. As early as 1599, Lewis Lewkenor, in addressing the reader of his translation of Cardinal Contarini's *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, drew a distinction between the frivolous traveller and 'the wiser sort; who... have by well spending their time abroad, enabled and made themselves fit to doe their countrie service, when occasion requireth'.⁴¹ In 1606, Barnaby Rich lampooned a certain *type* of traveller, 'a spruce fellow,' as he put it, who

⁴⁰ Richard Mulcaster, *Positions wherin those primitive circumstances be examined* (London, 1581), pp. 210-11.

⁴¹ Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, *The commonwealth and government of Venice*, trans. Lewis Lewkenor (London, 1599), fol. Ar.

was ‘not of that sort that endeavor their travels, but of purpose to growe into the hieway of experience for the better service of their Prince or Country: but of those whipsters, that have spent the greatest part of their patrimony in prodigality’.⁴² And in 1633, Sidney argued that ‘your purpose, being a Gentlemen borne, [is] to furnish you selfe with knowledge of such things as may be serviceable for your Country & calling. Which certainly stands not in the change of Ayre, (for the warmest Sunne makes not a wise man)’.⁴³

Well into the middle of the seventeenth century, when it had become much less controversial to want to take a tour out of personal curiosity, critics could still be heard grumbling about the lack of any concern for the ideals of duty and public service among young travellers. There seemed to be a nostalgia for an Elizabethan golden age of travelling servitude that may or may not have ever existed. Edward Waterhouse felt that travel should be undertaken by ‘such only as are publique; such as Spies, Ambassadors, Heralds, and such as may there lie, on purpose at their return to breed up others to the knowledge of what is good, and useful in Travaile’.⁴⁴ Margaret Cavendish felt it important that

none should Travel without Leave of the State or Publick Counsel, and at their Return should be Accountable to the State and Publick Counsel of their Travels, and the Advantages they have made. Thus their Travels would be Profitable both to Themselves, and to their Country⁴⁵

Francis Osborne dismissed the new generation of gentlemen’s tours abroad as the product of ‘wanton impertinent and deare-bought vanities’, and cautioned that an unfocussed traveller could prove ‘uselesse, if not pernicious, to the Government of his owne

⁴² Barnaby Rich, *Faultes faults, and nothing else but faultes* (London, 1606), fol. 8r.

⁴³ Devereux, *Profitable instructions*, fol. F7v-F8r.

⁴⁴ Edward Waterhouse, *The gentlemans monitor* (London, 1665), p. 351.

⁴⁵ Cavendish, *Orations*, p. 75.

Country'. Osborne stressed that he was 'not much unwilling to give way to a peregrine motion for a time; Provided it be in the Company of an Ambassador or Person of Quality... Or if your Genius (tempted by profit) incline to the life of a Merchant'. More casual, and less publicly-minded, travellers, though, were just 'rash and unadvised strangers', in danger from being led around by their desires and instincts.⁴⁶ John Evelyn felt that travel ought to be undertaken only for the good of one's country.⁴⁷ And as late as 1668, Gilbert Burnet could be heard taking a particularly hard line. Quite simply,

If the youth be bred for a court, and of a rank that he may probably be sent an ambassador, or appointed to negotiate forreign affairs, then it is necessary he travel: but otherwise I cannot see why one shall travell France and Italy, to learne to live in Scotland.... it engages on still to a further curiosity, of which there shall be no end.⁴⁸

There was, of course, one critic whose voice we have not yet heard on this subject, and he deserves a paragraph of his own. Joseph Hall was more vocal than anyone on the dangers of curiosity travel. In *Quo Vadis?*, he was relentless, complaining, as he put it, not about the 'noble courtesies' of the ambassador to France, but about 'that ordinary Travell, wherewith I saw men commonlie affected; which, I must needs confesse, the more I saw, the lesse I liked'.⁴⁹ Hall felt it was time to 'tell my Countrymen of the dangerous issue of their curiositie'. And, like so many other critics of his time, he was careful to draw a distinction:

I meddle not with the common iourneyes to the minerall waters of the *Spa*; to which many sicke soules are beholden for a good excuse: who while they pretend the medicinall use of that spring, can freely quaffe of the puddle of popish superstition; poisoning the better part, instead of helping the worse. These I leave to the best Physitian, Authoritie; which if it may please to undertake the cure, may perhaps save as many English soules from infection, as that water cures bodies of diseases. I deale only with those, that professe to seek the glory of a perfect breeding, and the perfection of that, which we call Civilitie, in Travell: of which sort I

⁴⁶ Francis Osborne, *Advice to a son* (Oxford, 1656), pp. 67-9.

⁴⁷ John Evelyn, *The state of France* (London, 1652), fol. A7

⁴⁸ Burnet, *Thoughts*, p. 89.

⁴⁹ Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? a just censure of travell as it is commonly undertaken by gentlemen* (London, 1617), fol. A3v-A4r.

have (not without indignation) seene too many lose their hopes, and themselves in the way; returning as empty of grace, and other vertues, as full of words, vanities, mis-dispositions.⁵⁰

Hall did not consider himself an extremist, and was keen to emphasise that ‘God himselfe that made the Sea, was the Author of Navigation’, even going so far as to call purposeful travel ‘the good Huswife of the Commonwealth’.⁵¹ However, when it came to justifying travel abroad, his position was clear: ‘There are two occasions wherein Travell may passe, Matter of trafique, and Matter of State... Neither my censure nor my direction reaches to eyther of these occasions’.⁵² Rather, he explained, ‘It is the Travell of curiosity wherewith my quarrell shall bee maintained’.⁵³ Hall later added, by way of clarification, that

the private contentment of a mans owne heart in the view of forraine things, is but a better name of an humorous curiosity. If a man yeeld to runne after his appetite and his eye, he shall never know where to rest, and after many idle excursions, shall lie downe weary, but unsatisfied.⁵⁴

And in a letter to Sir Thomas Chaloner following his own trip abroad in 1603-4, Hall grumbled about how ‘ready are we to be affected with those foreign pleasures’.⁵⁵

III – *Note-taking*

So why exactly were so many critics of travel so exercised over the idea of young men travelling to satisfy their curiosity? What were some of the specific fears that such an idea spawned, and what types of criticisms were levelled at the notion of curiosity travel? And even more interestingly, what kinds of advice grew out of this particular concern about curiosity? Certainly, it could be enough just to say that it was such a new and

⁵⁰ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, fol. A4v-A5r.

⁵¹ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 1, 3.

⁵² Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 2, 5.

⁵³ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁵ *The Works of Joseph Hall* (Oxford, 1837), vi, 134.

different justification for travel that it was bound to generate trepidation and anxiety among observers. However, there was clearly more at stake. It will be seen here that the main concern was over the idea that curious and frivolous travellers might be inclined towards spending their precious years abroad in dissipation and idleness, rather than in a constructive pursuit of useful knowledge, and this was reflected both in the debate literature and in the advice given to travellers.

There was always concern that a tour begun with little more than a nod to self-interest and curiosity could easily descend into idleness and dissipation. Roger Ascham had written as early as 1551 that he considered wasting time to be the greatest crime of a traveller, saying in a critical letter that ‘Vahan cannot displease me except he will do himself no good when God doth send him such a time to do good’.⁵⁶ Travellers themselves sometimes seemed oblivious to this accusation, though fortunately for some, friends and tutors were often happy to step in and demonstrate that their time abroad was not useless. Letters from friends or tutors were filled with defensive descriptions of time well spent. One anonymous traveller took time out during his travels to pen a lengthy defence of one of his companions, who had been accused of being a wastrel. ‘The young Gentleman’, wrote the friend, busies himself with ‘manly exercises, as Riding, walking, & swimming & exercising himselfe in other honest, & considerable Recreations, in those intervalls of Time, wherein hee is not intent upon his private Studies’.⁵⁷ John Shaw was the tutor to Henry and Alexander Erskine, the travelling sons of John, earl of Mar, as they made their way around France and Italy from 1616 to 1620. From the very beginning of their tour, Shaw felt the need to reassure the boys’ father that ‘your Lordships sonis (with

⁵⁶ *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. Dr. Giles (3 vols., London, 1865), i, 266.

⁵⁷ BL Lansdowne MS 213, fol. 420r (‘A Letter from a Gentleman beyond the Seas to a Freind [sic] of his [in] England’).

God's grace) will prove to have spent thair tyme not idilly'.⁵⁸ And another year into the tour, Shaw again reminded his employer that

Your Lordships sonnys had spend ane yeir in dansing, 8 munt in fensing, that Allexander dansis verie properlie and hight, he playis prattilie weill upon the lutt; Henrie gois farder beyond him in studie nor he him in his exersisis. As for the tinnis, I did bargan with ane maister to lerne them, so that thay have also exercisit that pastym all this winter. Thair is verie litill tym idillie spent.⁵⁹

That last line sounded especially pointed, even defensive.

Parents who allowed their children to go abroad, along with other defenders of travel, addressed the accusations of idleness and dissipation by insisting that the young traveller occupy himself in learning a foreign language, becoming proficient in skills like fencing, riding, and archery, and, above all, recording in great detail the monuments and customs of foreign lands. Only thus could he distinguish himself from the fanciful spendthrift. And one of the most concrete ways in which such a constructive approach to travel could be encouraged was to expect the young traveller to engage in a strenuous regime of observation and note-taking. This counsel held several advantages from the perspective of the advice-giver. For one thing, it would ensure that the traveller was focussing his attentions on those things which one was expected to observe while abroad, thus allowing less time to be spent on the more frivolous distractions of wine, women and song. For another, it meant that the traveller could always have a record of his time abroad – a sort of scrapbook that he could look back on well into old age – and here there was a very genuine sense among older advice-givers that this was something they wanted young men to be able to enjoy. But perhaps most importantly, the insistence on note-taking was an easy way to maintain a measure of control and accountability over the

⁵⁸ HMC, *Mar and Kellie MSS.*, *Supplementary Report*, p. 76.

⁵⁹ HMC, *Mar and Kellie, Supp.*, pp. 83-4.

direction of the young man's travels, for he would be required to present, in the form of his notebooks, some material evidence of his education upon his return to England.

For all these reasons, advice literature almost always went out of its way to insist on the importance of detailed observation and note taking. Cecil wrote to Zouche in 1587, under the heading 'Things to be Considered in travayl'. His very first piece of advice was the following:

For your iournye it is requisit that you should determin with your self to keep an accompt of your whole travayl, that uppon your return,... youe may calling your self to accompt be able to make satisfaction what you have gayned for the expens of your [time?] & monye that may make youe more worthe then youe wear before your departure. And therefore yt is good that youe make a booke of paper wherin you may dayly or at the lest weeklye insert al thinges occurrant to you, many places wher you shal come, worthye the observation & memorye.⁶⁰

The translator of 'Certaine briefe and speciall instructions' in 1589 cited the Dutch humanist Abraham Ortelius, who was widely revered in England as an authority on all things geographic, in order to make a very specific link between note-taking and the danger of idleness:

If in our peregrinations and travels, we shal observe and note in our tables, or papers those things which doo occurre and seeme worthie of regard, we shall make our iournies and voyages in great measure, pleasant and delectable unto us: not thinking that our diligence can search & mark any thing in any place, which other men before us have not seene, but to discourse and recorde any thing, rather then to passe the way, and spend the time in idleness:... Whatsoever the eye seeth, is the easier and the better remembred, if it be once written. And when the time commeth, that we make an ende of our travels, and personall view of forren parts, it will bee a singular pleasure unto us, whensoever we are so disposed to recognize, and recount those things which we have seene, quietlie & in our chambers, without any trouble of iournie, or toile of bodie.⁶¹

Fulke Greville concluded his published letter of travel advice to his cousin Greville Varney by saying, 'let all these riches bee treasured up not onely in your Memory, (where time may lessen your stocke) but rather in good Writings, and Bookes of accompt; which

⁶⁰ Bodl. Tanner MS 103, fol. 230r.

⁶¹ Albertus Meierus, *Certaine briefe, and speciall instructions for gentlemen, merchants, ... etc. employed in services abrode, &c.*, trans. P. Jones (London, 1589), fol. D3v.

will keepe them safe for your use hereafter'.⁶² Algernon Percy, the future tenth earl of Northumberland, was similarly instructed by his father, 'Lastely; What yow observe of worthe, take notes of; for when yow list to take a rewew, the leaves of yowr bookes are easylyer turnd over, then the leaves of yowr memory'.⁶³ James Cleland told his reader, 'I recommend, onlie unto you a *Journey booke*, wherein you should write in good order everie night at your going to bed al that you have seene & heard worthie of particular observation, that day'.⁶⁴ Cleland concluded by stressing that note taking was the best defence against the idle use of time, saying,

my last advise is, that you have ever your Ephemerides in readines to write everie night, what you have observed that daie: and so with Gods grace, you shal returne home againe sufficientlie instructed in al things pertaining to the good government of the state. So you see, that I counsel you not to employ your whole travaile in learning the *cinquepas*; it is your head that I wish to goe in measure.⁶⁵

Henry Slingsby instructed his son's tutor to ensure that the young man 'keepe a iournall of his travell', and 'that he keepe a perfect and playne note of all his expenses and send me once a quarter at least a coppie both of his journal and expenses which he must keepe for himself in 2 severall bookes faire written'. The young Slingsby was even expected to keep a book in which he would record the names of every merchant he dealt with and the posts and messengers he used to receive letters, along with their exact street addresses, 'that his directions beinge soe made maye be playne to every bodyes understandinge'.⁶⁶ Such a Benthamite requirement was unusual even for a strict father, and can only be described as busy work, intended to keep the young William distracted and out of trouble.

⁶² Fulke Greville, *Certaine learned and elegant workes* (London, 1633), p. 298.

⁶³ *The Antiquarian Repertory*, ed. Francis Grose (4 vols., London, 1807-09), iv, 380.

⁶⁴ Cleland, *Institution*, pp. 254-5.

⁶⁵ Cleland, *Institution*, p. 261.

⁶⁶ *Diary of Henry Slingsby*, ed. Daniel Parsons (London, 1836) p. 263.

John Heydon, plagiarising somewhat, repeated the by then standard piece of advice in 1658, when he said,

Now without registering these things by the pen, they will slide away unprofitably: a man would not think how much the charactering of a thought in paper fastens it;... he that does this, may when he pleaseth rejourney over all his voyage, and observations of countries, their religions and laws in his closet.⁶⁷

And Archibald Campbell, a defender of travel, cautioned that travel was not good for everyone, and that note-taking ensured that the traveller would be better able to learn about the nature of good and bad, and distinguish between them, based on his experiences of foreign places:

If you would advantage your self by travail, you ought to note, and then comment upon your observations, remembering as well the bad to avoid it, as applying the good into use; without committing of these things to the Pen, they will pass from your memory without leaving any profitable results behind them. ¶ Let no hast therefore hurry you through any considerable or remarkable place, but stay and view what is worthy in it, and be sure to register it with your pen, it will very much fasten it in your memory; the charactering of a thought in paper, will fix it ready for your use; he that doth this, may when he please rejourney all his travails at home.⁶⁸

The actual substance of what travellers were expected to record and describe can sound a bit boring to modern ears, consisting of everything from local and municipal laws and ordinances, through muniments and fortifications, vegetation and the quality of the soil, to the types of tolls and taxes levied, and even the exact dimensions of historical monuments. It is probably best just to cite one example of this, and let it stand as more or less typical of others. William Bourne suggested the following:

First, to consider what manner of Nation he is entred into, whether they bee politicke or wise, or Civill people, or whether they be a rude or barbarous nation: and so in his travailing to frame his usage accordingly as neare as he can, that the people may like well of him: for in so doing he should understande the better of the state and commodities of the Country, Citie, Towne or place: and when that you do come into any Citie or Towne, view of what manner of grounde it standeth upon, and what it may be or is subject unto, and in like manner how it is fortified and provided, and how it is maintayned, and whether it standeth upon any haven or river, that hath vent unto the Sea, or any water, that hath no vent or passage unto the Sea, but

⁶⁷ John Heydon, *Advice to a daughter* (London, 1658), p. 95.

⁶⁸ Campbell, *Instructions*, pp. 73-4.

thorow or by some other Citie or Towne, before it cometh unto the Sea. And also under whom it is, and howe it is governed, and what theyr Lawes and Ordinaunces bee: And what notable Monuments of buildyngs there be: and any other rare and notable thing that is not common: And also to learne what nation, Country, Citie or Towne that may most annoy them, and also what Countrie, Citie or Towne dooth most pleasure them, and what trade or Marchaundize they are principallest maintayned by, and what commodities are most plentiest, and what commodities or things necessariest, are most scantest, and what the nature of the soyle or ground is thereabouts, that is to say, what the ground is most aptest to bring foorth, or most unapt, as touching Corne, Trees, and such other lyke, what soever it bee. And also what maner of Money and coyne is used, both in Silver and Golde, and other base Money in Copper, if they have any. And also what the people hath most pleasure in, and what they do most abhorre or hate, and whether the Countrie bee a playne and champion Countrie, or Hills and Mountaynes, or lowe marsh or marishe grounde, and whether it be full of Rivers or not, and also how the Princes or the other Governours doo levey their Souldiours in the time of their warres, & how they doo arme them, and furnish them in every respect, and what duties or customes, or tolles, or suche lyke charges are payd, whether it be of them selves, or upon strangers, or any other kinde of goodes or marchandize, and what thing it is they make most store of, that they wyll not have passe out of their Countries, with all such other lykenes, that for brevities I doo omit.⁶⁹

Despite all this, though, there is some evidence that advice givers were mindful that their audience was composed of cultured gentlemen, and that it was just possible for a man of leisure to have too much expertise in a subject. James Cleland, for one, cautioned against becoming overly pedantic in note taking, saying,

Nor is it my wil, you should consume your time, in marking the highnes of one steeple above another, or the difference of one bel from another. Nor that you should fixe your eies to admire the fine marble in Italy, to look upon the Cardinals faire pallaces to read al the Bulls pardons, and pasquils in Rome: to tire your feete in running from one Embassadours house to anothers.⁷⁰

William Cecil made it clear that he wanted his travelling son to be ‘not... scholarly learned, but civilly trained’.⁷¹ And Algernon Percy’s father, while instructing him to familiarise himself with the laws of the lands he travelled in, nonetheless clarified, ‘not that I meane yow should labor the whole cours of the civill law, by whiche thos kingdoms are cheefely governed; but to read ther statute laws, and customary laws that

⁶⁹ William Bourne, *A booke called The treasure for traueilers* (London, 1578), fol. 4r-v.

⁷⁰ Cleland, *Institution*, pp.261-2.

⁷¹ *CSPF*, 8 May, 1561.

are most used'.⁷² In other words, make some useful observations about the law, but do not become a lawyer.

There is an interesting comparison to be made here with the advice given to John Locke before his voyage to Guinea, the substance of which is reprinted in Hakluyt. Here, where the aim of the trip is more explicitly the benefit of the commonwealth (Locke was to search out the best location for an English fort), the advice is radically different. Locke is told to be sure that the land 'joyne to the sea on the one part, so as shippes and boats may comes to lade and unlade', and to make note of 'what molde of earth the ground is of' and 'what timber or wood may be had, and how it will be caried', and so on and so forth.⁷³ On the face of it, bits of Locke's instructions bear a vague resemblance to those given to travelling gentlemen, but the specificity and practical detail that is demanded of him are substantively different. Though the lists of instructions issued to young gentlemen before their travels could be long and exhaustive, even bordering on the pedantic to modern ears, they were above all intended to complement and round out the kind of dilettantish education in which the tour was meant to play a part.

We should not make the mistake of at least one historian, in claiming that the emphasis on writing down 'observations' on foreign cities and their defences was simply a reflection of the young man's duty to keep the State well informed.⁷⁴ The expectation that a traveller would provide important information about the defences and military arrangement of a foreign city or two was certainly strong in the sixteenth century, and may even arguably have been some of the impetus initially behind the practice of detailed note taking. But surely by the seventeenth century, the State did not need the same piece

⁷² Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, p. 375.

⁷³ 'The Voyage of M. John Locke to Jerusalem', in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, vi, 253-4.

⁷⁴ Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London, 1914), pp. 38-9.

of ‘observation’ about the judicial system in Lyons hundreds of times over. And anyway, espionage always took the form of correspondence, not notebooks, and the kind of intelligence reports demanded by late Tudor governments were substantively different from what was contained in the notebooks kept by later travellers. It would be a real stretch to say that a personal traveller’s notebook kept over the course of three years could be of any strategic use to the government on the young man’s return.

IV – Languages

Without such insistence on the importance of gathering information, there was always a danger that the son’s trip would leave itself open to accusations of dissipation, wantonness, and prodigality. But it was the acquisition of a foreign language that probably served as the most tangible evidence that a young man had spent his time abroad well, and if an emphasis on note taking was one way to guard against curious young travellers mispending their time abroad, then an insistence on the importance of acquiring languages was the other. Again and again, and almost relentlessly at times, advice manuals stressed that it was nothing less than critical that a young traveller should have something to show for his time abroad, and the acquisition of a language was the most obvious demonstration that time and money had not gone to waste.

Few advice manuals neglected to stress the practical and symbolic importance of learning languages. As early as 1551, in a letter on the subject of a particular traveller, Roger Ascham had written that the young man should ‘come home well furnished with much knowledge’, and that ‘besides Dutch, French, and Italian, which he should have learned, in a manner, whether he would or not, he might have learned as much Greek and

Latin'.⁷⁵ John Holles was advised by his father in 1614 before he went over into France to 'gather gaily some crumms of phrase', and Francis Osborne reminded his son that 'next to Experience, Languages are the richest lading of a Traveller, among which French is most usefull; Italian and Spanish not being so fruitfull in Learning'.⁷⁶ Richard Flecknoe wrote that 'tis to Embarque without Bisquet, or travel viaticum for any to travel, or undertake a voyage without the Language of the Country', and that it was 'as necessary for those who travel to make provision of Languages as of money'.⁷⁷ William Slingsby's father was fanatical about the importance he placed on his son's opportunity to practice French, demanding of his tutor, Mr Snell, 'that from his first landinge in France yow doe not speake anithinge to him but either latinge or in Frencht excepte when yow shall have occacion to give him holesome precepte which cannot be understood by him but in English'.⁷⁸ Practicing French was even more important, apparently, than the young man's religious conformity, as the elder Slingsby stipulated that 'when he shall well understand French it will not be impertinent to goe to the papists sermons when he cannot have meanes to goe to the protestante'.⁷⁹ The poor boy was even instructed by his father to *think* in French as much as he could!⁸⁰ Dr. Thomas Browne urged his travelling son Thomas to work on his French in almost every letter he wrote, and added that 'you are not only to learn to understand and speak french but to write it which must be dun by practise and observation because they write and speak differently'.⁸¹ In his mind, Dr. Browne clearly lumped learning French in with a number of other daily activities

⁷⁵ Giles, *Works*, i, 266.

⁷⁶ Seddon, *Holles*, p. 53; Osborne, *Advice*, pp. 85-6

⁷⁷ Richard Flecknoe, *A relation of ten years travels in Europe, Asia, Affrique and America* (London, 1654?), pp. 103-04.

⁷⁸ Parsons, *Slingsby*, pp. 260-1.

⁷⁹ Parsons, *Slingsby*, p. 261.

⁸⁰ Parsons, *Slingsby*, p. 261.

⁸¹ *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, ed. Simon Wilkin (London, 1836), p. 6.

intended to keep young Thomas' mind occupied – in one letter he asked his son to 'study the french languadge and help yourself by the grammar, forget not limning and perspective and dayly practise arithmetick'.⁸² And the Lord Percy was instructed that 'the ends of yowr travells is... but to gayne the tonges' and again that 'the Tonges and understanding them must be yowr chiefe endeavors for the tyme'.⁸³

Often, advice about languages took a more practical and less abstract tone, emphasising the advantages of being skilled in foreign tongues and detailing which ones were useful under which circumstances. William Higford told his grandson that 'for the Commodiousness of your Travell, it concerneth you to be skild in the Languages of such countries wherein you areto [sic] travell'. Higford advocated the importance of French, which he said

is most in use. It is a most sweet Tongue, called the Womans Tongue; and, as I think, for the Addresses from the servant to the Mistris, and from the subject to the Sovereigne there is no sweeter, nor more civil Language in the World. Some progression were fit for you to make in this usefull Language.⁸⁴

Wotton explained how taking the time to learn a language was nothing short of a critical safety precaution in certain circumstances – he tells the story of how he grew suspicious of an Englishman he met in Rome for, among other things, the fact that he was 'travelling to Rome without language'.⁸⁵

Many more examples of young travellers being sternly reminded of the importance of learning languages could be adduced, but what is perhaps more striking is just how much such advice was actually taken to heart by so many of them. Henry Wotton boasted to his brother in 1590 that 'I do most earnestly bestow one hour in the

⁸² Wilkin, *Browne*, p. 13.

⁸³ Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, pp. 374, 378.

⁸⁴ William Higford, *Institutions or advice to his grandson* (London, 1658), p. 88.

⁸⁵ *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith (2 vols., Oxford, 1907), i, 273.

day upon the German tongue; wherein I have profited so much, as I dare boldly say that before I visit Italy there is no German that shall not take me for a German. And I mean by God's grace to be many degrees beyond an Italian's discovery'.⁸⁶ A year later, he wrote from Vienna to his patron the Lord Zouche, declaring that from then on, all his letters would arrive written in the language of whatever country he was visiting. 'He travels with mean consideration in my opinion, that is ever one countryman', he added earnestly.⁸⁷ Charles Danvers wrote with humility to Secretary Walsingham from Paris in 1584, saying, 'I have often wished to write to you in French, to tell you the need I feel of employing my time well, and how far I am from perfection'.⁸⁸ Isaac Marcombes, tutor to the Boyle brothers, informed their father the earl of Cork in 1640 that 'as for their Learning, I will make bould to informe your Lordship of ye order that wee doe observe: we spake all and allwayes french, wherein Mr Robert is perfect allready and Mr Francis able to expresse him selfe in all companies'.⁸⁹ And Sir George Courthop wrote in his memoirs of his trip in the 1630s how he and his lord parted ways after two months together in Paris, Courthop going to Loudun and his lord to Angers. As Courthop tells it, 'and so my Lord and I parted by consent, that we might the better apply to get the French tongue, to give our friends satisfaction'.⁹⁰ Even Tobie Matthew claimed in his confessions that his original reason for attending his first Catholic mass had been so that he might improve his French.⁹¹ The veracity of this claim might seem dubious, but

⁸⁶ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 238.

⁸⁷ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 258.

⁸⁸ *CSPD*, 10 April 1584.

⁸⁹ *The Lismore Papers*, ed. Alexander Grosart (2nd ser., iv, private circ, 1888), p. 100.

⁹⁰ *Memoirs of Sir George Courthop*, ed. Sophie Lomas (Camden Miscellany, xi, 1907), p. 105.

⁹¹ Butler, *Tobie Maethews*, p. 9.

considering what we have already heard of Henry Slingsby's advice to his son, it is not beyond the realm of possibility.

Indeed, sometimes it seemed almost any kind of behaviour while abroad could be justified simply by an appeal to the young man's desire to learn the language. Francis Carew, beleaguered by a steady stream of angry letters from his father, who never seemed to tire of pointing out his son's deficiencies, finally took to replying to them in French, as if to help prove that he was not a complete wastrel. It seemed to work.

'Franke', wrote the father,

I receaved youre letter in Frenche dated from Orleans the 2 of December 1630 which I was very glade to reade for that I had not hearde from you, nor of you, longe before, as also I was very glade to see that you have profitted so well in the Frenche tonge, to write so true Frenche, and hopinge you have likewise profitted in some other vertues.⁹²

It was the only surviving kind word Nicholas Carew ever wrote to his son, and even then, it ended on a left-handed note. But young Francis was not the only traveller to resort to highlighting his language skills when put on the defensive. Thomas Cecil, who by all accounts, really was a hopeless scoundrel, did much the same thing when his father grew displeased with his behaviour abroad. In September 1561, his guardian Thomas Windebank wrote to William Cecil to inform him that he had chided the young Thomas on his lack of discipline, and that he was now hopeful that the situation would improve. And as if to offer a *bona fide*, Windebank added that 'the letter which he [i.e. Thomas Cecil] writes in French is merely of his own doing'.⁹³ There also survives in the British Library an anonymous letter, written by a travelling gentleman to the family of one of his travelling companions, defending his friend's honour against unjust accusation. Entitled 'A Letter from a Gentleman beyond the Seas... touching the Carriage, & Depoartment of a

⁹² BL Additional MS 29599, fol. 37r.

⁹³ CSPF, 19 September 1561.

young Gentleman in his Travells in those Parts', the letter defends the young man against accusations that he had converted to Catholicism. Among other things, the author makes reference to his friend's facility in languages to demonstrate that he doesn't spend his time badly:

For First, hee hath a most excellent understanding, and Judgement, which makes him readily to apprehend what hee heares discours'd, & easily to iudge of what hee apprehends, with soliditie, & perspicacity, and forthwith to speake upon the subiect matter, both fully, appositelie, and pertinently to all purpose, and that not in his Mother Toungue onely but readily also in diverse other Languages, as French, Spanish, & Italian; whereby it is evident, that your Cosen doe [sic] nott spend his time so ill, not soe idly, as some malicious People, would faine make his Freinds beleieve hee does.⁹⁴

Indeed, it seemed that, in the absence of any tangible way of actually being abroad in person to supervise your son's activities, progress made in learning languages was often seen as the next best thing – the surest way for a son to show his father that he was making the most of his time overseas.

It was routinely insisted by advice givers that the only proper way to learn the language while abroad was to avoid as much as possible the company of other Englishmen. Strong emphasis was placed in the advice literature on the importance of staying away from one's countrymen, because it was thought (probably quite rightly) that it would be harder to learn the language that way. Fulke Greville advised his cousin,

For the People, your trafficke among them while you learne their language will sufficiently instruct you in their Habilities, Dispositions and Humours; if you enlarge the privacy of your owne nature to seeke acquaintance with the best sort of Strangers, and restraine your affection, and participation from your own country men of whatsoever condition.⁹⁵

In 1630, Sir Francis Fane's mother, Mary, expressed her disappointment to her travelling son in a letter to him, rebuking him for not writing to her in French. The young man had claimed he had been too short on time to write to her in French, but she was unconvinced:

⁹⁴ BL Lansdowne MS 213, fol. 419v-420r.

⁹⁵ Greville, *Certaine workes*, pp. 296-7.

I suppose you converse too much with the English which come thither, or els by this time French would be as familiar to your tongue or pen as your owne language, and as long as you are abroad, I doe forwarn you of English company, for that it is which makes many travellers return no redier in the languages of those countries which they have travelled into, then those that have learn't those languages at home.⁹⁶

William Higford advised his grandson to 'resort to... the remotest part of France, or Italy, [far] from the converse of the English Nation', while Henry Slingsby asked his son's tutor to ensure 'that he doe not converse with Englishe but verye rarely except in French'.⁹⁷ Francis Osborne cautioned his son that 'he that beyond Sea frequents his owne Countrey-men, forgets the principall part of his errand, Language'.⁹⁸ Windebank wrote to William Cecil in 1561 suggesting that he and young Thomas 'had better travel with such company of Frenchmen as they shall meet, as that of the Earl of Hertford and other Englishman [sic] has been a great hindrance to Mr Thomas, not only for the tongue but also in other ways, which now he will not declare', and Throckmorton informed the father bluntly that 'his son will be placed at the beginning of the next month where he will have less occasion to speak English'.⁹⁹

And in fact, there is strong evidence that many travellers took this advice to heart, or at least claimed to. As early as 1550, Thomas Hoby recorded how he was compelled to leave Naples and set off to explore Calabria and Sicily, 'both to have a sight of the countrey and also to absent my self for a while owt of Englishemenne's companie for the tung's sake'.¹⁰⁰ In a letter to his father, on 15 October 1617, Henry Erskine explained that he and his brother had left Bourges for Saumur, insisting that staying in Bourges 'was ane thing that we could not have done, for if we had stayed still in Bourges we could not have

⁹⁶ Folger Library MS V.a.180, fol. 15r.

⁹⁷ Higford, *Institutions*, p. 83; Parsons, *Slingsby*, p. 261.

⁹⁸ Osborne, *Advice*, p. 79.

⁹⁹ CSPF, 9 August 1561; 26 July 1561.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Hoby, *A booke of the travaile and lief of me, Thomas Hoby* (Camden Miscellany No.10, 3rd ser., iv, 1902), pp. 37-8.

lernit the Frence, in respek of the great number of Scotsmen that is ther for the present, for we met every day together at our exercise, so that it was impossible to us not to speake Scotis'.¹⁰¹ Bullen Reymes wrote repeatedly in his diary of time spent in Paris working on his French lessons and 'absenting my selfe from English'.¹⁰² Many travellers seemed genuinely eager to avoid other English tourists, recognising that a true understanding of a place depended on being able to speak the language. Henry Blount boasted proudly that he set off from Venice 'with a Caravan of Turkes, and Jewes bound for the Levant, not having Christian with them besides myself'.¹⁰³ And Fynes Moryson believed that the traveller should 'desire consorts of the same Nation, of whom he may learn the language'.¹⁰⁴ Tobie Matthew claimed that 'in order to learn to speak Italian sooner, removed to Sienna, where he should meet with no English to converse with as he did at Florence'.¹⁰⁵ And later, when he did return to Florence, he 'lodged in a little house in a retired remote part of the town... in order to disengage himself from the company of the English'.¹⁰⁶ And even the xenophobic John Reresby says he left Saumur for Mans, 'desirous to avoid much English company then resident at Saumurs', and that, in Frankfurt, he found that 'the want of the language and the too great plenty of liquor... was the most troublesome'.¹⁰⁷

Despite these efforts, though, it would seem that evidence of improvement in languages was still not enough for some critics. William Cecil's famous precept, copied again and again into copybooks and advice manuals, was 'Suffer not thy Sonnes to passe

¹⁰¹ HMC, *Mar and Kellie, Supp.*, p. 81.

¹⁰² Helen Andrews Kaufman, *Conscientious Cavalier* (London, 1962), p. 69.

¹⁰³ Sir Henry Blount, *A voyage into the Levant* (London, 1636), p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 17.

¹⁰⁵ Butler, *Maethews*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Butler, *Maethews*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. Andrew Browning (London, 1991), pp. 8, 18.

the Alpes, for they shall learn nothinge... and if by travel they attayne to some fewe broken languages, they will profytt them no more then to have one meate served in divers dishes'.¹⁰⁸ For Francis Fane's mother it was also not enough: 'And concerneing learning & languages let me say this one word unto you, A man may gett the prompt use of languages by a generall conversacon with ease (which is all Idle travellers onely effect) but what is languages without matter to speake in them?'¹⁰⁹ John Evelyn wrote to Edward Thurland in 1658, complaining that

It is not enough that persons of my Lord Percy's quality be taught to dance, and to ride, to speak languages and wear his clothes with a good grace (which are the very shells of travel), but, besides all these, that he know men, customs, courts, and disciplines, and whatsoever superior excellencies the places afford, befitting a person of birth and noble impressions. This is, Sir, the fruit of travel; thus our incomparable Sidney was bred.¹¹⁰

And indeed, Sidney, it seems, would have agreed. He had written in 1633 that 'the warmest Sunne makes not a wise man... no, nor in learning Languages (although they be of serviceable use) for words are but words in what Language soever they be'.¹¹¹

V – *'according to the faithfull view of my eyes'*

Of course, curiosity was not all bad. Nor, despite the best efforts of Bishop Hall and company, was it necessarily something of which to be ashamed. In the minds of many travellers and their defenders, a passionate, innate desire to see foreign places was something to be embraced and even boasted about. For one thing, they argued, there were clear benefits that could be drawn from direct observation and empirical understanding – benefits unrecognisable to the curmudgeons and sourpusses of the early modern world – and many travellers became outspoken defenders of a way of seeing the world that

¹⁰⁸ See, e.g., *The Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming*, ed. W.G. Collingwood (Kendall, 1928), p. 95.

¹⁰⁹ Folger Library MS V.a.180, fol. 14v-15r.

¹¹⁰ *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, FRS*, ed. William Bray (London, 1906), p. 586.

¹¹¹ Devereux, *Profitable instructions*, fol. F8r.

depended less on the second-hand descriptions in books and more on the first-hand experiences of their own travels. As a result, the debate over the value of travel for the young often turned into a debate over direct knowledge *versus* book learning.

It would be an exaggeration to say that everything can be articulated to a debate between empiricism and scholasticism. However, there was a strong connection in the minds of many travellers between casual curiosity and direct observation. Such travellers believed that the best approach to dealing with the remote and unfamiliar was direct experience and unmediated personal observation. We have already seen expressed the desire to avoid one's own countrymen in order to immerse oneself more fully in foreign languages. What is interesting, however, is that this practice can also very much be read as a desire to immerse oneself more fully in foreign cultures as well, and to maximise the authenticity of the experience. The tireless search for complete cultural immersion, the belief that one has not been privy to an authentic experience if one has spent all one's time with other tourists, is not unique to our own time. Sir Henry Blount was proud to be the only Christian European in his company, saying,

this occasion was right to my purpose, for the familiaritie of bed, board, and passage together, is more opportune to disclose the customes of men, then a much longer habitation in Cities, where societie is not so linkt, and behaviour more personate, then in travell, whose common sufferings endeare men, laying them open, and obnoxious to one another. The not having any other *Christian* in the *Caravan* gave mee... notable advantages:... I became all things to all men, which let me into the breasts of many.¹¹²

Blount was enthusiastic about the intensity and depth of experience available to the traveller who had the endurance to seek out situations like this. From the outset of his trip, he was filled with the idealistic zeal of the anthropologist, to be 'all things to all men,' and 'let into the breasts of many.' It was a zeal that did not seem to abate. Much

¹¹² Blount, *Voyage*, p. 5.

later in his travels, upon arrival in Egypt, Blount was faced with the heat-exhaustion of his Christian fellow-travellers, who proposed to return to Jerusalem. Blount, however, was ‘not so impatient of the Climate, nor loving company of *Christians in Turkey*,’ and was more than happy to let them go ahead, while he stayed on and ‘presumed to receive a longer entertainment.’¹¹³ Francis Bacon and Fynes Moryson would have approved. Bacon wrote of the traveller, ‘let him sequester himselfe from the Company of his Country men and diet in such Places,’ provided, of course, ‘there is good Company of the Nation, where he travaileth.’¹¹⁴ And Moryson added,

Many desire to have their Countreymen and friends to be their companions in these their iourneys... But why should he not rather desire consorts of the same Nation, of whom he may learne the language, and all other things worthy to be observed. My selfe could never see any profitably spend their time abroad, who flocked together with their owne Countreymen.¹¹⁵

Knowledge of foreign parts, claimed Moryson, is ‘not to be had so well from any, as from the Inhabitants,’ so the traveller should ‘shunne for the time the conversation of his owne Countrey-men, onely visiting them in their lodgings, and that not often or long, but that he live not in the house with any of them.’¹¹⁶

Travellers placed a great deal of emphasis on avoiding ‘superficial’ travel, and on the importance of direct involvement with the subject – and many eagerly set about maximising the opportunities for such close and intensive contact. Blount, ever the purist, cautioned against ‘a reckoning made in hast, and therefore subject to the *disadvantage* of a hasty view, that is, to over-slip many things, and to see the rest but *superficially*.’¹¹⁷ Francis Bacon felt that the traveller should create as many opportunities as possible to

¹¹³ Blount, *Voyage*, pp. 37-8.

¹¹⁴ Francis Bacon, *Essays* (London, 1625), p. 103.

¹¹⁵ Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 17-18.

¹¹⁶ Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 15.

¹¹⁷ Blount, *Voyage*, p. 61.

familiarise himself with the surroundings. ‘When he stayeth in one City or Towne, let him change his Lodging, from one End and Part of the Towne, to another; which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance,’ Bacon wrote in his essay ‘On Travel.’¹¹⁸ And we have already heard how Henry Wotton’s greatest wish at times, it seemed, was that he might be mistaken for a native. Archibald Campbell gave his son advice about how to ‘get into strangers’, and Sir Henry Slingsby stressed to his son the importance of walking around and ‘familiar discoursing’ with natives.¹¹⁹ James Cleland advised young noblemen against travelling with too many attendants, suggesting only a tutor, a page and a purse-bearer. ‘A greater traine wil hinder you from the knowledge of manie secrets, that more privately you may attaine unto’, he felt.

Probably the best example of this empirical tendency, though, was the putative oration of Hermann Kirchner, which Coryate appended to his *Crudities* to help explain the benefits of travel.¹²⁰ ‘For good God,’ wrote Kirchner,

what Historiographer can you exemplifie unto me, of what credite, knowledge, or experience soever he was, that hath not for the most part beene personally present at those matters,... that hath not with his owne eyes seene those places whereof he maketh a description to others, that hath not observed the manners and behaviour of those men, whom he eyther praiseth or dispraiseth?... What Naturalist that hath not sought out the mysteries of nature, and searched out the admirable variety of all naturall things? What Physician that hath not sifted the divers kindes of humor and diseases, and dived into the force and vertue of all severall hearbes? ... Therefore if thou wouldest aske counsell of nature her selfe,... and wouldest demand of her the meanes and shortest way to attaine to divers kindes of learning; certes she would shew thee no other then that of travell.¹²¹

Many travellers claimed to be seeking a level of intensity and involvement with other cultures that they could never have got at home, or at their staid universities. They sought an immediacy and a direct, first-hand confrontation that they believed was far superior to

¹¹⁸ Bacon, *Essays*, pp. 102-3.

¹¹⁹ Campbell, *Instructions*, pp. 74-5, Parsons, *Slingsby*, pp. 261-2.

¹²⁰ Whether such a person as Kirchner even existed is in doubt. Certainly the views expressed, if not the words themselves, can comfortably be taken as Coryate’s.

¹²¹ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. B3r-v, B4r.

reading second-hand relations and accounts. ‘If a man offer to show thee all the strange miracles of *Africk*,’ asked Fynes Moryson in his *Itinerary*,

wouldst thou answer, goe your waies and paint them, which done I will gladly see them: or if one would show thee Paradice, and the infinite flowers and fruits thereof, wouldst thou rather snort in a chimney corner, and not shake off the least drowsinesse, for the very possession of that happy inheritance, but if he would goe and paint them, then promise, perhaps and at leasure to view them?¹²²

Moryson felt that language was a barrier to obtaining first-hand understanding, and that the traveller should learn the language of the country in a purist effort to avoid the second-hand account of an interpreter. The man who uses interpreters, he said, ‘doth... onely borrow his knowledge, and take it at the second hand.’ Of men whose knowledge derives purely from conversation with others, he writes, ‘it were more honourable and safe, to be able to use their owne senses and understandings, then other mens.’¹²³ Henry Peacham agreed: ‘Before you enter into Observation, first seeke the language that you may be fit for conference.’¹²⁴ ‘For art useth neither wings nor feet that it should eyther go or flie unto us,’ added Kirchner, ‘neither can all these things be knowen by the mute sounds of books, but we must rather go... & search for many things, and gather many things by our eyes and sight.’ He continued, ‘as often as thou hast travelled about any Region, so often I would have thee perswade thy selfe thou hast read a new leafe in the booke of nature.’¹²⁵

Some went so far as to make wholesale critiques of book knowledge, and to scoff at the trivial academic geography of the armchair enthusiast. Not surprisingly, Thomas Coryate was chief among them, and his use of Kirchner, whose oration was

¹²² Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 4.

¹²³ Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 14.

¹²⁴ Henry Peacham, *The compleat gentleman* (London, 1622), p. 203.

¹²⁵ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. B3r, B4v.

conspicuously addressed to ‘my fellow Academicks,’ is telling.¹²⁶ In a dedicatory poem to his friend at the front of his *Asian Letters*, Coryate wrote,

Confront your Academies all,
Of *Brazen-nose* and *Penbrooke* Hall, of learned not the least:
Challenge the chiefe in our behoofe [my behalf]
And... send him South South-east.¹²⁷

In another commendatory poem, this time from one Robert Allen to William Lithgow, a similar jibe was taken at the stuffy academic geographer:

Rest Noble Spirits in your Native Soiles
Whose high-bred Thoughts on deare-bought sights are bent
Renowned LITHGOW by his brave attempt
Hath eas'd your bodies of a world of toyles.¹²⁸

Many travellers made the same point, though with a little less flamboyance than Coryate.

John Beale simply explained that ‘my education was amongst Scholars in Academyes, where I spent many years in conversing with variety of books only. A little before our wars began, I spent two summers in travelling towards the South, with purpose to learn to know men and forreign manners’.¹²⁹ John Raymond gently mocked ‘such as looke into forraine parts through the spectacles of Imagination only’, and noted with elegant understatement that ‘many itineraries I have seen in Latine, few in English, and those so partiall, that Countries are describ'd (as Committees do Gentlemen) not as they are, but as they would have them’.¹³⁰ Aubrey wrote of Henry Blount, ‘I remember twenty yeares

¹²⁶ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. B1v.

¹²⁷ Coryate, *English Wits*, p. 55.

¹²⁸ William Lithgow, *A most delectable, and true, discourse of a peregrination in Europe, Asia, etc.* (London, 1614).

¹²⁹ John Beale, *Herefordshire Orchards* (London, 1657), pp. 1-2.

¹³⁰ John Raymond, *An itinerary, contayning a voyage made through Italy in the yeare 1646 and 1647* (London, 1648), fol. A4v-A5r, A7r.

since he inveighed much against sending youths to the Universities'.¹³¹ And James

Howell maintained that

to bee a Sedentary *Traveller* only, penn'd up between Wals, and to stand poring all day upon a Map, upon imaginary Circles and Scales, is... to run over and travers the world by *Hearesay*, and traditionall relation, with other men's eyes,...¹³²

This subtle and not-so-subtle mocking of scholars and academies was not surprising given the emphasis travellers themselves placed on the importance of direct experience, and perhaps even less surprising when one considers that, at least ostensibly, this kind of travel had grown out of a reaction to the limitations of English universities.

These trends were conspicuously reflected in the debate over travel. Bishop Hall perceived the attack on 'secondary' book knowledge and came to its defence. He asked what was wrong with encouraging youth to learn on 'the safer soile of our Universities, and Innes of Court.'¹³³ He continued,

I have knowne some that have travelled no further then their owne closet, which could both teach and correct the greatest Traveller, after all his tedious and costly pererrations, what doe we but lose the benefit of so many journals, maps, historicall descriptions, relations, if wee cannot with these helps, travell by our owne fireside?¹³⁴

Hall insisted that ancient Latin authorities had far more to teach contemporaries than a bit of travel abroad ever could. He asked rhetorically if an English gentleman

should (as too many doe) passe the Alpes, what pittances can his wild journey observe, in comparison of the *Itenerarie* [sic] of *Fr.Schottus* and *Capugnanus*: Or hee that would discourse of the Royalties of the French Lillies, how can he be so furnished by flying report, as by the elaborate gatherings of *Cassaneus*, or of *Degrassalius*.... Even China it selfe, and Japonia, and those other remotest Isles, and Continents (which have taken the strictest order for closenesse) have received such discoveries, as would rather satisfie a Reader, then provoke him to amend them.¹³⁵

¹³¹ *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. O.L. Dick (London, 1949).

¹³² James Howell, *Instructions for forreine travell* (London, 1642), pp. 2-3.

¹³³ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 8

¹³⁴ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 31.

¹³⁵ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 33, 34.

As far as Hall was concerned, ‘A good booke is at once the best companion, and guide, and way, and end of our journey’.¹³⁶ Books, and second-hand knowledge in general, Hall felt, were far superior to the fashionable interest in direct observation and eyesight. ‘let [a man] but travell through the world of bookes, and hee shall easily be able to out-talke that tongue, whose feet have walkt the furthest; what hath any eye seene, or imagination devised, which the pen hath not dared to write?’¹³⁷ ‘O let me lead an academic life’, he sighed finally.¹³⁸

And of course, Hall was not alone. Perhaps predictably, those who sought to denigrate travel focussed their arguments, at least in part, on the real value of taking a more traditional, scholastic approach to the world. As early as 1551, Peter Vannes averred that ‘learning of all sorts is to be had at Cambridge and Oxford as plentifully as [abroad], and with as good manner, saving for the sight of countries and obtaining of language’.¹³⁹ Antony Stafford asked, ‘Who would not wade a million of miles, to enterchange discourse with a Scaliger, a Lipsius, or a Causabone? My mind therefor shall travel more than my body;... and my care shal be greater to please my Understanding, than my Sense’.¹⁴⁰ Sir John Harrington showed that not only academics could be mocked, with his send-up of travelling Paulus:

Because in these so malcontented times
I please my self with private recreation,
in reeding or in sweetest contemplation...
Paulus... saying in his scoffing fashion,
These wryters that still savour of the schooles,
frame to themselvs a paradice of fooles:

¹³⁶ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 34.

¹³⁷ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 36.

¹³⁸ Joseph Hall *Virgidemiarum* (London, 1598), in *Oxford Book of Satirical Verse*, ed. Geoffrey Grigson (Oxford, 1980), p. 36.

¹³⁹ *CSPF*, 18 July 1551.

¹⁴⁰ Antony Stafford, *Meditations, and resolutions, moral, divine, politicall. Century I* (London, 1612), p. 62.

But while he scorns our mirth and playne simplicity,
 himself doth saile to Affricke and to Inde,
 And seekes with hellish paynes, yet doth not finde
 that blisse in which he frames his wise felicity.
 Now which of twayn is best some wise man tell
 our Paradice, or els wise Paulus hell?¹⁴¹

Roger Ascham said simply that ‘Learning teacheth more in one yeare than experience
 twentie: And learning teacheth safelie. when experience maketh mo miserable then wise.
 He hasardeth sore, that waxeth wise by experience... It is costlie wisdom, that is bought
 by experience’.¹⁴² James Shirley complained in 1647 of the ‘young spirits of the Time,
 whose Birth & Quality made them impatient of the sowrer [surer] wayes of education’.¹⁴³
 And Richard Mulcaster insisted that ‘yong gentlemen... might learne all the best farre
 better at home in their standing studies, then they ever shall in their stirring
 residence...’.¹⁴⁴ Edward Aston agreed, seeing

no reason that a multitude of *Mandivels* that wander abroad in this pampletting [sic] age in
 the habite of sincere Historiographers [sic] (like Asses in Lyons skins) should dazzell and
 dim the glory of [the classical authorities], or cancel and deface their opinions so autenticke
 and anciently received.¹⁴⁵

And Thomas Culpeper argued that travellers should ‘(if possible) be perfect Latinists’,
 and ‘not be so much strangers to Story and Mapps, that when they first see France, they
 shall think, they discover America, and be so surpris’d with the novelty of objects, as if
 they saw not men but theaters,... for then their time will be wasted in vain
 amusements’.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Folger Library MS V.a.249, fol. 66-7.

¹⁴² Roger Ascham, *The scholemaster* (London, 1570), fol. 18.

¹⁴³ *Comedies and tragedies, written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, gentlemen* (London, 1647), fol. A4.

¹⁴⁴ Mulcaster, *Positions*, p. 211.

¹⁴⁵ Edward Aston, *The manners, lawes and customes of all nations. Collected out of the best writers by Joannes Boemus Aubanus, a Dutchman* (London, 1611), fol. 3v.

¹⁴⁶ C[ulpeper], *Morall discourses*, pp. 71, 70.

There was, however, no shortage of authors willing to disagree completely, and leap to the defence of the new vogue for direct observation. An anonymous preface to an edition of the travel advice letters of the earl of Essex, Sir Philip Sidney, and William Davison was surely a response to the likes of Hall:

It hath bin lately maintained in an *Academicall* Dispute, That the best travailing is in maps and good Authors:... A pleasing opinion for solitary prisoners, who may thus travell over the world, though confinde to a dungeon. And, indeed, it is a good way to keepe a man innocent; but withall as Ignorant. Our sedentary Traveller may passe for a wise man, as long as hee converseth either with dead men by reading; or by writing, with men absent. But let him once enter on the stage of publike imployment, and hee will soone find... that he is unfit for Action. For ability to treat with men of several humours, factions, and Countries;... is not gotten onely by reading of books, but rather by studying of men.... The best scholler is fittest for a Traveller, as being able to make the most useful observation: Experience added to learning, makes a perfect Man.... He, that never travelled but in his Books, can hardly shew his learning, without manifestation of his want of experience.¹⁴⁷

Archibald Campbell insisted that

some men there are, that have seen more with their eye, then some ambitious Princes did ever comprehend in their thoughts.... what delight and fruition is there, in the corporal view, and passage, and abode in the most remarkable countries of the world... One Journey will shew a man more, then twenty descriptions, relations or maps; what a desolate life do Tortoises live, who cannot be rid of their shells.¹⁴⁸

And Cleland argued that the best tutor would be found ‘abroad, & not in the Schools...

He is conversant with the world, not locked up in a studie’.¹⁴⁹

Eyesight was apotheosised and praised widely as the antidote to books. As the seventeenth century wore on, more and more commentators praised the sense of sight, holding it in stark contrast to that of hearing, meant to stand for book learning and secondary relation. ‘And it was the usuall boast of *Alexander*,’ wrote Henry Peacham of

¹⁴⁷ Devereux, *Profitable instructions*, fol. A6v-A7r.

¹⁴⁸ Campbell, *Instructions*, pp. 70-1, 72.

¹⁴⁹ Cleland, *Institution*, p. 26.

the meandering Macedonian, 'that he had found out more with his eies, then other Kings were able to comprehend in thought.'¹⁵⁰ Fynes Moryson admitted that

from my tender youth I had a great desire to see forraine Countries, not to get libertie..., but to enable my understanding, which I thought could not be done so well by contemplation as by experience; nor by the eare or any sence so well, as by the eies.¹⁵¹

The superiority of observation was so obvious to Fynes Moryson, that he did not even feel it was necessary to dwell on the fact: 'I will not speake of the experience thereby attained,... which neither by hearing, nor any sense can so easily be gained, as by the eies,' he wrote, in the opening lines of the section of his book entitled 'Of Travelling in General.' The importance of vision was incontestable.

...surely among the senses, which are (as it were) our Sentinels and Watchmen, to spie out all dangers, and conduct us through the thorny laberinth [sic] of this lifes pilgrimage, not any one is so vigilant, so nimble, so wary, nor by many degrees so trusty, as the sight.¹⁵²

The eyes were lauded by travel writers and travel critics as the most reliable of the five senses. 'The *Eare* is not so authentique a wit-nesse as the *Eye*,' wrote James Howell in 1642, 'the *Eye* having a more quick and immediat commerce and familiarity with the *Soule*'. He added,

although one should reade all the Topographers that ever writ of, or anatomiz'd a Town or Countrey,... Yet one's own *Ocular* view, and personall conversation will still find out something new and unpointed at by any other.¹⁵³

And Bacon asked why mariners always keep log-books, 'but in *Land Travile*, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part, they omit it; As if Chance, were fitter to be registred then Observation.'¹⁵⁴ Like Bacon, Moryson recognised that observation was the corner-stone of diary-keeping: 'according to the faithfull view of my eyes, I will draw the

¹⁵⁰ Peacham, *Compleat gentleman*, p. 201.

¹⁵¹ Moryson, *Itinerary*, i, 197.

¹⁵² Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, 1.

¹⁵³ Howell, *Instructions*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵⁴ Bacon, *Essays*, p. 101.

situation of *Ierusalem*,' he wrote, 'and after explaine it, aswell as I can.'¹⁵⁵ Even the ever-irascible Bishop Hall hinted at the new emphasis on eyesight, when he complained of the tempestuous youth who 'yeeld to runne after his apeteite and his eye.'¹⁵⁶

Coryate's apotheosis of the eye is obvious from the comments of his panegyrists. Samuel Page wrote that 'No curious ambition moved our friend t'exhale the secrets of a forraine state,...it better sate... to turne his *Microcosme* all into eyes. His eyes on all have set all eyes on him.'¹⁵⁷ Someone calling himself 'Glareanus Vadianus' wrote that Coryate 'Eates Observations by the eyes.'¹⁵⁸ Laurence Whitaker compared Coryate's vision to a badger's, an animal famed for its night-vision.¹⁵⁹ And Kirchner added that it was travel 'for whose sakes these spheares of our eyes, these lights, this sharpnes of sight, these senses were given unto us, that we might survay and contemplate all these things.' If you haven't travelled, he crowed,

thou art not onely more madde, but also more cruell toward thine own eyes, then that mad *Democritus*, which is said to have deprived himselfe of his eyes, and to have burnt up the sight thereof... thou dost procure thy selfe not only that outward blindnes, but also an inward darknesse, an incredible stupidity, and a life truly dead.¹⁶⁰

Jonathan Woolfson has written, in another context, that 'English study in Padua in the Tudor period thus transformed itself from the classicising to the contemporary, from the Latinate to the vernacular, from the scholarly to the gentlemanly, and from the pursuit of the relatively few to that of a large number'.¹⁶¹ It might be ambitious to try to make the

¹⁵⁵ Moryson, *Itinerary*, i, 217.

¹⁵⁶ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p.21.

¹⁵⁷ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. F8v-G1r

¹⁵⁸ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. H2r.

¹⁵⁹ 'Ainsi des pierres, ou nostre *Blaireau*/ Aietté l'oeil (fut-ce aux Ponts, ou Potences,/ Clochers, Statues, qui tiennent balances)/ Est né soudain un grand hideux volume....' (Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. D6r).

¹⁶⁰ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. C4r, C5v, C6r.

¹⁶¹ Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 138-9.

same claim about English travel abroad more generally over the course of our time period, but it is clear that the ingredients are there. The sharp growth in the popularity of the foreign tour and the increasingly strident emphasis on the role of curiosity and the empirical worldview it brought with it, were a potent combination – one that alternately inspired and terrified. This inspiration and terror carried with it a number of implications – not least, a vocal and nervous insistence on the part of parents and advice-givers that the young traveller should find ways to occupy his time abroad constructively and be able to demonstrate as much upon his return. An emphasis on learning languages and taking notes were only the most obvious examples of this concern over idle curiosity. But the concern was a deep one, made only deeper by the growing confidence of travellers and their defenders in heralding the merits of their newfound approach to foreign lands.

Chapter 5 – Young and Impressionable

The tendency to be motivated by ‘curiosity’ was not the only characteristic that marked the new breed of early modern traveller, nor was it the only aspect of the phenomenon to draw the concern of commentators and the fire of critics. Most Elizabethan and early Stuart travellers were also strikingly young in years, and the perception that hordes of very impressionable young gentlemen were being allowed to roam around the European Continent in their unripe years formed the second major nexus of the debate over travel. It is to this issue of youth and impressionability that we must now turn our attention.

I – How young was young?

The first question to be addressed is exactly how young *were* most of the travellers we are considering?

There is anecdotal, as well as statistical, evidence available to us that suggests that the age at which a gentleman first set out on his travels was as unpredictable as his reasons for going abroad in the first place. Certainly, there were those who travelled in their early or later teens, but there were also those who waited until their early or even later twenties, occasionally even travelling well after they had married and had children. In fact, travel for pleasure or curiosity in later life was far from unknown. We know from his father’s correspondence that Francis Carew left a long-suffering wife at home when he undertook his tour of France, but he was not alone.¹ The Earl of Winchelsea was a married man before his first trip abroad in 1659, and Arthur Hall was forced to wait until he was married before he could, in the words of his biographer, ‘satisfy his longings for

¹ BL Additional MS 29599, fol. 39r.

travel'.² In Hall's case, it was a simple question of money – marriage had finally brought him the financial resources needed for the journey.³ For other travellers, it was simply more convenient to go on a tour later in life. Tobie Matthew had, from an early age, 'conceived a strong desire of making a tour... but sometimes his studies, sometimes affairs or amusements at court, sometimes suits of law, sometimes idle entertainments intervened', and he had to wait until he was twenty-seven years old before he could get away.⁴ In the case of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the young man had married at a very tender age, and by the time he was twenty-five, he had three children and found himself pining for a missed youth of foreign travels and adventures. He suggested to his wife 'that in regard I was too young to go beyond sea before I married her, she now would give leave for a while to see foreign countries'.⁵ Sir Edmund Bacon, meanwhile, took a trip to Spa with Joseph Hall when he was 39, but waited until he was 56 before undertaking a proper foreign tour.

However, despite these and other notable exceptions, the predominant tendency was to undertake a tour of foreign countries in one's teens or early twenties. William Cecil, Lord Roos, who obtained licence to travel in 1605 when he was fifteen, was probably typical. So too were Philip Sidney, who was seventeen when he set off on his travels; Francis Bacon, who was fifteen, having been admitted to Cambridge at the tender age of twelve; or Henry Slingsby who left at nineteen. However, it is nearly impossible to speak of a 'typical' age for travel. Arthur Throckmorton was described by Sir Amias Paulet as 'a very young man, and hath his imperfections', despite being twenty years old

² HMC, *Report on the MSS of Alan George Finch* (4 vols., London, 1913-65), i, 77.

³ H.G. Wright, *The Life and Works of Arthur Hall of Grantham* (Manchester, 1919), p. 39.

⁴ Alban Butler, *The Life of Sir Tobie Maethews [sic]* (London, 1795), p. 3.

⁵ *The Autobiography of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, ed. C.H. Herford (London, 1928), p. 31.

during his time in Paris.⁶ John Reresby was also twenty when he set out on his tour. Fynes Moryson obtained licence to leave England at the age of twenty-three, after finishing law degrees at Peterhouse, Cambridge, while Rowland Litton of Knebworth, Hertfordshire left at the age of twenty-four.⁷ At the other extreme were travellers like George Sandys, the eleventh and youngest son of the Archbishop of York, who entered Oxford at the age of eleven, and, unable or unwilling to finish his studies, left on a trip through Europe and the Levant. In 1633, a pass was issued to Thomas, John, and Henry Osbourne, sons of Sir Peter Osbourne, ‘the eldest being about 13 yeares ould’, to travel abroad for three years with a tutor.⁸ A similar pass was granted in 1638 to George March, ‘of the Age of 12 yeares or thereabouts’.⁹ Passports rarely mentioned the age of the traveller, so we can infer from this that twelve might have been considered an especially young age for a foreign tour, and worth a special mention. William Cecil’s eleven-year-old son Robert had requested his father’s permission to travel, but Cecil wrote to Walsingham in 1575 that he felt eleven was just a *little* young. On the other hand, Cecil was anxious that his son Thomas have completed his tour and be safely back in England before he was twenty, indicating that, at least for this one father, the right window for travel spanned the teenage years.¹⁰

Anecdotal evidence like this can give us some idea of the typical age of travellers, but only a more rigorous statistical analysis can offer up a reasonable idea of the typical age at embarkation. Some parallel studies are worth citing at this point, if only to remind

⁶ A.L. Rowse, *Raleigh and the Throckmortons* (London, 1962), p. 63.

⁷ Cambridge University, Peterhouse Old Register, MSS 377, 406, 420; PCR, 9 February 1638; *Visitations of Hertfordshire* (Harleian Soc., xxii, 1886), pp. 73, 115.

⁸ PCR, 21 May 1633.

⁹ PCR, 27 May 1638.

¹⁰ *CSPF*, 8 May 1561.

us that early modern societies had different ideas about what constituted ‘youth’ from our own. Keith Thomas has done some interesting statistical work, and points out, among other things, that, of the 5,000 people who left for the New World in 1635, ‘well over half were between sixteen and twenty-three; some were children of ten or eleven, apparently unattached to any family or master’.¹¹ And another historian reminds us that, in merchant service, boys went to sea at the age of eleven or twelve.¹² Rosemary O’Day has shown that the median age for Oxford students in 1637-9 was about 17.1, with as many as eighteen percent aged fourteen or below.¹³ Richard DeMolen, meanwhile, demonstrates that the average age of university admission in this period was seventeen, while among the ‘élites’ it may have been more like fifteen or sixteen.¹⁴ Though DeMolen’s methods have been questioned by some historians (notably David Cressy and Kenneth Charlton), for our purposes, it is enough to be able to say that most members of the gentry attended university during their middle teenage years, with matriculation coming anywhere from eleven to nineteen years of age, and foreign travel generally taking place within a year or two after that.

Some rather modest statistical evidence specific to travel can be assembled and adduced here to round out the picture. For the years running from 1560 to 1640, *Acts of Privy Council* (along with the unpublished Privy Council Registers), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, and *Calendar of Patent Rolls* together contain some 1,954 passport records which can comfortably be categorised as ‘tourist’ licences (ruling out those

¹¹ Keith Thomas, ‘Age and Authority in Early Modern England’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 62 (1977), 216.

¹² G.V. Scammell, ‘Manning the English Merchant Service in the Sixteenth Century’, *Mariner’s Mirror* 56 (1970), 137.

¹³ Rosemary O’Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800* (London, 1982), p. 107.

¹⁴ Richard DeMolen, ‘Ages of Admission to Educational Institutions in Tudor and Stuart England’, *History of Education*, 5 (1976), 207-19.

travellers whose licences specify that their main goal was travel to Spa for the recovery of their health, such travellers being often, though not invariably, older). Out of these 1,954 licences, there are 585 that specify a geographic location or place of origin – be it a county, city, town, village or simply the name of a manor house or estate – for the traveller in question. Armed with this information, it becomes possible (though often still very difficult) to generate some basic biographical, or at least prosopographical, information about the traveller, using a combination of Heraldic Visitations, Victoria County Histories, Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, and other such standard reference works.

A sampling of 200 of these passport records reveals, with some reliability, the year of birth, and therefore the approximate age at embarkation, for 53 travellers.¹⁵ And among these 53 travellers, the average age at which they were first given licence to travel was actually 23.1 years old – a rather startlingly high figure. Of course, it almost goes without saying that this figure should be treated with a great deal of caution. It would be wrong, I think, to conclude from this that the typical young man travelling for the first time waited until he was 23 before embarking on his trip. To begin with, it is important to bear in mind that the passport records, even when they have been winnowed down to exclude those who were obviously diplomats or others travelling on 'business', still inevitably include a significant number of people whose trips abroad may not be described as voyages of education and self-discovery. And it is nearly impossible to come up with a reliable and systematic way to cull such travellers from any average age calculations. One very crude method, of course, would be to go through the 53 records in question and pick out anyone whose title includes the word 'Sir' or 'knight', and

¹⁵ These are the first 200 records alphabetically by surname of traveller.

temporarily exclude him from the data, on the grounds that an established adult figure is very likely to have been taking a different kind of trip to the one we are interested in. Not surprisingly, when this is done, the average age drops to 21.6 years – a strikingly lower figure, considering that only seven of the 53 travellers have been excluded in this way. Even more interesting is that the average age of these seven knights works out to about 34.4 years old, suggesting a very real division between two distinct types of travel: that of the young man eager to round out his early education, and that of the older, established knight of the shire taking the opportunity to see the world at his leisure.

But we can go even further than this. After the seven knights have been removed from the calculations, we are left with 46 travellers whose average age works out to 21.6 years. So does that mean that the typical first traveller was around 21 or 22 years of age? Possibly, but the matter is worth a closer look. Examining the biographical details of these 46 travellers, five obtrude as being a little different from the rest – Thomas Bennett, a lawyer and fellow of All Souls, Oxford, who travelled when he was 26; Charles Bostock, a physician and fellow of Christ Church, Oxford, who turned up on the Padua register book a few years before his licence was issued at the age of 31; Thomas Coxe, a fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who received a medical degree from Padua during his travels and later became physician to the parliamentary army and to the King after the Restoration; John Dunster, a plebeian and fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who was given licence when he was 26; and William Goddard, a physician who received his medical degree from Padua, and whose name appeared in the Padua register book just two and a half months after his licence to travel was issued to him at the age of 24. With the exception of Goddard, all five of these men were fellows of colleges when they set

out on their journeys. And all five give the impression of being people travelling not just out of some vague desire to satisfy curiosity, but of people engaged in some sort of professional or scholarly enterprise, which their travels might have in some way been designed to enlighten. The average age of these five travellers works out to 26.2 years, and that of the remaining 41 travellers after both the knights and the professionals have been taken out now falls to a more predictable 20.8 years, suggesting that, based just on this preliminary data, it may in fact not be wholly unconvincing to speak of *three* broad types of ‘curiosity’ traveller: the 21-year-old gadabout, the 26-year-old scholar/lawyer/physician, etc., and the 34-year-old knight of the shire. And, more importantly, what even this small amount of data shows rather conclusively is that the first ‘type’ far outnumbered the latter two.

Of course, to exclude older, more established travellers simply on the basis of the fact that they were older and more established may seem a tautology, and indeed, in some ways it is. After all, people like Sir Edward Bishop of Parham, Sussex, knight and baronet, who was issued with a three-year licence to travel beyond seas at the age of 37, show no signs of travelling for any other reason than their interest in seeing foreign parts, and until further evidence to the contrary, should be included in any study of ‘curiosity’ travel. In fact, it is not at all my intention to exclude older travellers from the picture altogether; still less is it to try to massage the evidence into delivering the youngest possible average age for travellers. Rather, it is to suggest that while those who travelled out of something that we might call ‘curiosity’ for foreign countries were not all the same and cannot all be lumped together – neither sharing the same initial motivations, nor being at the same stage in their lives or careers – the phenomenon was nevertheless

dominated by one age group and by one ‘type’ of traveller, and that type was youthful. And, I would suggest, it was this latter type of traveller – often frighteningly young, feckless and inexperienced – that attracted the most interest from contemporary commentators and critics of travel. It will be seen from the remainder of this chapter that the attitude of contemporaries was very much in harmony with what these preliminary data suggest. Vast amounts of ink were spilt over the question of the extraordinary youth of curiosity travellers, and a detailed examination of this debate now follows.

II – *General attitudes towards youth*

It might be helpful to draw on some more general early modern views on youth before going on to explore the issue in the advice literature and the debates over the value of travel. Many vigorous debates have been had about early modern attitudes to childhood, particularly focussed on the vexed question of whether adults took part in what we would consider ‘affective’ relationships with their children.¹⁶ Comparatively less has been written about the early modern view of adolescence and post-adolescence.

As Ilana Ben-Amos reminds us, ‘early modern Englishmen did not hold a single theory of youth, but more a series of images and attributes of young age, which were made explicit in various writings: quasi-scientific discussions, religious manuals, educational theories and literature’.¹⁷ It is beyond the scope of this study to elucidate and bring together all these views about youth, but it is worth reminding ourselves about the

¹⁶ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (London, 1962); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London, 1977); Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children* (Cambridge, 1983); C John Sommerville, *The Discovery of Childhood in Puritan England* (Athens, USA, 1992); Jean Wilson, ‘The Noble Imp: the upper-class child in English Renaissance art and literature’, *Antiquaries Journal*, 70 (1990), 360-79.

¹⁷ Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Youth and Adolescence in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, 1994), p. 11.

general negativity about youth that pervaded much of the writing of the time. Ben-Amos summarises the early modern view of the young under the headings of sinfulness, hot temper, rashness, wit and vigour, and inexperience.¹⁸ Paul Griffiths similarly catalogues early modern perceptions of the ‘dark and dangerous age’, the ‘peak of depravity’.¹⁹ And Steven R. Smith cites sinfulness, unsettledness, fickleness, and sensuality as key points of disapproval of youth among seventeenth-century Puritans.²⁰

One of the most common complaints made about the young was that they were given to licentiousness and general immorality. Richard Brathwait called youth ‘a dangerous time’, and ‘an affecter of all licentious liberty’, adding, ‘what imminent dangers are ever attending on Youth, and how easie it is by the painted flag of vanity, and sensuall pleasure, to draw him to ruine’. Brathwait railed against what he called ‘the naturall proneness of Youth to irregular liberty’.²¹ William Guild called youth ‘an untamed or wild colt’, which ‘is carried with a more headlong force unto vice, lust, and vaine pleasure of the flesh’.²² Young men listened only to the ‘intising Syrens of their owne affections and youthly lusts’ and were easily ‘perswaded to the inticing & sweet pleasures of the flesh, the world, and of sinne’.²³ Matthew Griffith believed that the ‘lusts of youth are many’, and complained that young men ‘thinke it the greatest disgrace in the world, to be counted Sober-minded’. They would, he wrote,

¹⁸ Ben-Amos, *Youth and Adolescence*, pp. 10-38.

¹⁹ Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 34-40. A good overall source for early modern negativity about youth is Francis Lenton, *The Young Gallant's Whirligig, Or Youth's Reakes* (London, 1629).

²⁰ Steven R. Smith, ‘Religion and the conception of youth in seventeenth-century England’, *History of Childhood Quarterly*, 2 (1975), 493-516. Susan Brigden, ‘Youth and the English Reformation’, *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), 37-39, has reached similar conclusions for the earlier sixteenth century.

²¹ Richard Brathwait, *The English gentleman* (London, 1630), pp. 1-3, 5.

²² William Guild, *A yong mans inquisition or triall* (London, 1608), pp. 20-1, 26.

²³ Guild, *Inquisition*, p. 107.

take the Lord's Name in vaine, prophane his Sabbaths, dishonour their Parents, kill, commit adultery, steale, beare false witness, covet; and if there be any sinne not reducible to these, they will study till they finde it out; and then both act it, and maintaine that their crimes are vertues; and it is the simplicitie of the world that they are not in fashion. In a word, These youngsters are such jolly fellowes, that they grow past all shame and feare; they are not ashamed before men; and they feare not God.²⁴

Robert Greene argued that 'in the prime of our yeares vice is most ready to creepe in', and condemned what he called the 'lascivious humour' of young men.²⁵ And Thomas Morrice noted that a young man 'is commonly more proner to lewde lust... then an ancient man... for children by nature are more prone to vice then vertue... and corrupted by deedes, lewdly committed, or wordes wickedly uttered'.²⁶

The young were also accused of being disposed to vanity, uncontrolled extravagance and general prodigality. Brathwait called youth 'a Comicke introducer of all vanitie', and proceeded, over twenty pages, to explain the various kinds of vanity to which young men were predisposed.²⁷ Robert Shelford warned against 'costly apparell' and 'new fashions.... For even as the soft flaxe soone catcheth holde on the fire: so youthfull nature will soone bee enflamed with this vice'.²⁸ And William Guild cautioned that the typical young man of his day would pursue his vanities 'till many of them have lost a greater kingdom then Salomon could leave to his sonne'.²⁹

Young men, by virtue of their age, were also believed to be inclined to rashness, tempestuousness, and therefore a general frivolousness or indiscretion in their behaviour.

²⁴ Matthew Griffith, *Bethel: or a forme for families* (London, 1633), pp. 161-2.

²⁵ Robert Greene, *The repentance of R. Greene* (London, 1592); in *Life and Complete Works, in Prose and Verse, of Robert Greene*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, (15 vols., London, 1881-6), xii, 157-8.

²⁶ Thomas Morrice, *An apology for schoole-masters* (London, 1619), fol. B6r, B8v.

²⁷ Brathwait, *English gentleman*, pp. 5ff.

²⁸ Robert Shelford, *Lectures or readings upon the 6. verse of the 22. chapter of the Proverbs, concerning the vertuous education of youth* (London, 1596), p. 39.

²⁹ Guild, *Inquisition*, p. 27.

Matthew Griffith railed against the ‘rashnesse’ of youth, calling it a ‘seething-pot, which must bee often scummed’ and a ‘raging sea, which is ever casting up mire and dirt’.³⁰

Robert Shelford wrote that ‘the heart of a childe is as the violent waters’, and argued that the ages of fifteen and sixteen were ‘most dangerous, because then our affections are most strong in us’.³¹ Sir Henry Slingsby wrote just before his death that

great pity it is, that our Youth, even in the eminentest Extractions, should make so light an estimate of time: as to hold not Consorts fitter for their Concerns nor corresponding with their Tempers, then such who only study a fruitless expence of time: making no other account of Hours, then Harbingers of pleasure: and as airy Lures to attract their light & liquorish appetites to prohibited delights.³²

Thomas Morrice felt that a young man was ‘more inconsiderate, of lesse discretion and experience’ than an older man.³³ And Robert Greene exhorted ‘all the wanton youths of England’ to undertake a ‘reformation of wilfulnes’, arguing that the typical young man was ‘led on by selfe will (having the raines of libertie in his owne hand)’.³⁴

Another major source of complaint and concern was the naïveté and impressionability of youth. Bartholomew Batty in 1581 called youth ‘this first mutable, wavering and slipperie age’.³⁵ Roger Ascham would have agreed, writing that, when young, men were ‘verie light of conditions: and thereby, very readie of disposition, to be caried over quicklie, by any light cumpanie, to any riot and unthriftines’.³⁶ Robert Greene believed that ‘a yong man is like to a tender plant... readie in the bloome to be nipped with everie misfortune’, or even ‘like as waxe is ready to receive everie newe fourme,

³⁰ Griffith, *Bethel*, p. 161.

³¹ Shelford, *Lectures*, p. 38.

³² *Diary of Henry Slingsby*, ed. Daniel Parsons (London, 1836), p. 212.

³³ Morrice, *Apology*, fol. B6r.

³⁴ Greene, *Repentance*, p. 157.

³⁵ Bartholomaeus Batty, *The christian mans closet* (Cambridge, 1581), fol. 52r.

³⁶ Roger Ascham, *The scholemaster* (London, 1570), p. 5r.

that is stamped into it'.³⁷ And William Guild felt that 'Youth, (having newly begun, and unacquainted with these terrifying lets)' was therefore 'easiest by nature to be drawn away... and so in most perill to yeeld'.³⁸

III – *Youth and travel*

Considering, by way of a general backdrop, that sinfulness, profligacy, impetuosity, and impressionability were some of the main preconceptions about youth in early modern England, it becomes less surprising that so many commentators and polemicists would have chosen to focus their outrage against what they believed to be the excessively young age of most travellers.

And indeed, almost all critics of travel began with youth as a prime source of their concern and dismay. William Bourne warned that the traveller 'ought not to be either to young nor to olde, but betweene the age of 40. and 56. or 57. yeares'.³⁹ Thomas Palmer, who, like Bourne, was a vigorous defender of travel, worried that travel at an early age could only 'profit but in speciall cases and but few persons: I rather insist upon the middle age'.⁴⁰ Archibald Campbell advised that 'Judgment is the onely thing that is necessary for a travailor and therefore I approve not of your going abroad, nor permitting you children if God shall send you any, till they have grown to a good competency of discretion'.⁴¹ Edward Waterhouse maintained throughout his *Gentlemans Monitor* that travel and the deficiencies of youth were a dangerous combination. He argued that 'youth

³⁷ Greene, *Repentance*, pp. 157, 158.

³⁸ Guild, *Inquisition*, pp. 106-7.

³⁹ William Bourne, *A booke called The treasure for traueilers* (London, 1578), fol. 4r.

⁴⁰ Sir Thomas Palmer, *An essay of the meanes how to make our travailes more profitable* (London, 1606), p. 18.

⁴¹ Archibald Campbell, *Instructions to a son* (Edinburgh, 1661), pp. 77-8.

very young is [not] fit for Travaile. For Travail... is not at all complete to a Gentleman, till it be directed and limited by soularie prudence, and a spirit of discerning; which few Children have in any tolerable degree'.⁴² John Stradling was concerned for the young earl of Bedford, travelling in his 'yoong and slipperie age', when he might be tempted by the 'alluring and intrapping natures of the Venetian and Italian Curtesanes'.⁴³ John Deacon claimed he had no problem with travel, as long as 'a provident care and a due regard be first had of the traveller his age and yeares'.⁴⁴ Deacon felt it wise 'that no forreine recourse be permitted to any (especially the younger sort) before they be fully come to their ripe, and well stayed yeares.... Because then... there must necessarily proceed a maturitie, and ripeenesse in iudgement'.⁴⁵ Joseph Hall mocked 'The brainsick youth that feeds his tickled ear / With sweet-sauced lies of some false traveller', and condemned the 'unsettlednesse' of the young traveller, whom he compared to 'a weak limde child'.⁴⁶ He cautioned against 'an early travell', and asked rhetorically, 'How can these novices, that are turned loose into the maine, ere they know eyther coast, or compasse, avoid these rockes and shelves, upon which both their estates and soules are miserably wracked?'.⁴⁷ Hall dismissed travelling for self-interest as merely the 'affectation of too-earlie ripenes'.⁴⁸ Thomas Neale, in his *Treatise of Direction*, complained for pages about 'rash inconsiderate hot-headed spirits, and vaigneglorious brain-sick youths'.⁴⁹ Henry Peacham wrote of travel that 'with a staid and mature judgement it doth best, such returne much

⁴² Edward Waterhouse, *The gentlemans monitor* (London, 1665), p. 347.

⁴³ John Stradling, *A direction for travaillers* (London, 1592), fol. C4.

⁴⁴ John Deacon, *Tobacco tortured* (London, 1616), p. 6.

⁴⁵ Deacon, *Tobacco*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Joseph Hall, *Virgidemiae* (London, 1598), in *Oxford Book of Satirical Verse*, ed. Geoffrey Grigson (Oxford, 1980), p. 36; Hall, *Quo vadis? a just censure of travell as it is commonly undertaken by gentlemen* (London, 1617), pp. 5-6.

⁴⁷ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 10, 16.

⁴⁸ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Thomas Neale, *A treatise of direction* (London, 1643), p. 13.

bettered by it: those who are sent young and childish... become the worse by it, for wanting judgement to understand the true use of travaile'.⁵⁰ Richard Mulcaster suggested that travel 'may prove to be both perillous and pernicious in those' who are 'for yeares to foreward', and reminded his audience that Plato had stipulated that 'none under fourtie yeares in any case travell abroad'.⁵¹ 'I exceedingly disapprove young men their travelling', wrote Gilbert Burnet in 1668, adding that only 'a person of a mature spirit, and ripe judgment... not of a light or gadding mind' should travel abroad, and even then not before the age of 21.⁵² And Bartholomew Batty drew an analogy with Jews, who, he claimed, 'suffer none of their sonnes to forsake and leave their fathers house, and so to travell into any straunge nation or countrie, except they have first lived in wedlocke, and have had the fellowship and societie of a wife by the space of three yeares at the least, and have begot children by them'.⁵³

Exceptions, of course, could always be allowed for men who were young in years, though mature in their outlook: Lodowick Bryskett acknowledged that there were 'some men, who at 18. yeeres of age are of sounder iudgement and more settled behaviour, then many,... that are grey-headed with age', and cited the young traveller Philip Sidney as an example.⁵⁴ 'For it is not grey haire or furrowes in the face, but prudence and wisdome that make men venerable when they are old', he added.⁵⁵ And Edward Waterhouse felt

⁵⁰ Henry Peacham, *The truth of our times* (London, 1638), pp. 138-9.

⁵¹ Richard Mulcaster, *Positions wherin those primitive circumstances be examined, necessarie for the training up of children* (London, 1581), pp. 212, 215.

⁵² Gilbert Burnet, *Thoughts on education* (London, 1761), pp. 92-3.

⁵³ Batty, *Christian mans closet*, fol. 52r.

⁵⁴ Lodowick Bryskett, *A discourse of civill life* (London, 1606), p. 160.

⁵⁵ Bryskett, *Discourse*, p. 161.

that no one should travel until they were at least 24 years of age, but spoke of 'Prodigies and Miracles of manhood', who could be exempted from this stricture.⁵⁶

Despite these recognitions of the complexities of age and maturity, though, youth remained a major concern for critics of travel. Many travellers themselves, in fact, admitted the dangers of youth when they reflected on their travels later in life. Peter Heylyn wrote in the dedicatory epistle to his travel account, 'I here present unto your Lordship the Fruits, if not the Follies also, of my younger daies', and in the preface referred to his travels as 'products of my youth and therefore probably not able to endure the censure of severer age'.⁵⁷ Heylyn was following a certain rhetorical convention here, but his choice of words is telling, and his sentiments far from unusual. Robert Greene confessed that it was during his time at Cambridge that 'I light amongst wags as lewd as my selfe, with whome I consumed the flower of my youth, who drew mee to travell into Italy, and Spaine'.⁵⁸ In fact, the cultural assumptions about the deficiencies of youth were so internalised by young travellers that some did not even have to wait until later life to become aware of them. Henry Wotton set off on his travels determined 'that I can teach my soul to run against the delights of fond youth', and reassured his mother in a letter from Nürnberg that 'my child's years are fully out, which were wont so regardlessly to look upon themselves'.⁵⁹ Thomas Cecil begged his father to excuse his indiscretions on the grounds that he was young, and therefore 'subject in a certain degree to the affections which govern youth'.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Waterhouse, *Monitor*, p. 347.

⁵⁷ Peter Heylyn, *Survey of the estate of France* (London, 1656), fol. A2, av.

⁵⁸ Greene, *Repentance*, p. 172.

⁵⁹ *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith (2 vols., Oxford, 1907), i, 235, 240.

⁶⁰ CSPF, 17 May 1562.

IV – ‘*apish imitation is commonly a young mans error*’

The conjunction of youth and travel exercised critics for a variety of reasons. To begin with, there was a great fear that young men, by virtue of their youth and inexperience, and their natural impressionability, were likely to return completely transformed by their travels abroad, and not at all for the better. Antony Stafford complained bitterly about the transformative dangers of travel for a young man, writing, ‘Phy upon it; that a man should goe from home, to goe from himselfe, and returne destitute of the little wit he carried out with him’.⁶¹ Richard Brathwait wrote of the typical traveller in 1631 that ‘hee returnes for most part, far worse than before he went forth’.⁶² Roger Ascham cautioned that

I know diverse, that went out of England, men of innocent life, men of excellent learnyng, who returned out of Italie, not onely with worse maners, but also with lesse learnyng: neither so willing to live orderly, nor yet so hable to speake learnedlie, as they were at home, before they went abroad.⁶³

Ascham also mocked many travellers who, he said, ‘beyng Mules and Horses before they went, returned verie Swyne and Asses home agayne’.⁶⁴ Nicholas Breton lampooned the traveller who came back ‘talking in prose, with more tongues then teeth in his head, and with that which he brought from beyond the Seas, which he cannot be rid of at home’.⁶⁵ And elsewhere, Breton’s fictional father advised his son before his travels, ‘Let not the alteration of the Ayre, alter thy nature, the object of thine eye the Judgement of thy minde, nor the sound of the eare, the sence of thy heart’.⁶⁶ Lewes Lewkenor complained

⁶¹ Antony Stafford, *Meditations, and resolutions, moral, divine, politicall. Century I* (London, 1612), pp. 60-1.

⁶² Richard Brathwait. *Whimzies or a new cast of characters* (London, 1631), p. 150.

⁶³ Ascham, *Scholemaster*, pp. 24v-25r.

⁶⁴ Ascham, *Scholemaster*, p. 26r.

⁶⁵ Nicholas Breton, *The court and country* (1618), in *Inedited Tracts*, ed. William C. Hazlitt (Roxburghe Library, 1868), pp. 180-1.

⁶⁶ Nicholas Breton, *An old mans lesson and a young mans love* (London, 1604), fol. C1v-C2r.

of those travellers ‘corrupted in manners’ or ‘disguised in behaviour’, who ‘having gotten a fonde affected phrase of speech, or some conceited toys in their habite would be accounted great travellers, because perchance they have seene the clocke at Strasburge, or can talke of Maddona Margaritas pantables’.⁶⁷ Joseph Hall asked, ‘How many have we seene and pitied, which have brought nothing from forraine Countries, but mis-shapen clothes, or exoticall gestures, or new games, or affected lispings...?’, adding his belief that ‘these men have at once wandered from their country, and from themselves’.⁶⁸ He wondered whether parents who sent their sons abroad ‘Doe... not see how easily a young twig is bowed any way? Do they not see that the Mid-wife and the Nurse are wont to frame the gristly head of the Infant to any fashion? May not any thing bee written upon a blanke?’⁶⁹ The playwrights Beaumont and Fletcher lampooned the character of the returning traveller in their 1617 play, *Queen of Corinth*. The traveller’s brother lamented that he had returned ‘a much alter’d man... that leaves no print behind him of what he was’. He added colourfully that ‘those that went out men, and good men, they looke like potch’d Eggs with the soules suckt out, empty and full of wind’ on their return.⁷⁰ The popular travel handbook *Profitable Instructions* from 1633 warned that some travellers

goe over full of good qualitie, and better hopes; [and]... return laden with nothing but the vices, if not the diseases of the Countries which they have seene. And, which is most to bee pittied, they are commonly the best wits, and purest receptacles of sound knowledge, that are thus corrupted.⁷¹

Margaret Cavendish wrote in 1662 that young travellers ‘go forth of their Own Country Civil Men, but return Brute Beasts, as Apes, Goats, and Swine, and some few return

⁶⁷ Gasparo Contarini, *The commonwealth and government of Venice*, trans. Lewes Lewkenor (London, 1599), fol. Ar.

⁶⁸ Joseph Hall, *Epistles, the First Volume* (London, 1608), pp. 81-2.

⁶⁹ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 6.

⁷⁰ Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Queen of Corinth* (London, 1617), II, iv.

⁷¹ Devereux, Robert, *Profitable instructions* (London, 1633), fol. A4v-A5v.

Foxes, so that their Travels Metamorphose them from Men to Beasts'.⁷² And Philip Sidney cautioned his brother against coming home 'full of disguisements'.⁷³

There was particular concern that young men were returning from their travels transformed into 'Frenchified' or 'Italianated' fops, who had learnt nothing more than how to ape foreign customs. Most famously, of course, Roger Ascham had written in 1570 of the popular Italian saying, '*Englese Italianato, e un diavolo incarnato*' (though it's worth noting that, twenty years earlier, he had boasted in a letter to his friend Edward Raven from Augsburg that he was fitting in so well that 'I am almost an Italian myself').⁷⁴ However, Ascham was far from alone in observing and commenting on what was perceived to be the particular failing of the young English traveller – a tendency to returned 'foreignised'. In 1596 Thomas Lodge asked rhetorically, 'Who is this with the Spanish hat, the Italian ruffe, the French doublet, the Muffes cloak, the Toledo rapier, the Germane hose, the English stocking, & the Flemish show? Forsooth a sonne of Mammons that hath of long time ben a travailer'. John Meton mocked what he considered braggart travellers, who,

if they can but recite the names of many faire townes they have past thorough, give their friend at their returne a french salutation (though it be with a french bow in the hams) and cut their meat after an Italian fashion, weare their hat & feather after a German hufty, tell with a good grace, or rather bould face, not a hundred & fifty merry tales,....⁷⁵

Peter Heylyn offered up a riotous send-up of a young Englishman freshly returned from a trip to France and transformed into a ridiculous fop, while Francis Osborne quipped that

⁷² Margaret Cavendish, *Orations Orations of divers sorts, accommodated to divers places* (London, 1662), p. 74.

⁷³ Devereux, *Profitable instructions*, fol. F8v.

⁷⁴ Ascham, *Scholemaster*, p. 26r; *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. Dr Giles (3 vols., London, 1865), i, p. 266.

⁷⁵ Sir John Meton, *A sixe-fold politician* (London, 1609), pp. 52-3.

sending young gentlemen abroad could only be ‘adding Affectation to Folly’.⁷⁶ Edward Waterhouse wrote of young travellers that ‘while they are so Foreigniz’d, that there is nothing English left in them, then they are thought compleat and fit to return’.⁷⁷ Antony Stafford complained in 1612 that ‘To fetch home apish gestures, queint fashions, new vices, is now becom the proposed end of a Traveller’. And even James Howell, despite being an outspoken proponent of the value of travel, was forced to concede:

I confesse there are some, and they are too many, who abuse this excellent benefit of forreigne Travell: if they have but once saluted France, they return altogether Frenchified; If they have eaten their bread a while other side the Alpes, they come back altogether Italianated.⁷⁸

John Deacon wrote especially colourfully of this peculiar traveller’s disease, which he called ‘the contagious corruptions, and customes of forreine nations’. Deacon asked how it was

that so many of our English-mens minds are terriblie *Turkished* with *Mahometan* trumperies; thus ruffly *Romanized* with superstitious relickes; thus treacherously *Italianized* with sundry antichristian toys; thus spitefully *Spanished* with superfluous pride; thus fearefully *Frenchized* with filthy prostitutions; thus fantastically *Flanderized* with flaring net-works to catch English fooles; thus huffingly *Hollandized* with ruffian-like loome-worke, and other like Ladified fooleries; thus greedily *Germandized* with a most gluttonous manner of gormandizing; thus desperately *Danished* with a swine-like swilling and quaffing; thus sculkingly *Scotized* with *Machiavillian* proiects; thus inconstantly *Englised* with every new fantastical foolerie; thus industriously *Indianized* with the the intoxicating filthie fumes of *Tobacco*, and what not besides? From whence (I pray thee) do all these, and sundry such other prodigious pollutions of mind and bodie proceede, but from an inconsiderate conversing with the contagious corruptions, and customes of those the forenamed countries?⁷⁹

John Evelyn opined that

as much to be abhorred is all maner strangness, disdain, Affectation and loquacity, by which so many travellers now a days... distinguish themselves for the Vulgar, to that over acted degree of mimical folly, as one would easily imagine they had all this while lived... amongst Apes, and Parrats, than ever either seen, or conversed with persons of Ingenuity or Honour.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Heylyn, *Survey*, p. 39; Francis Osborne, *Advice to a son* (Oxford, 1656), p. 67.

⁷⁷ Waterhouse, *Monitor*, p. 353.

⁷⁸ James Howell, *A German diet: or, the balance of Europe* (London, 1653), p. 3.

⁷⁹ Deacon, *Tobacco*, p. 10.

⁸⁰ John Evelyn, *The state of France* (London, 1652), fol. A10.

The earl of Essex advised the young earl of Rutland before his travels that ‘in Manners, your Lordship must not be caught with novelties, which are pleasing to young men;... nor given to affectation, which is a generall fault amongst English Travellers; which is both displeasing & ridiculous’.⁸¹ And many more examples of the ‘apish’ traveller can be cited from the popular literature and theatre of the time.⁸²

In fact, the fear was not just that young men were returning aping foreign customs, but that they were returning with a wholesale disdain and disregard for England and all things English. Anne Savile wrote a letter to her travelling son Henry in 1661 commending him on his desire to return home soon, saying, ‘some young men are so transported with [their travels] that they forget their Countrey & friends or so remember them as to despise them only’.⁸³ Thomas Gainsford characterised the traveller as one who was ‘carried away with present shadowes, or transported with a cursory vanity of some stately edifices, brave Curtezans’, adding, ‘[you] will [not] once remember, what a mother you have of your owne, and how a legitimate childe ought to be loving, dutifull, and advised’.⁸⁴ Richard Brathwait wrote of the traveller that ‘Having now chang’d his ayre... hee revwes his owne Countrey with a kind of disdainefull loathing, as if there were nothing in it worthy loving’.⁸⁵ Joseph Hall wrote in a poem about travellers, ‘And now he deems his home-bred fare as lief / As his parched biscuit, or his barrelled beef’.⁸⁶ Gilbert Burnet grumbled of travellers that, ‘by travelling, and seeing fine and high things, they

⁸¹ Devereux, *Profitable instructions*, fol. D8v-E1r.

⁸² See, for instance, Beaumont and Fletcher. *Queen of Corinth*, II, iv; George Gascoigne, ‘Councell given to Master Bartholomew Withipall’ (London, 1572) in *The Complete Poems of G.G.*, ed. William Hazlitt (2 vols., London, 1868), i, 375.

⁸³ BL Additional MS 28569, fol. 7

⁸⁴ Thomas Gainsford, *The glory of England* (London, 1618), p. 5r.

⁸⁵ Brathwait, *Whimzies*, p. 151.

⁸⁶ Hall, *Virgidemiae*, p. 36.

are made to loath and weary of home'.⁸⁷ William Higford asked 'what is it to be conversant abroad, and a stranger at home?'.⁸⁸ The fictional character of Jack Puffe was mocked, his manner being '...to despise all manners that here be; / For 'tis the Frenchman doth his only please / Who buy their formes, they give him their disease; / So that the vapour is all frenchified'.⁸⁹ And, by way of warning to others, Robert Greene confessed in later life that, following his travels abroad, 'At my return into England, I ruffled out in my silks, in the habit of *Malcontent*, and seemed so discontent, that no place would please me to abide in'.⁹⁰

In fact, malcontent, along with a general melancholy, were characteristics frequently attributed to the recently returned traveller. Lawrence Babb has written at length about the role of melancholy in Elizabethan literature, arguing that during the 1560s and 1570s, 'Englishmen began to develop an interest specifically in melancholy. The immediate reason seems to have been the imitation of the Italian affectation of melancholy by travelers returned from the Continent'.⁹¹ And indeed, much of the invective against travellers who had returned transformed or 'foreignised' focussed on their perceived melancholy. Hubert Languet recognised the dangers of melancholy in a young traveller, and advised Philip Sidney against studying geometry on the grounds that 'since you are none too cheerful by nature, that study will make you more melancholy still', and Sidney replied that 'I readily confess that I am often more melancholy than

⁸⁷ Burnet, *Thoughts*, p. 92.

⁸⁸ William Higford, *Institutions or advice to his grandson* (London, 1658), p. 58.

⁸⁹ *The birth, life, death, wil, and epitaph, of Jack Puffe, gentleman* (London, 1642), p. 2.

⁹⁰ Greene, *Repentance*, p. 172.

⁹¹ Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642* (East Lansing, 1951), p. 73.

either my age or my activities call for'.⁹² And Edward Unton was accused in 1584 of returning from his travels with 'a most sickly body and melancholy mind'.⁹³

Not surprisingly, then, much of the advice literature was sharply critical of the transformative powers of travel, urging young travellers not to lose themselves entirely in a rhodomontade of apery and mimicry. Advice against returning an unrecognisable fop, Frenchified, Italianated, and generally emasculated, was rife. John Holles suggested to his son that he 'not use this phrase or fashion, because it is this mans, nor do this because this man doth it, (which mimike or apish imitation is commonly a young mans error...)'.⁹⁴ Holles reminded his son that 'Sum empty heads... bring only howme with them crooke shoulders, unstayed countenances, mopps and maws, thrusting outte the crupper, and head forward, a shaling pace, affected gestures, curchies, salutations, and odd fashions of apparell speeche [and] diet'.⁹⁵ Sir Francis Fane's copybook contained the anonymously penned advice that he should avoid 'novelty (which is pleasant to young men)' and 'affectation, the generall fault of our English traveller'.⁹⁶ The young Lord Percy was instructed to consider that 'the ends of yowr travells is not to learn apishe jestures, or fashions of attyres', and always to remember that 'yow must dye an Englishe man; and to love yowr owen home best', and to dress 'according to the fashions of the nation yow live in'.⁹⁷ And James Cleland advised the travelling nobleman not to return from his travels seeking to 'change the good ancient Brittain fashion for some fresh toies. These are not

⁹² Peter Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney* (London, 1972), pp. 137, 144.

⁹³ *The House of Commons 1558-1603*, P.W. Hasler (3 vols., London, 1981), iii, 541.

⁹⁴ *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637*, ed. P.R. Seddon (Thoroton Record Soc., xxxi, 1975), p. 52.

⁹⁵ Seddon, *Holles*, pp. 52-3.

⁹⁶ Folger Library MS V.a.180, fol. 21r.

⁹⁷ *The Antiquarian Repertory*, ed. Francis Grose (4 vols., London, 1807-09), iv, 374, 379.

the fruits, which are expected of you by your perigrination, that you should returne home with some Bargamaske salutation, some Tuscan tearme, or Spanish pavan'.⁹⁸

Sarah Warneke has already written effectively about how this particular anxiety about travellers mimicking foreign customs should be seen as part of a general English self-perception that they were a nation too quickly drawn to foreign things. But it is worth noting that this obsession with 'Frenchification' and 'Italianation' fed very much into a pre-existing anxiety about what had for many years been seen as a national disease – the tendency to look down on one's own customs in favour of those from foreign lands.

Thomas Becon wrote as early as 1553 that

I think no realme in the worlde, no, not among the Turkes and Sarazyns dote so much in the vanitie of theyr apparell, as the Englyshe men do at thys present. Theyr cote muste be made after the Italian fashion, theyr cloke after the use of the Spanyardes, their gowne after the maner of the Turckes: their cappe muste be of the Frenche fashion, and at the laste theyr dagarde muste be Scottish, wyth a Venecian tassel of sylke.... O what a monster and a beaste of manye heades is the Englyshe manne nowe become!... He is an Englishe man, he is also an Italian, a Spaniard, a Turke, a Frenchman, a Scot, a Venecian, and at the laste what not? He is not much unlyke a monster called Chimera, which hath thre heades, one like a Lyon, an other like Gote, the thyrd lyke a dragon.⁹⁹

And Holinshed commented in 1587 on 'the ficklenesse and the follie' of his countrymen, saying that 'trulie it is a rare thing with us now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language', and quipped that 'the phantasticall follie of our nation, even from the courtier to the carter is such, that no forme of apparell liketh us longer than the first garment is in the wearing'.¹⁰⁰ William Rankins' 1588 Puritan broadside *The English Ape* was a particularly vivid and damning indictment of the national disease. And as early as 1565, John Hall composed a poem on the Englishman's fickle taste, writing,

...And this varietie of Englyshe folke,

⁹⁸ James Cleland, *Ηρωπαιλεια, or the institution of a young noble man* (Oxford, 1607), p. 270. See also the commonplace book of Sir John Strode of Parnham, Isle of Wight Record Office MS OG/SS/1, fol. 83v.

⁹⁹ Thomas Becon, *The jewel of joye* (London, 1553), pp. I4v-I5r.

¹⁰⁰ Raphael Holinshed, *The first and second volumes of Chronicles* (London, 1587), pp. 190, 172.

Dothe cause all wyse peple us for to mocke.

For all discrete nations under the sonne,
Do use at thys day as they first begonne:
And never doo change, but styll doo frequent,
Theyr old guyse, what ever fond folks do invent.

But we here in England lyke fooles and apes,
Do by our vayne fangles deserve mocks and japes,
For all kynde of countreys dooe us deryde,
In no constant custome sythe we abide.¹⁰¹

Travel, and the young man's tendency to return dazzled by foreign customs, fitted only too well into this pre-conceived anxiety. John Deacon wrote of the English that 'wee leave our ancient simplicities eftsoues in a forreine ayre' and Robert Shelford called this tendency 'the speciall sinne of England'.¹⁰² In a letter to Sir Thomas Chaloner, Joseph Hall wrote 'so ready are we to be affected with those foreign pleasures, which at home we should overlook', and in *Quo vadis?* he asked,

And why should not the childe thrive as well with the mothers milke, as with a strangers? Whether it be the envie, or the pusillanimitie of us English, we are still ready to under-value our owne, and admire forrainers; whiles other Nations have applauded no professors more then those which they have borrowed from us.¹⁰³

Thomas Morrice quipped in 1619 that 'There is a contagious disease wherewith horses are infected, called the *Fashions*: I feare lest the name thereof extendeth to reasonable creatures, insomuch that some of them also, may truly be said to be affected to, or infected with the fashions'.¹⁰⁴ In Chapman and Shirley's 1639 play *The ball*, Freshwater discourages Lady Rosomond from letting an Englishman draw her picture, insisting that 'you must encourage strangers while you live, it is the Character of our nation, we are famous for dejecting our owne countrymen'.¹⁰⁵ Robert Greene wrote in 1591 that 'in all

¹⁰¹ John Hall, *The Court of Virtue* (London, 1565), fol. Z6.

¹⁰² Deacon, *Tobacco*, p. 6; Shelford, *Lectures*, p. 39.

¹⁰³ *The Works of Joseph Hall* (Oxford, 1837), vi, 134; Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁴ Morrice, *Apology*, fol. D4v.

¹⁰⁵ George Chapman and James Shirley, *The ball* (London, 1639), fol. E2.

these Countreyes where I have travelled, I have not seene more excesse of vanitie then wee Englishe men practise through vainglory: for... our willes are more ready then they all, to put in effect any of their licentious abuses'.¹⁰⁶ Thomas Nash complained of his countrymen that 'Other Countries fashions they see, but never looke backe to the attyre of their fore-fathers, or consider what shape their own Country shold give them'.¹⁰⁷ And an anonymous poet in 1642 mocked England as 'A land that borrowes all their wit from France'.¹⁰⁸

Nor did it seem like all these fears were completely unfounded. A close look at some of the travellers' writings can reveal just how much some of them were in fact changed by their experiences abroad. It is not, for instance, unusual to find young men developing a fondness for dropping the odd foreign word or phrase into their writings, or adopting a particular gesture or mode of behaviour which they had picked up on the Continent. Henry Erskine, for instance, wrote to his father from Paris in 1619, referring casually to his tutor John Shaw as 'Monsieur Shaw'.¹⁰⁹ Henry Wotton also peppered letters written during his travels with foreign phrases, telling Lord Zouche in a letter written from Siena, for instance, that a previous instruction 'stands *per niente*'.¹¹⁰ And throughout Edward Browne's journal of his time in Paris, the young traveller uses the French words for the days of the week, so that a typical entry might begin '*June 6, Vendredy*. – I received a letter from my father,...'.¹¹¹ A particularly interesting insight into how this question of adopting foreign mannerisms and codes of conduct might have

¹⁰⁶ Robert Greene, *A notable discovery of coosenage* (London, 1591), fol. A2v.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Nash, *Christs teares over Ierusalem* (London, 1593), fol. T1r.

¹⁰⁸ *Jack Puffe*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ HMC, *Mar and Kellie MSS.*, *Supplementary Report*, p. 93.

¹¹⁰ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 290.

¹¹¹ Edward Browne, *A journal of a visit to Paris in the year 1664*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London, 1923), p. 22.

been perceived from the perspective of the travellers themselves comes to us courtesy of John Reresby, who provides a vivid account of what his first impressions of England were on his return. Reresby writes that

The citizens and common people of London had then soe far imbibed the custome and manners of a Commonwealth that they could scarce endure the sight of a gentleman, soe that the common salutation to a man well dressed was “French dog” or the like.

He then goes on to tell the rather vivid story of what happened to him as he was ‘walkeing one day in the street with my valet de chambre, who did wear a feather in his hatt’ (note again the use of the French term for chamberlain).

Some workemen that were mending the street abused him and threw sand upon his cloaths, at which he drew his sword, thinkeing to follow the custome of France in the like cases. This made the rabble fall upon him and me, that had drawn too in his defence, till we gott shelter in a hous, not without injury to our bravery and some blowes to ourselves.

The striking thing about this passage is just how ‘Frenchified’ Reresby has become during his time abroad – given how little interest he showed in fitting in with the French while he was abroad. Reresby’s adventures in France, in fact, form a catalogue of cultural insensitivity, yet here we see what difficulty he has reintegrating into his native society. And in the process, we are treated to a delightful vignette involving the treatment given by a rough-hewn group of English workmen to a passing gallant who had dared to put on Frenchified airs and graces.

Of course, as was the case with so much early modern advice, exhortations concerning the adoption or mimicking of foreign customs were often contradictory. William Cecil, for instance, advised the young Lord Zouche before his travels ‘generally to observe & put in your memorial any particular things that you shall thinke to be betere for use of pleasure or profitt, then the lyke is in England’.¹¹² And William Higford

¹¹² Bodl. Tanner MS 103, fol. 231v.

suggested to his grandson that he take especial note of ‘whatsoever more you shall finde rare and fit for imitation, when you return into England’.¹¹³ What was the poor young man to do with such advice? On the one hand, he heard repeated exhortations against the dangers of becoming overly enamoured of foreign ways, and mocked in the popular literature for aping foreign gestures and being disdainful of his homeland. On the other hand, he was advised to consider what practices and habits were ‘fit for imitation’ and potentially beneficial to his country. For an impressionable young traveller, the contradictions must occasionally have proved too much.

V – Vanity and prodigality

The vanity, prodigality, and general bad use of money that young people were believed to be prone to were also highlighted in the context of travel. In particular, the issue was that of the purchase of expensive clothes, either before or on one’s travels, though this criticism could easily slide into a larger condemnation of the vanities of youth.

The young traveller’s tendency to become smitten by expensive foreign fashions was a favourite theme among polemicists and advice-givers alike. Richard Brathwait urged young gentlemen to remember that ‘a Gentleman is a Man of himselfe, without the addition of either Taylor, Millener, Seamster or Haberdasher’.¹¹⁴ Edward Waterhouse complained that one of the few things young travellers learnt on their tours was how to ‘wear a Feather’.¹¹⁵ Francis Carew’s father admonished him for his expensive taste in clothing, his ‘unthrifty and careles courses’, and took him to task because he had asked his wife to send ‘youre trunk with youre uncutt velvett cloake, & youre clothe sute, with

¹¹³ Higford, *Institutions*, p. 88.

¹¹⁴ Brathwait, *English gentleman*, p. 457.

¹¹⁵ Waterhouse, *Monitor*, p. 353.

tow new Bever hattes, & tow new payre of bootes, with such linnen as she coulde conveniently sende you, as though all Paris & France, had not sufficient to furnishe youre proude and vayne mynde'.¹¹⁶ The character of Monsieur D'Olive, the travelling tutor in the 1606 George Chapman play of the same name, laments that too many young English travellers 'fancie it to be the onelie happinesse in this world, to be enabled by such a coolor to carrie a Feather in his Crest, were Gold-lace, guilt Spurs, & so sets his fortunes ont'.¹¹⁷ And in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Queen of Corinth*, Crates blasts 'you that trust in travell, and make sharp Beards, and little Breeches Deities'.¹¹⁸

Of course, as was the case with the imitation of foreign customs, advice on the question of vanity and prodigality could also be contradictory. In particular, young men were told that it was actually very important to be dressed properly and in a way that accorded with the local customs as often as they were told to beware of spending too much money on clothing. Dr Thomas Browne told his travelling son,

I would be glad you had a good handsome garb of your body, which you will observe in most there, and may quickly learn if you cast of[f] *pudor rusticus*, and take up a commendable boldness without which you will never be fit for any thing nor able to show the good parts which God has given you.¹¹⁹

James Cleland insisted, 'you must fashion your cloathes according to the countrey, where your residence shal bee unlesse you would be mocked and gazed at'.¹²⁰ The young Lord Percy was similarly told, 'yowr habitts would be according to the fashons of the nation yow live in; soe shall yow avoyde being gazed at; thinges to men's eies not usuall breeding wonder'.¹²¹ And one traveller wrote to his patron in 1592 that there was no way

¹¹⁶ BL Additional MS 29599, fol. 39r.

¹¹⁷ George Chapman, *Monsieur D'Olive* (London, 1606), fol. F1r.

¹¹⁸ Beaumont and Fletcher, *Queen of Corinth*, II, iv.

¹¹⁹ *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, ed. Simon Wilkin (London, 1836), p. 4.

he could live in Brussels for less than £140 a year, and felt ‘hindered by not being apparelled liked a Spaniard’.¹²²

The concern about vanity in dress was part of a more general anxiety over young men’s tendency to be profligate and to spend their money unwisely. John Holles warned his son against ‘indiscretion’ and the common tendency to ‘spend your money’, reminding him that 99 percent of travellers simply ‘utter their parents gould’ on their travels.¹²³ Margaret Cavendish complained that ‘our Travelling Gallants bring home... more Prodigality than Frugality, more Luxury than Temperance,... more Extravagancy than Discretion’.¹²⁴ Barnaby Rich felt that most young travellers simply ‘spent the greatest part of their patrimony in prodigality’.¹²⁵ Francis Osborne dismissed out of hand the ‘dear bought vanities’ that were so often sparked by the desire to travel.¹²⁶ A fictional and anonymously written life of a character called ‘Jack Puffe’ mocked him for his vanities and his profligacy, saying ‘For ’tis his glory, if he thus can speake, / I in one yeare ten Taylors did breake’. Algernon Percy was instructed, ‘Yowr Expence, lett it be moderat’, and George Chapman’s ‘Monsieur D’Olive’ mocked that ‘humor of Gallantrie’ that made young gentlemen ‘Turne two or three Tenements into Trunckes, and creepe home againe with lesse then a Snayle, not a House to hide his head in’.¹²⁷

¹²⁰ Cleland, *Institution*, p. 254.

¹²¹ Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, iv, 379-80.

¹²² *CSPD*, 1 May 1592.

¹²³ Seddon, *Holles*, p. 53.

¹²⁴ Cavendish, *Orations*, p. 74.

¹²⁵ Barnaby Rich, *Faultes faults, and nothing else but faultes* (London, 1606), fol. 8r.

¹²⁶ Osborne, *Advice*, p. 67.

¹²⁷ Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, iv, 379; Chapman, *Monsieur D’Olive*, p. Flr.

VI – *Frivolity, rashness, and corruptibility*

There was, as we have seen, a general perception that young people were distractible and frivolous, and prone to acts of rashness. More broadly, many commentators felt that the young lacked judgement and the ability to discern right from wrong. The implications of this understanding for attitudes towards travel, predictably, was that too-young travellers were likely to follow their impetuous desires and get themselves into many kinds of trouble. As we will now see, the charge of poor judgement was a common one made against young people travelling, and it had a number of manifestations.

A general frivolousness, rashness, or lack of seriousness was one of the most common explanations given for why a young person should not travel. William Bourne felt that, among travellers, the tendency was that ‘their heades are occupied with other vaine and foolish causes’, and that, ideally, the traveller ‘ought not to bee to young: for commonlye a young man his head is occupyed with every vaine and light cause, as with banketting, and play, and game, & daunsing, and dalying with women, and gazing upon vaine toyes.&c.’.¹²⁸ Roger Ascham complained in a 1551 letter to his friend Edward Raven that his travelling companions were frivolous and light-headed, and showed little patience for studying cultural artefacts. ‘Our young gentlemen care not for this knowledge’, he wrote. ‘They were much desirous many times to go out with me, but more desirous quickly to bring me in again’.¹²⁹ John Holles’ father wrote to him condescendingly before his trip abroad, saying that he was setting his verbal advice down in writing, ‘young mens memories beeing for the most part sandy and blowne to, and fro

¹²⁸ Bourne, *Treasure*, fol. 3v-4r.

¹²⁹ Giles, *Ascham*, i, 247.

by the continuall breath of imagination, and novelty'.¹³⁰ Sir Francis Fane's copybook contained the warning that 'rash presumptuous youth rather desires to adventure to loose themselves alone... Wherein they are like to litle children who because they feele some bodily strength to goe disdaine to be led, or to stay themselves by anything & soe catches many a fall'. Fane was advised, 'you must not be taught with novelty... In discovering your passions & meeting with them, give no way to your selfe nor dispence with your selfe[,] in litle things resolveing to conquer your selfe'.¹³¹ John Meton felt that if the young traveller was to gain anything from his experiences abroad, he first 'must settle his affections, and bridle the appetites of pleasure and raging extravagant humors that rule in his nature'.¹³² Thomas Gainsford believed the traveller had a tendency to be 'ravished with some comicke sight to move admiration, [and] go no further, then present contentment'.¹³³ Thomas Neale complained for pages about hot-headed youths, who 'being overheated by a furious brain, doe skip in forraigne Countries, without method or discretion, from one place to another: or inflamed with an incessant desire,... practice nothing else but to advance their unruly and headlong passions.'¹³⁴ Joseph Hall cautioned of young travellers, in one of the most understated passages of *Quo vadis?*, that 'their unsetlednesse carries it in a manifest perill of mis-carriage'.¹³⁵ John Evelyn wrote to Edward Thurland in 1658 on the subject of the planning of the earl of Northumberland's tour. Evelyn said that

Youth is the seed time in which the foundation of all noble things is to be laid; but it is made the field of repentance.... And unless thus we cultivate our youth, and noblemen make wiser provisions for their educations abroad, above the vanity of talk, feather, and ribbon, the

¹³⁰ Seddon, *Holles*, p. 51.

¹³¹ Folger Library MS V.a.180, fol. 16v, 21r.

¹³² Meton, *Politician*, p. 47.

¹³³ Gainsford, *Glory*, p. 5r.

¹³⁴ Thomas Neale, *Treatise*, p. 10.

¹³⁵ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 6.

ordinary commerce and import of their wild per-errations, I despair of ever living to see a man truly noble indeed.¹³⁶

Richard Mulcaster commented that travel was simply the fruit of young men's 'fancies' practiced only by 'those, which for heat are impetuous, for yeares to foreward, for wealth to rachelesse...'.¹³⁷ It was a point that Henry Wotton proved all too well, without even intending to do so. He wrote to his brother from Heidelberg, filled with such a boyish excitement about everything there, and then added, 'In this place how long I shall live I cannot assure you (my most dear brother) – this persuade yourself, my mind is from all changeableness free'.¹³⁸ It was anything but.

Coupled with the accusation that young men proved frivolous and distractible on their travels was the belief that youth lacked judgement, and that this natural deficiency would prove dangerous in the context of time spent abroad. Antony Stafford felt that any youngster could be taught to observe foreign cities and countries and takes notes on them, 'but, to discern betwixt them, & pick wisdome out of them, that requires the man'.¹³⁹ John Cotta warned against those 'that begin travell with raw judgement, for the most part come home perpetually after drunken with opinion'.¹⁴⁰ John Deacon felt no one should be allowed to travel until 'they be fully come to their ripe', when 'the stayedness of those their said humours will cause the perturbations of the mind to be calmed', and then there would 'proceed a maturitie, and riepenesse in iudgement... [and] they can more easily discern what is sound in opinion, as also what is honest and meete in manners'.¹⁴¹ And

¹³⁶ *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, FRS*, ed. William Bray (London, 1906), p. 586.

¹³⁷ Mulcaster, *Positions*, p. 212.

¹³⁸ Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, i, 234.

¹³⁹ Stafford, *Meditations*, p. 61.

¹⁴⁰ John Cotta, *A short discoverie of the dangers of ignorant practisers of physicke* (London, 1612), p. 113.

¹⁴¹ Deacon, *Tobacco*, p. 14.

John Meton argued that anyone who ‘entendeth to reape any skill and knowledge, by entercourse with other nations’ must first learn ‘to be wary and circumspect’.¹⁴²

There was, of course, the danger that a rash, frivolous and distractible young man lacking sound judgement would be easily corrupted, and so corruptibility became another mantra for commentators. Many warned that young men were bound to become corrupted on their tours, and, correspondingly, much advice literature echoed this fear, reminding the traveller that he should be careful who he spent his time with. Sir John Strode reminded his son that

Roome (we knowe) doth Superabound in [damnable] Gods, Spayne in prowde & prophane men, France in lacivious & unholsom weemen, Ittaly in perremptory portillioes, & poysonfull children: Spayne will attempt to abalienat thyne hart, Ittaly will offer to estrange thy mynde, France will Endanger to infect thy bodily [sic], and Roome will seeke to confounde thy sowle: Germany likewise lacks no falts [sic], keepe thy selfe therfore from them all, as farr as they all ar from Englande.¹⁴³

Few commentators were quite as extreme in their xenophobia as this particular father, whose ‘parochialism’ in other matters one scholar has already dismissed as that of a ‘backwoods Dorset barrister-squire’, but nevertheless a strong strain of criticism focussed on the corrupting influences of foreign countries.¹⁴⁴ Thomas Culpeper warned of travellers,

Let them be untainted with Vices, which in travelling increase like snowballs. Above all, let them be armed with Temperance, and free from the habit of Wine-bibbing, else the novelty of delicious fruits and pleasant Wines in Southern Climates will debauch them, to the hazard of their health and wits.¹⁴⁵

Edward Waterhouse grumbled that ‘the less Youth knows of the levity, liberty, shifts, profaneness, atheism, subtilty, and lubricity of other Nations, the more are they probable

¹⁴² Meton, *Politician*, pp. 46-7.

¹⁴³ Isle of Wight RO, MS OG/SS/1, fol. 83r.

¹⁴⁴ Wilfrid Prest, *The Rise of the Barristers: A Social History of the English Bar 1590-1640* (Oxford, 1986), p. 205.

¹⁴⁵ T[homas] C[ulpeper], *Morall discourses and essayes* (London, 1655), pp. 68-9.

to be solid, circumspect, plain, devout, pious, modest', adding that 'I wish it were considered, whether the bad men, bad husbands, and loose Protestants that our Nation abounds with be not more the consequence of young breeding abroad, then of bad wives, or bad company at home'.¹⁴⁶ Joseph Hall warned against what he called 'a double danger; of corruption of religion, and depravation of manners; both capitall'.¹⁴⁷ Margaret Cavendish spoke out against the vogue for travel, saying, 'it were better they should stay at Home, than Travel as they do; for their Travels are not only Unprofitable... but Destructive; for their Vices and Vanity, doth... Corrupt their own Natures and civil Manners, and wast their Bodies and Estates'.¹⁴⁸ John Meton feared that youth were too likely to spend their travels enticed by things that were 'full of pleasing shewes and delusions, which are by them made both cunning pursnets & hartnets, to inveagle and intrap young novices by'.¹⁴⁹ Fulke Greville advised his travelling cousin 'not to spend your spirits, and the pretious time of your travaile,... in an infectious collection of base vices and fashions of Men and Women, and generall corruptions of these times; which will bee of use onely among Humorists for jests and table-talke'.¹⁵⁰ And Sir Francis Fane's mother warned him that there might come a time on his travels 'when any of your acquaintances hinders you in these courses already layd before you', reminding him that 'the most unrecoverable losse, is the losse of time'.¹⁵¹

The most serious danger, of course, was that of conversion to the Catholic Church. Virtually every piece of advice literature, down to the most private

¹⁴⁶ Waterhouse, *Monitor*, p. 350.

¹⁴⁷ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 44.

¹⁴⁸ Cavendish, *Orations*, p. 74.

¹⁴⁹ Meton, *Politician*, p. 47.

¹⁵⁰ Fulke Greville, *Certaine learned and elegant workes* (London, 1633), pp. 297-8.

¹⁵¹ Folger Library MS V.a.180, fol. 14r, 15r. See also Brathwait, *Whimzies*, p. 148.

correspondence between fathers and sons, included exhortations against the dangers of religious non-conformity, and just a few are worth quoting here. Arthur Capel of Hertfordshire was prevented from fulfilling his long-held wish to go abroad by his grandfather, who felt, among other things, that ‘it is to be feared, that thorough the wycked Prests and Jesuites in those forane partes, he maye be perverted to the idolatrous Romane relygion’. Capel’s grandfather added that ‘he is very younge, and they subtile and industrious; and that it is a safer waye, by abstayneinge from travell, to avoyde the meanes, then for a man to thrust himselfe into the peryll without any necessary occasyon’.¹⁵² Fulke Greville reminded his travelling cousin, Greville Varney, that ‘it is a vulgar scandall of Travellers that few returne more religious than they went out’, and advised him ‘that your principall care be to hold your foundation, and to make no other use of informing your selfe in the corruptions and superstitions of other Nations’.¹⁵³ Joseph Hall warned against ‘corruption of religion’, and Francis Osborne advised his son to ‘Enter no farther into Forraign Churches, then the hand of your own Religion and Conscience leads you...’ and ‘Eschew the Company of all English, you find in Orders’.¹⁵⁴ Francis Carew’s father told him to ‘be very warrye howe you accompany your selfe with any preists or Jesuites or any fugitives for they will insinuate them selves into youre company and by fayre meanes and promises will seeke to bringe you to their eandes’. And if they fail at that, he added, ‘they will then worke you... some mischeife or other, that you shall not knowe of’.¹⁵⁵ And then of course, there was the famous Cecil precept, ‘Suffer not thy Sonnes to passe the Alpes, for they shall learn nothinge but

¹⁵² R. Clutterbuck, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, (3 vols., London, 1815-27), i, 238n1.

¹⁵³ Greville, *Certaine*, p. 295.

¹⁵⁴ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 44; Osborne, *Advice*, pp. 77-8.

¹⁵⁵ BL Additional MS 29599, fol. 38r.

pryde, blasphemy, and Atheisme', which was repeated again and again, and became part of the anti-travel canon. Occasionally, it was not unusual to hear an advocate of travel, such as John Heydon in 1658, dismissing the risk of conversion by saying, 'that a man may better himself by travel, he ought to observe and comment, noting as well the bad to avoid it, as taking the good into use'.¹⁵⁶ However, such expressions were the exception that proved the rule, and, on the whole, concern over the possibility of travellers becoming converted to Catholicism remained high throughout the period.

And, of course, the danger of corruptibility could often take a far more prosaic form. As often as young men were warned about their own propensity to religious conversion, they were cautioned against the dangers of cozening and cheating by unscrupulous innkeepers, bankers and salesmen. John Heydon warned that

Inns are dangerous if men be not careful; so are strangers, and servants; but let your servants be such as you may command, and entertain none about you but yeomen to whom you give wages; for those that will serve you without hire, will cost you treble as much as they that know your fare.¹⁵⁷

James Cleland suggested that the traveller should 'loine the Doves innocent simplicity with the Serpents prudencie: in defending your selves from other mens subtil deceipts, & cousening tricks'.¹⁵⁸ John Holles advised his son, 'Till yow have experience of the place,... I hould a private lodging fittest, which they stile (as I take it) loge en pensionaire,... which places, if yow haunt, yow must stay alert, and looke well aboute yow, for there shall yow encounter all kynds of cheating and cosening'.¹⁵⁹ Joseph Hall cautioned, 'Trust not Strangers too much, with your counsell, with your person: and, in

¹⁵⁶ John Heydon, *Advice to a daughter* (London, 1658), p. 95.

¹⁵⁷ Heydon, *Advice*, p. 106.

¹⁵⁸ Cleland, *Institution*, p. 256.

¹⁵⁹ Seddon, *Holles*, p. 54.

your greatest familiarities, have an eie to their disposition, and infirmities'.¹⁶⁰ And

Francis Osborne warned, rather ominously,

Make no ostentation of carrying any considerable Summe of Money about you,... And remove not from place to place, but with company you know: The not observing whereof is the cause, so many of our Countreymens graves were never knowne, having been buried in as much obscurity as kild. ¶ Inns are dangerous, & so are all fresh Acquaintance, especially where you find their offer of friendship to out-bid a Strangers desert...¹⁶¹

This may have been a little alarmist, but cheating, theft, and robbery, as we learnt in Chapter Two, could be a real danger for a naïve young traveller.

Finally, there was the danger that the young man's lack of judgement and general rashness would lead him into all kinds of dubious sexual improprieties. Lust, venery, and homosexuality were all things that commentators feared might befall the hapless young traveller. Roger Ascham informed his readers that in Italy, young men were free 'to go whither so ever lust will cary them'.¹⁶² William Bourne warned against the danger of 'dalying with women', which he thought young men especially given towards.¹⁶³ Richard Brathwait offered up the following piece of scare-mongering 'information' for parents:

Some Countries I have read of, whose naturall basenesse, being given to all avarice, induced them to dis-esteeme all respects in this kinde, and to make merchandize of their womens honour. Such are the women of Sio reported to be, who are reputed for the most beautifull Dames of all the Greekes in the world, and greatly given to Venery. Their Husbands are their Pandors, and when they see any stranger arrive, they will presently demand if hee would have a mistresse: and so they make whores of their owne wives, and are contented for a little gaine to weare hornes: such are the base minds of ignominious Cuckolds. Here is a dangerous Ile for our amorous Gallant, who makes his Travell (with grieffe I speake it) too oft the ruine of himselfe and his estate.¹⁶⁴

Elsewhere, Brathwait had condemned travellers for being 'loose & lascivious' on their tours.¹⁶⁵ James Cleland urged noblemen not to go to Venice simply 'to be rowed in the

¹⁶⁰ Hall, *Epistles, the first volume* (London, 1608), p. 85.

¹⁶¹ Osborne, *Advice*, p. 85.

¹⁶² Ascham, *Scholemaster*, p. 29v.

¹⁶³ Bourne, *Treasure*, fol. 4r.

¹⁶⁴ Brathwait, *English gentleman*, pp. 30-1.

¹⁶⁵ Brathwait, *Whimzies*, p. 150.

Gondels from one Curtizan to another'.¹⁶⁶ In a reference to the venery that often accompanied such behaviour, in Beaumont and Fletcher's 1616 play *The Scornful Lady*, Savill the steward reminds his young master that 'your fathers old friends hold it the sounder course for your body and estate, to stay at home, and marry, and propagate, and governe in your Countrey, then to travell for diseases'.¹⁶⁷ Francis Osborne warned his son of the more practical and immediate dangers that could ensue from dangerous liaisons, saying, 'avoid giving or receiving favours from women: There being none out of the List of common whores,... to which some Ruffin... doth not pretend an Interest, either as a Husband, a Kinsman, or a Servant...'.¹⁶⁸ Osborne even weighed in against the dangers of falling foul of homosexual attention, warning, 'Who travells Italy, handsome, young and beardlesse, may need as much caution and circumspection, to protect him from the Lust of men', as of women.¹⁶⁹

One obvious antidote to the danger of corruption was the suggestion that young men should think seriously about the sort of company that they kept while abroad, ideally spending their time in the presence of eminent thinkers. By visiting such men, rather than simply drinking and whoring with their countrymen or getting mixed up with the baser elements of other cities and countries, they might avoid the worst temptations of foreign travel. The advice given to Francis Fane was typical: 'Avoid evill company as evill eyre, either men or women, such as either rob you of time or may corrupt your manners. Contrariwise let your feet weare the steps of their doores by whom knowledge & vertue

¹⁶⁶ Cleland, *Institution*, pp. 261-2.

¹⁶⁷ Beaumont and Fletcher, *The scornful ladie. A comedie* (London, 1616), fol. B1r (I, i).

¹⁶⁸ Osborne, *Advice*, p. 80.

¹⁶⁹ Osborne, *Advice*, p. 84.

may be augmented'.¹⁷⁰ Philip Sidney stressed the importance of keeping good company to his brother, noting, 'your Lordship should rather go an hundred miles to speake with one wise man, than five miles to see a fair Towne'.¹⁷¹ Archibald Campbell advised his son, 'above all, think no travail too far nor discommodious to see and visit rare and eminent men, there is no monument like a vertuous learned person'.¹⁷² John Heydon warned the young traveller to 'beware what company you keep, especially in strange countries, since example prevails more then precept', and suggested, 'You Epidemical traveller, being abroad, my advice is, to converse with the best'.¹⁷³ And Joseph Hall advised, 'Make choice of those for conversation, which either in present, or in hope, are eminent'.¹⁷⁴ Of course, as was so often the case, blatantly contradictory advice was then offered to the bewildered traveller by James Cleland, who felt that the traveller could learn something from anyone, whatever their station in life. 'Seeing your cheife ende in travelling should bee to become more prudent, my advise is that you contemne not, nor misprise anie good counsell, howe base soever the person bee that giveth it', he wrote. 'Respect not the speaker', he added, 'but that which is spoken, and cheifly if you heare that his life is correspondent to his words, be he never of so simple or bare a coat, for as Cato said, *wisemen maie learne more of fooles, then fooles can doe of wisemen*'.¹⁷⁵

Another antidote was the ability to exercise circumspection, dissimulation, or quiet formality in the face, all of which were routinely suggested to the traveller as a means of keeping himself safe. Advice literature regularly stressed the importance of

¹⁷⁰ Folger Library MS V.a.180, fol. 17r.

¹⁷¹ Devereux, *Profitable instructions*, fol. E7v-E8r.

¹⁷² Campbell, *Instructions*, pp. 76-77.

¹⁷³ Heydon, *Advice*, pp. 100, 96.

¹⁷⁴ Hall, *Epistles, the first volume*, p. 88.

¹⁷⁵ Cleland, *Institution*, p. 256.

keeping one's powder dry and not becoming embroiled in heated discussions, tense situations or religious debates wherever possible. The importance of maintaining a quiet and understated demeanour on all controversial matters – religion not least among them – was a particularly favoured theme for advice-givers. Heneage Finch advised his son Daniel to 'preserve the reputation you have gotten of a very serious man, and... [W]hile others take religion only into their discourse, do you avoyd all talking of, and lett the world see it in your conversation'.¹⁷⁶ Henry Peacham wrote in 1638, 'You shall in travaile never lose ought by silence; many have paide dearely for their lavish tongues in strange Countries... especially in matter of Religion & State; when you shall find it safer and better to talke of the great Turke, than the Pope'.¹⁷⁷ John Heydon believed that sensible travellers 'must put on an outward freedome, with an inquisition seemingly careless'.¹⁷⁸ John Florio told the traveller simply to

Avoide all quarels, and never fall at ods for cost,
Nor with women nor with hoste.
But pitch and paie, and goe your waie,
Whether you goe or whence you come,
If any aske, answer but mum.
For he to whome you doo your secrets tell,
You doo your freedome and your fortune sell...¹⁷⁹

James Cleland told the traveller to

Trust not, nor mistrust strangers, but keepe your selfe between the two, without anie demonstration of ether of them.... In companie heare more willinglie then speake, & learne of others rather then shew your selfe a teacher, albeit your sufficiencie perhaps be greater then theirs, that do speake.¹⁸⁰

Robert Greene claimed to be quoting from a rabbi's instructions to his son when he wrote 'Be courteous to all, offensive to none, and brooke any injury with patience, for revenge

¹⁷⁶ HMC, *Finch*, i, 446.

¹⁷⁷ Peacham, *Truth of our times*, pp. 131-2.

¹⁷⁸ Heydon, *Advice*, p. 95.

¹⁷⁹ Giovanni Florio, *Florios second frutes, etc.* (London, 1591), p. 99.

¹⁸⁰ Cleland, *Institution*, pp. 256, 257-8.

is prejudicial to a Traveller... Little talk shewes much wisdom, but heare what thou canst, for thou hast two eares'.¹⁸¹ Henry Wotton related in later life a sage piece of advice he had been given in Siena, '*gli pensieri stretti, et il viso sciolto*: that is, as I use to translate it, *Your thoughts close, and your countenance loose*'.¹⁸² Francis Osborn suggested that there was no point in 'Muzzling the mouthes of the rigid Zelots', and believed it best to 'mould your Arguments rather into Queries then dogmaticall Assertions; professing it more the businesse of Travellers, to Learn then Teach'.¹⁸³ Osborne added that it was probably best to 'fall not into Comparisons; For what doth it concerne the Advancement of wisdom, whether Lond[on], or Paris, St Marks Church or Paul's be the fairest?'.¹⁸⁴ And as for religion: 'give no other answer for the present, to any Proposition, but *Peut-estre*'.¹⁸⁵

An even more drastic measure, of course, was also available, and that was abstinence. The more extreme opponents of travel told parents that the only real way to protect their innocent young sons from being corrupted and undone on their travels abroad was simply not to let them go abroad in the first place. Joseph Hall, not surprisingly, was a sort of father figure to this particular strain of thinking that tended to point the finger at parents as most directly responsible for their children's (and their country's) downfall. Hall's *Quo vadis?* issued this colourful warning to parents:

¹⁸¹ Robert Greene, *Greenes mourning Garment* (1590), in Grosart, ix, 138.

¹⁸² Pearsall Smith, *Wotton*, ii, 364.

¹⁸³ Osborne, *Advice*, p. 71.

¹⁸⁴ Osborne, *Advice*, p. 74.

¹⁸⁵ Osborne, *Advice*, pp. 74, 79-80. See also Greville, *Certaine*, pp. 296, 297-8; Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, pp. 374, 379.

Heare this then, yee carelesse Ostriches, that leave youre egges in the open sand for the Sun to hatch, without the feare of any hoofe that may crush them in peeces, have your stomackes resolved to digest the hard newes of the ruine of your children? Doe ye professe enmity to your owne loynes?¹⁸⁶

And he added that ‘if the wise parents of our Gentry could have borrowed mine eyes for the time, they would ever learne to keepe their sonnes at home... they send them foorth to the world in the minority both of age and judgement’.¹⁸⁷ And in his *Epistles*, Hall made it clear where he felt the blame lay:

The shame whereof (methinkes) is not so proper to the wildnesse of youth, as to the carelesnesse or vanity of Parents: I speake it boldly; our land hath no blemish comparable to the mis-education of our Gentry: Infancy and youth are the seed-times of al hopes: if those passe unseasonably, no fruit can be expected from our age, but shame and sorrow.¹⁸⁸

But Hall was far from alone in blaming parents, or in making an appeal to abstinence from foreign travel based on the fragility of youth. William Guild complained that ‘There are too many... carelesse and indulgent parents nowadaies, which maketh so many prove wilde and undutifull children, both to God & them’. ‘Therefore’, he added, ‘let all parents be carefull, in the good and godly education of their children.... Let them show then their godlinesse, and religion, in the godly education of their children,... not being too indulgent to them, nor wincking in a manner at their faultes’.¹⁸⁹ Robert Shelford asked, ‘For who should teach and informe the childe, but they which have the government and commaunding of him?... and therefore you parents are in fault if your children are not well taught’.¹⁹⁰ Shelford added,

And here I cannot but justly finde fault with most parents, who though they bee somewhat carefull for their children while they be tender; yet when they bee come to some yeares of discretion, as to fifteene or sixteene,... oh then they bee growne to mens and womens estate, they may not bee reprehended, they may not bee disgraced. But know thou O wise parent,

¹⁸⁶ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 7.

¹⁸⁷ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁸⁸ Hall, *Epistles, The third and last volume* (London, 1611), pp. 67-8.

¹⁸⁹ Guild, *Inquisition*, pp. 83, 84-5.

¹⁹⁰ Shelford, *Lectures*, pp. 2, 3.

that so long as thou hast a childe,... and so long as thou art a parent, so long thou must carrie a fatherlie authoritie and power over him.¹⁹¹

And Henry Peacham chimed in with a complaint about those who were sent abroad too ‘young and childish (whom foolish fathers and mothers would have thought to be rare & ripe witted’.¹⁹²

VII – *Tutors*

Few of these measures, though, were any sort of replacement for what was seen as the best precaution of all, that of having a good tutor on hand to supervise every aspect of the impressionable young gentleman’s tour. Bartholomew Batty felt that ‘Parentes [ought] to bee admonished, that they sende not their sonnes into straunge countries unadvisedly without their *Pædogoges*, Tutor & Governors, least that they be Italianted [sic], as that worthie man maister Aschan hath sufficiently described’.¹⁹³ Obadiah Walker suggested employing a tutor, not only to instruct the young man, but also to choose his companions, ‘to assist him in sickness, or any other necessity; to advertise him of his failers; to exact the performance of his studies, exercises, and employments; to husband his allowance; to keep him company, and furnish him good discourse, and good example’.¹⁹⁴ Archibald Campbell told his son that if he ever felt inclined to allow any of his own children abroad, it should always be ‘seconded by the assistance of a Tutor’.¹⁹⁵ Cleland felt the hiring of a good tutor was far and away the most critical aspect of the tour, saying, ‘After that you are assured & perswaded in minde, that it is with Gods pleasure and permission you

¹⁹¹ Shelford, *Lectures*, p. 38.

¹⁹² Peacham, *Truth of our times*, p. 139.

¹⁹³ Batty, *Christian mans closet*, fol. 52r.

¹⁹⁴ Obadiah Walker, *Of education, especially of young gentlemen* (Oxford, 1673), p. 193.

¹⁹⁵ Campbell, *Instructions*, p. 78.

should travile, and that your Parent have obtained his Maiesties Licence for you to travaile; My first advise is, that you take your *Tutor* with you'.¹⁹⁶ Henry Slingsby did not want to be troubled by anything less than the very best sort of tutor for his travelling sons in 1619, 'for I wolde have him religious discrete & frugall; for all these are necessarie for such a iourney'.¹⁹⁷ Thomas Culpeper wrote that 'Since... it seems, too unsafe, to trust so unfixed an age, only to its own conduct, methinks a provident Father should not easily be drawn to venture his Son abroad, without a discreet Tutor or Governour', and then elaborated on what should be the qualities of such a governor. Among other things, Culpeper recommended that 'his conversation may at once unite the pleasure of entertainment, with the benefit of an Academy; An Age not superannuated, nor much unequal to that of his Pupil'.¹⁹⁸ So a tutor did not always have to be an unbearable stuffed shirt or ageing sourpuss. John Evelyn wrote to Edward Thurland when he learnt that the earl of Northumberland was considering sending his son abroad, and immediately recommended a good tutor, reminding Thurland that

the education of most of our nobility abroad; which makes them return (I pronounce it with a blush) insolent and ignorant, debauched, and without the least tincture of those advantages to be hoped for through the prudent conduct of some brave man of parts, sober, active, and of universal address.¹⁹⁹

Robert Shelford even argued that tutors were like surrogate parents, 'and that they must doe the duetie of parents unto them, as if they were their naturall children'.²⁰⁰

Among other things, it was important that the tutor have once been a traveller himself, if possible. This particular stricture was touched on in Chapter Two, but it's worth pointing out here that many tutors had in fact been travellers in their earlier years.

¹⁹⁶ Cleland, *Institution*, p. 252.

¹⁹⁷ Parsons, *Slingsby*, p. 310.

¹⁹⁸ Culpeper, *Morall discourses*, pp. 71-2, 72-3.

¹⁹⁹ Bray, *Evelyn*, pp. 585-6.

²⁰⁰ Shelford, *Lectures*, p. 8.

James Howell was among them, having taken his own tour in 1617-20, and then returning to become a tutor to Richard Altham. This was only after declining an offer to act as tutor to the sons of Sir Thomas Savage, ‘on the grounds that that since they were Catholics, their religion might involve him in trouble’.²⁰¹ John Beale also became a tutor after his own travels, to Robert Pye and George Speke. In this case, the sons’ families had obviously elected to hire a kinsman for the duty – Beale and Pye were cousins and Pye and Speke were brothers-in-law.²⁰²

Researching tutors can be a difficult business, as their anonymity and ancillary status on the tour tends to be reflected in the sources as well. Tutors often did not get recorded in the licences, or were recorded ambiguously as servants or travel companions, making it next to impossible to draw any firm conclusions about how many young men actually travelled with tutors. One such example is ‘Mr Duncombe’, to whom Amias Paulet refers in 1577 as being Francis Bacon’s tutor, but who was not recorded in the records anywhere.²⁰³ It is, of course, possible that some professional tutors would have been exempted from the requirement to obtain a pass by a rather liberal reading of the Statute of 5 Rich. II on the grounds that they were somehow ‘usuall and notable merchauntes’, but that seems unlikely. The best explanation is that authorities simply did not have a uniform assumption about how to record tutors.

If parents were not in a position to be able to hire a tutor, then they often wanted their sons to be lodged with a resident ambassador, where they could at least be kept tame

²⁰¹ *APC*, 15 July 1620; William Harvey Vann, *Notes on the Writings of James Howell* (Waco, 1924), pp. 5-6.

²⁰² *VCH Wiltshire*, iii, 90; *Four Visitations of Berkshire* (Harleian Soc., lvi, 1907) p. 270; *DNB* (Beale); *Alumni Oxonienses*, ed. Joseph Foster (Nendeln, 1968); G.J. Kidston, *A History of the Manor of Hazelbury* (London, 1936), p. 192; Wasey Sterry, *The Eton College Register 1441-1698* (Eton, 1943), p. 274.

²⁰³ *Copy-Book of Sir Amias Poulet’s Letters, Written During his Embassy to France (A.D. 1577)*, ed. Octavius Ogle (London, 1866), p. 166. Paulet even praises Mr. Duncombe for his ‘good and quiet behaviour in my house’, almost as if that’s unusual and unexpected for a tutor.

and out of trouble, and perhaps improved in the process. Historians have traditionally wanted to read this as proof that the foreign tour was simply an elaborate training ground for a later career at court, and that parents' eagerness to place their sons in ambassadors' residences was an extension of this reality. However, it could be just as plausible to suggest that a more generalised parental anxiety about the activities of young men abroad made ambassadorial residence seem like an appealing possibility. One good example to cite here is Philip Lytton. At the end of 1612, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton, who was then ambassador at Venice, enclosing a request from Sir Rowland Lytton that his younger son Philip be lodged in Carleton's residence for a time, 'and that you would a little train him and fashion him to business'. Chamberlain added, 'it will be a favour but I know what a business it is to have the breaking of such colts, and therefore will urge no more than may be to your liking'.²⁰⁴ To call the young Philip Lytton a 'colt' would be an understatement. By the time this letter was written, Philip and his brother Roland were already on their travels, and by all accounts, running amok.²⁰⁵ Nor was there ever any real hint that Philip was interested in any sort of career enhancement. By September 1613, he was already bored and sick of his travels and was plotting a way home for himself.²⁰⁶ And on his return to London, he was described as a 'fantasticall youth', and 'likelie to follow the course of all our ydle youths'.²⁰⁷ Well over a year after his return, Chamberlain wrote to Carleton telling him that 'Phil Lytton goes ydling up and down and knowes not what to do with himself'.²⁰⁸ Despite his father's attempts to get

²⁰⁴ *The Court and Times of James the First*, ed. Thomas Birch (2 vols., London, 1848), i, 218.

²⁰⁵ Birch, *Court and Times*, *passim*; and *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N.E. McClure (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1939), *passim*.

²⁰⁶ McClure, *Chamberlain*, i, 473.

²⁰⁷ McClure, *Chamberlain*, i, 594; ii, 3.

²⁰⁸ McClure, *Chamberlain*, ii, 8.

him to spend some time with Dudley Carleton in Venice, ostensibly ‘to make him a statesman’, there is no evidence that he ever became one, or even had the slightest interest in the idea. In fact, half the time, it seemed no one even really knew where exactly he was while he was abroad, neither Carleton nor Chamberlain being quite sure whether or not he was heading for Venice in 1613.²⁰⁹ Possibly Sir Roland really believed that his son had a promising court career ahead of him, but it seems just as likely that he was paying lip service to the idea, as a way to convince Carleton to take on his rebellious ‘colt’.

VIII – *Conclusion*

It is worth pointing out that, despite everything, youth was occasionally seen as a benefit in travel. As Francis Fane’s mother put it, ‘Now is your time in the strength of your youth to labour with your naturall faculties to gett learning’. And Obadiah Walker, writing in 1673, when perhaps travel had become even more accepted as a part of the cultural landscape, reminded his readers that young men learnt languages more quickly.²¹⁰ However, all too often, young travellers lived up to the worst stereotypes propagated about them, and gave their parents and observers of travel many good reasons to fear. Travellers like Philip Lytton, Francis Carew, and Thomas Cecil, whose own father called him a ‘dissolute, slothful, negligent, and careless young man’, to name just a few we have looked at to this point, were not exceptional in the wasteful and careless approach they took to their tours.²¹¹ Many more examples could be adduced. In fact, Philip Lytton’s elder brother, William, and his travelling companion William Burlace, were so dissolute

²⁰⁹ McClure, *Chamberlain*, i, 473.

²¹⁰ Walker, *Of education*, pp. 193-4.

²¹¹ H.G. Wright, *Arthur Hall*, p. 38.

that they never even made it past La Rochelle, where they forced to return to England, having pawned off all their possessions, 'wherwith theyre frends are nothing pleased having furnished them very sufficiently'.²¹²

However, leaving aside the question of whether young men in their teens and early twenties were in fact fit to travel, the impression one is left with is that of a profound and widespread anxiety about the prevalence of young men travelling before it was wise for them to do so. In the last two chapters, we have been witness to an atmosphere of sometimes breathtaking hostility to the idea of taking a tour on the Continent. Young people were viewed as sinful, profligate, impetuous, easily corruptible wastrels, given to dissipate behaviour and prone to return from their travels transformed into unrecognisable creatures. Coupled with their often outspoken desire to travel to satisfy personal curiosity, as sketched in the previous chapter, these traits formed a potent and dangerous combination in the minds of many contemporary commentators.

²¹² McClure, *Chamberlain*, i, 272.

PART THREE – BEYOND THE CONTINENT: FROM BUXTON TO BABYLON

Chapter 6 – Spas and Domestic Travel

From everything that has been discussed up to this point, it might be tempting to conclude that the period from 1560 to 1660 witnessed the ‘rise of the Grand Tour’ in England. However, while many of the patterns and methods of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour have roots that go well back into the sixteenth century, it would be wrong simply to interpret this era as a steady and inexorable build-up to the eighteenth-century phenomenon that is better known. The next two chapters will argue that, while many of the ideas and trends and debates discussed up to now were unique to travel on the Continent, many of them are also indicative of general historical changes that were taking place within the cultural fabric of early modern England. And this fact is more readily understood if we begin to expand our thinking about travel to include trips taken outside Europe, as well as those taken inside Britain.

Several themes emerge if we begin to turn our attention to the question of domestic travel. Firstly, it will be seen that there was a decisive shift in the nature of the phenomenon around 1600. Until that point, domestic travel had had a somewhat schizophrenic nature. On the one hand, it had involved an element of curious meandering about the country, but on the other, it had also presented a more sober, proto-antiquarian demeanour. After about 1600, though, these two tendencies in domestic travel began to diverge rather noticeably, as the intellectual instinct that we have come to call ‘antiquarianism’ grew into a more serious academic pursuit, leaving room for a type of domestic travel that was, for lack of a better word, more frivolous. Simultaneously, travel to Spa began gaining popularity very rapidly among the English nobility and gentry. And

as ever-larger numbers of gentry and nobility began congregating at the Spa, England's own bath towns started to see something of a renaissance as well, and there were increasing signs of an embryonic domestic leisure industry developing around these far-flung places. The idea that many of the Continent's temptations could be catered to at home gradually gained greater currency in some quarters, and several thinkers even began developing plans for a domestic academy to lure wayward youth away from the excesses of foreign travel. This steady shift and its implications form the subject of this chapter, which hopes to recast domestic travel as a part of the general cultural landscape of early modern travel among English élites that has been discussed to this point.

I – The tour of Britain

As early as the 1560s, Arthur Hall of Grantham, the young traveller and friend of Thomas Cecil, had hinted at the importance of getting to know the British Isles, and expressed the sentiment that they were every bit as worth seeing as foreign countries. He wrote in a letter to a friend that

I ranne to gaze upon Fraunce and knew not Kent: I vewed Spayne, and never was in Devonshyre: exactly (as I thought) I judged of Italie, and never traveyled Wales: I came home by large Germanie, wherein I supposed I had a pretie sight, and yet not able to wade with you how the poore kingdome of Man is sited.¹

Over time, Britain began to develop greater credibility as a destination for travels of various kinds. In 1607, James Cleland advised travelling noblemen to begin their tours in Britain, calling it 'the little adbridgment of the great world'. Cleland advised including Cambridge and Oxford on the itinerary, particularly 'if you come from Scotland'. After a look at the Bodleian Library, 'one of the fairest Libraries in Europe', the traveller was to

¹ H.G. Wright, *The Life and Works of Arthur Hall of Grantham* (Manchester, 1919), p. 39.

take in ‘the incomparable Monuments’ of Westminster and London, and finally ‘delight your selfe in viewing his Maiesties great Shippes at Rochester in your going to Dover’. Only then, according to Cleland, should the young man consider himself ready to go on to Calais, Amiens, Paris, Orleans, Poitiers, Lyons, Dijon, Avignon, Geneva, Turin, Florence, and so on.² By the end of the period under examination, more and more voices could be heard encouraging young men to consider spending at least part of their tours within the British Isles. Henry Peacham wrote in 1638 that

I could wish every yong gentleman before hee travails into forraigne parts, *non esse Domi peregrini*, because here are many rarities in England, and our coast townes are worthy the view and the knowing, if it were but onely to satisfie strangers, who are many times inquisitive of the state of England; yea, and many times know it better than most of our home-borne gentlemen.³

In 1644, Milton argued that the young man should complete his education by ‘[riding] out in companies with prudent and staid guides to all the quarters of the land’.⁴ And in 1656, Sir Henry Spelman published *Villare Anglicum; or a view of the townes of England*, claiming in his preface that its publication was a response to the growing popularity of domestic travel among English gentlemen. ‘Travelling long Journeys is costly, at all times troublesome, at some times dangerous’, he wrote. ‘Yet is it both a general and generous desire of most men to be acquainted with their native Country’.⁵

English writing about England was nothing new, but as these years wore on, there was not just a growing interest in domestic travel, but there was also a gradually expanding specialisation, even a ‘professionalisation’, of the more antiquarian strains that

² James Cleland, *Ηρωπαιλεια, or the institution of a young noble man* (Oxford, 1607), p. 263.

³ Henry Peacham, *The truth of our times* (London, 1638), pp. 143-4. Indeed, there was hardly an absence, in these years, of foreigners travelling to England. See, for instance, the Swiss medical student Thomas Platter, who came to satisfy a ‘mere curiosity to see’. *The Journals of Two Travellers in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England: Thomas Platter and Horatio Busino*, ed. Peter Razzell (London, 1995), p. 77.

⁴ John Milton, *Of Education* (1644), in *Complete English Poems, Of Education, Areopagitica*, ed. Gordon Campbell (London, 1990), p. 569.

⁵ Henry Spelman, *Villare Anglicum; or a view of the townes of England* (London, 1656), pp. 1-2.

had existed in much of the later Tudor topography. This latter phenomenon is one that Esther Moir pointed out in 1964, but it bears repeating and reinforcing here. Moir suggested that the publication of William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* in 1656 marked something of a watershed in the process:

After this authors become more strictly historical,... so that inevitably their writing loses much of that freshness and vigour and, above all, the impression of being an eye-witness account, which is the most attractive characteristic of their predecessors.⁶

In fact the process Moir describes was already well underway in the early years of the seventeenth century. To see this, one need not look much further than William Camden's *Britannia*, published in English in 1610, and fashioned as a work of the purest scholarship. The preface to the first edition of his *Britannia* says it all:

Thus much give mee leave to say, that I have in no wise neglected such things as are most materiall to search, and sift out the Truth. I have attained to some skill of the most ancient, British and English-Saxon tongues: I have travailed over all England for the most part, I have conferred with most skillfull observers in each country, I have studiously read over our owne countrie writers, old and new, all Greeke and Latine authors which have once made mention of Britaine. I have had conference with learned men in other parts of Christendome: I have benee diligent in the Records of this Realme. I have looked into most Libraries, Registers, and memorials of Churches, Cities, and Corporations, I have poored upon many an old Rowle, and Evidence:... that the honor of veritie might in no wise be impeached.⁷

Although a cursory nod is given here to the fact that travelling around to the various shires and villages was part of the project, it is clear that Camden's interests were those of a consummate antiquarian, who travelled only as much as was needed to consult with local authorities and visit local archives and cartularies.

If the craft of topography was becoming more 'antiquarian', more scholarly, indeed more 'professional', and abandoning its travel-focussed roots, then it seems inevitable that there would have been a growing gap left to be filled by those who wished to write more personal and more picaresque narratives of travels through Britain,

⁶ Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: the English tourists* (London, 1964), p. 14.

⁷ William Camden, *Britannia*, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1610), pp. 4-5.

completely absent of any scholarly pretension. Certainly earlier writers, like Richard Carew, Thomas Churchyard, and William Lambarde, had managed to be both learned and lively, playing the dual role of traveller and intellectual, bestowing their readers with authoritative academic insights and historical titbits, while simultaneously striking the posture of the curious private citizen rambling casually around the countryside. Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, published in 1602, has a playful tone, a very human approachability, and is obviously informed by an anthropological rather than an antiquarian intellect. But after the turn of the century, the two roles seemed increasingly incompatible, as a divergence opened up between serious antiquarian scholarship and simply curious domestic travel. At one end of the spectrum were the likes of Camden and Dugdale, while at the other end were the more brigand-like ramblings of people like John Taylor and Dr. Edward Browne. Stripped of the necessity to coat domestic travel with the respectable veneer of antiquarian scholarship, a niche opened up for those whose interests lay simply in travelling around, rather than in writing authoritative accounts of particular regions and nations of Britain. A simple comparison between Camden's *Britannia* and the wanderings of John Taylor, the so-called 'water-poet', for instance, is striking enough. A ribald and eccentric Thames wherry-man and a sort of would-be domestic Coryate, Taylor became a minor celebrity in his day by claiming he could travel all over England with no money, relying on the kindness of strangers. He even solicited subscriptions to his travel accounts, and quickly made a name for himself as a satirist and poet.⁸ He started one of his best-known books, *John Taylors Wandering, to see the Wonders of the West*, by making it clear that

My Reader must not her suppose that I

⁸ For more on Taylor, see Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (Oxford, 1994).

Will write a treatise of Geography:
 Or that I meane to make exact Relations
 Of Cities, Townes, or Countries scituations;
 Such men as those, I turne them o're to reade
 The learned Cambden, or the painefull Speed.⁹

Camden's work was not only learned and painful compared to the zany antics of Taylor, but considerably more professional as well. Camden's is the ultimate antiquarian work, while Taylor's is the ultimate picaresque adventure story. While Camden consults his Anglo-Saxon sources and church registers, Taylor chooses to weave a Conradian tale of his adventures into the heart of darkness, even remarking, upon entry into one town, how 'the people all wondring at me as if I had been some strange Beast, or Monster brought out of Affrica'.¹⁰

John Taylor's wanderings, however, are only the most famous and most colourful example of this type of picaresque journey across the English landscape. Throughout the period under consideration, but especially after 1600, it became more and more common to find young travellers roaming the English countryside out of a desire simply to satisfy their curiosity. One of the earliest, and probably least eccentric, was Fynes Moryson in the 1590s, for whom Britain formed a substantial part of his itinerary. However, there were certainly others, of varying degrees of quirkiness. Sir William Brereton undertook a tour in 1634-35 that, like Moryson's, was essentially a European tour that happened to include the British Isles (although in Brereton's case, the tour was limited to Britain, Ireland, and the Low Countries).¹¹ For obvious reasons, it is impossible even to begin trying to arrive at any sense of the number of young travellers who might have limited their travels to the British Isles, or even included Britain in their itineraries, as no

⁹ *John Taylors wandering, to see the wonders of the west* (London, 1649), p. 2.

¹⁰ Taylor, *John Taylors Wandering*, p. 16.

¹¹ William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, United Provinces, England Scotland and Ireland 1634-5*, ed. Edward Hawkins (Manchester, 1844).

passport would have been required for such journeys. However, we do not entirely lack for examples. Ben Jonson's walk to Scotland in 1617 is well-known¹², and Thomas Heywood's biographer tells the story of how, in 1618, Heywood and some actor friends dared one Gervase Markham, 'of London gent', to walk from London to Berwick, crossing streams only with 'an ordinarye Leape staffe' and neither swimming nor sailing.¹³ It would seem that the Water-Poet had inspired at least one copycat. And then there was 'Drunken Barnaby', who in 1640 penned a colourful epic poem recounting his 'four journeys' to the north of England.¹⁴

But not all domestic travellers were such self-fashioned iconoclasts. One anonymous author in 1634 was a little more straight-laced, focussed more on recording military and ecclesiastical monuments, but even his narrative was still fundamentally a travelogue.¹⁵ And the eighteen-year-old Edward Browne's journal of his travels through Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Cheshire in 1662, bizarrely titled 'Notes taken in a tour through the West of England', reads very much like the many published accounts of foreign tours that had gained popularity over the years. This is perhaps not surprising considering that several years later Browne went on to undertake tours of south-eastern Europe and Germany. In this respect, England was probably a dry run for the young man. As for the manuscript journal itself, a couple of examples will give a flavour of the type of trip this was. Upon crossing the Trent into Nottinghamshire, for instance, Browne was quick to make light of the local dialect:

¹² See, for instance, Capp, *John Taylor*, p. 19

¹³ Arthur Melville Clark, *Thomas Heywood: Playwright and Miscellanist* (Oxford, 1931), p. 90.

¹⁴ *Drunken Barnaby's four journies to the north of England, in Latin and English metre* (London, 1640).

¹⁵ *A Relation of A Short Survey of 26 Counties Observed in a Seven Weeks Journey begun on Aug 11, 1634, By a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient*, ed. L.G. Wickham Legg (London, 1904).

Wee were no sooner entred this Countrey but wee took some notice of the Civility of the People towards us amongst whom very few let us passe without a good 'eer and were very ready to instruct us in our way one [telling] us our way Ligd by youn nooke of oakes and another that wee mun goe strit forth, which manner of Speeces not onely directed us [but] much pleas'd us with the novelty of its dialect.¹⁶

In Chesterfield Browne played shuffleboard with some 'Darbishier blades that lived at Bakewell', and persuaded them to accompany him on his journey, 'so as wee might be conducted in this strange Mountainous, misty, Morish, rocky, wild country'.¹⁷ For Browne and his friends, the north of England was very much a foreign country, a 'desolute Vast nide Country', as he wrote of Derbyshire.¹⁸ And their approach to it was playful and picaresque, full of fascination and amusement at things new and wondrous. Browne's entertaining aside about the Derbyshire rock formation known to this day as the Devil's Arse is like nothing one would read in Camden: 'no unfit appellation considering its figure whose picture I could wish were here inserted... [we] travailed some space up the Intestinum rectum and had made further discovery of the Intralls had the way been good, and the passage void of excrement', he writes.¹⁹ And his elation at the view from the top of the steeple at a church in Boston, after having climbed 336 steps, gives him away as a quintessential pleasure traveller.²⁰ But perhaps the most revealing passage in the journal is the point at which Browne is walking out of Cheshire's Vale Royal, and reveals whom he has considered to be his muse throughout:

As wee came down the last hill, though very glad that twas the last, yet it did not altogether repent us that wee had visited them, and... overcame these dangerous passages with Eneas in Virgill, or rather with Heroical Tom Coriat as hee travailed over the Savoyan mountains.²¹

¹⁶ BL Sloane MS 1900, fol. 56.

¹⁷ BL Sloane MS 1900, fol. 55.

¹⁸ BL Sloane MS 1900, fol. 54.

¹⁹ BL Sloane MS 1900, fol. 49.

²⁰ BL Sloane MS 1900, fol. 58.

²¹ BL Sloane MS 1900, fol. 42.

There could be few more powerful expressions of the connection in the mental world of the early modern traveller between domestic and foreign travel than a reference to Coryate.

Hardly surprising, then, that by 1659 Edward Leigh could publish *England Described*, a sort of handbook for anyone wishing to travel around and get to know his own country. In his dedication to Sir Robert Pye (whose son, not coincidentally, had travelled abroad just a few years earlier), Leigh wrote:

Sir, It is blamed in our Englishmen, that they are apt too much to admire Foreigne Countreys and Commodities; and exotick Fashions also, because they are either ignorant of, or do not sufficiently prize the Excellencies of their own native Soil;... We have little cause (I thinke) to envy any other Countrey, if we rightly understand our own happy condition.²²

From the outset, then, Leigh made it clear that his book was a conscious response to the popularity of foreign travel among the young, and a way to encourage them to get to know their native soil. But *England Described* was also consciously distinct from the work of men like Camden. Throughout the book, Leigh footnotes canonical authors such as Froissart.²³ However, this is always done with a sort of dismissive flourish, as if to communicate to the reader that if he wants to know more about a particular subject, he can go and look it up himself, but that he should not expect this book to be a learned work of scholarship. Even more tellingly, Leigh makes liberal reference to such writers as Dallington, Gainsford and James Howell – who by this point had become part of a canon of contemporary travel commentators in their own right. The result is a book that manages to locate itself within the intellectual tradition of domestic topography while

²² Edward Leigh, *England described* (London, 1659), fol. A2.

²³ Leigh reminded his reader that in writing it, he had drawn from Camden, as well as from Andre du Chesne's *Histoire Generale d'Angleterre*, Michael Drayton's *Poly-olbion*, Selden's *Illustrations*, Burton's *Leicestershire*, Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, King's *Cheshire*, Norden's *Speculum*, Lambarde's *Kent*, Carew's *Cornwall*, Stow's *London*, Somner's *Canterbury*, Nevil's *Norwich*, Leland's *Itinerary*, and many other scholarly antiquarian sources.

simultaneously retaining the feel of being a handy pocket guide for the curious traveller – a sort of ‘England for beginners’, marketed to a young and adventurous readership.

II – *The Ardennes connection*

So it is fair to say that there was at least some hint that domestic travel was gradually becoming a more common, even a more accepted, part of the general fabric of English tourism in the early years of the seventeenth century. However, a few isolated examples, no matter how interesting, do not prove very much, and it would probably be impossible ever to get a real sense of how many people were actually travelling within the British Isles out of general interest or curiosity in this period. What is more interesting than this circumstantial evidence of a growing interest in domestic tourism, though, is the fact that it was not the only shift in the history of English travel that began to take place after 1600. In fact, there was a far more pronounced, and, in many ways, far more important, change taking place – one that was actually happening on the other side of the English Channel.

Beginning in the early 1600s, a growing number of licences were being granted for travellers to go to the Spa, in the Ardennes Forest, ostensibly to take the waters and to seek improvement to their health. And as the seventeenth century wore on, the popularity of Spa as a destination for English gentry and nobility grew almost exponentially. Spa provided an important nexus between, on the one hand, the ‘Grand Tour’ style of continental travel discussed in the previous five chapters, and, on the other, the growing interest in domestic travel in the early years of the seventeenth century. Two broad points can be made – the first, that the connection between going to Spa ‘for health’ and the

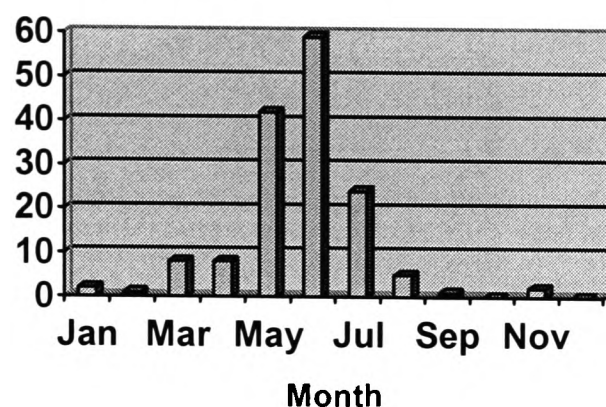
young gentleman's tour of Europe was stronger than might initially be assumed; and the second, that the increasingly fashionable practice of going to Spa had a direct impact on the development of domestic leisure travel.²⁴ A closer look at the characteristics of the English Spa phenomenon, therefore, is necessary.

Spa, not surprisingly, was generally a summer destination. The overwhelming majority of passes granted by the Privy Council for travel there were issued in May or June, for a period of six months' travel. Between 1601, when Spa licences first make their appearance in *Acts of Privy Council* and the *Calendar of State Papers*²⁵, and 1640, there were 164 licences or passes issued to travellers that either specified Spa as the destination, or in some way made it clear that the person in question was travelling for the recovery of his or her health. Out of these 164, no fewer than 133 were granted in the months of April, May, June, and July (Table 6.1).

²⁴ Spa was not the only destination for English travellers seeking health and wellness abroad. In 1602, Sir Robert Drury wrote to Cecil from Paris of his desire to visit French and Italian baths. And in 1626, when warfare made travel to the Low Countries difficult, there were a couple of passes issued to Henry Bedingfield and Edmund Church, allowing them to take the waters in France. But these were the exceptions that proved the rule. *CSPD*, 28 September 1602. *APC*, 20 January 1626; *APC*, 27 February 1626.

²⁵ There are two licences from the early part of Elizabeth's reign which make mention of ill health as an explanation for the trip, though neither mentions Spa in particular. Both are in the *CPR*. The first, in 1559, was issued to Sir Francis Englefeld, who 'trusteth to receive cure at the baynes' (*CPR*, 12 April 1559). The second, from 1567, was for John Dister to pass and remain beyond seas 'for one year for his health' (*CPR*, 13 August 1567). Clearly, going to the Spa was not unheard-of before 1601, but for the purposes of this analysis, it is best to begin in the seventeenth century.

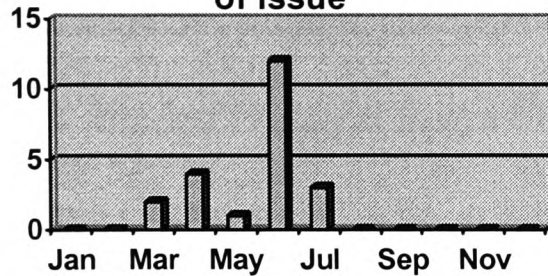
**Table 6.1: licences issued for 'health',
1601-40, by month of issue**



Furthermore, 29 of these licences actually specify a period of six months abroad for the person in question, compared with just nine that were issued for three years, and only three that were issued for one year. The rest make no mention of how long the licence is valid. This suggests rather strongly that the typical trip abroad for health would have been initiated in late May or June, probably for a period of no more than a few months. There is another, much smaller, set of data, moreover, that comes to us from a manuscript entitled 'List and particulars of licences granted to sundry noblemen and gentlemen to travel beyond the seas, from February 28, 1573, to June 12, 1582'.²⁶ Of the licences recorded in this list, 22 explicitly mention health or the Spa. All are from the years 1574 to 1577. The data from these 22 licences broadly reflect those recorded in *CSPD* and *APC* for the years 1601 to 1640 (Table 6.2).

²⁶ PRO SP 12/154, no.5.

Table 6.2: licences to travel for health recorded in PRO SP 12/154, no.5 (1574-77), by month of issue



So, going abroad for the recovery of one's health, was mostly, though not exclusively, a summer activity.

Much of the evidence would also indicate that it was often a family activity. In June 1575, the Earl of Pembroke, his wife, Lady Talbot, and her sister, and a couple of others were given licence to go to Spa for six months together. Two years later, also in June, a similar licence was issued to Sir Richard Barkley, knight, and his son Henry, along with Henry's friends, Morrice Sheppard and William Bassett.²⁷ In June 1623, John Chamberlaine was given permission to go abroad for his health with his wife Katherine and his daughter Susan.²⁸ The following month, Edward Fowler was licensed to go to Spa with his wife and his brother William.²⁹ And in July 1625, William Petit of Kent was given leave to make the same trip with his wife Mary and his uncle John.³⁰

One of the most striking facts about travel for health purposes is the number of women who participated in trips to Spa, or even took journeys of their own there. One contemporary observer complained of the 'great concourse of people' drawn to the waters of Harrogate, 'especially the female sexe, as ever more apt to be deluded'.³¹ Of the

²⁷ PRO SP 12/154, no.5, fol.3, 5.

²⁸ APC, 4 June 1623.

²⁹ APC, 4 July 1623.

³⁰ APC, 29 June 1625.

³¹ Edmund Deane, *Spadacrene Anglia, or the English Spaw-Fountaine* (London, 1626), pp. 72-4.

178 individuals licensed to travel for health or to the Spa in the years 1574-77 and 1601-40, no fewer than 63 were women – or 35 per cent of the total. More often than not, of course, women travelling to the Spa would have been doing so in the company of their husbands. Elizabeth Allen of Lancashire, for instance, who spent two years at Spa with her husband George in 1574-76; or Mrs. Robert Downes, of Norfolk, who travelled to Spa with her husband in 1575.³² Sometimes, a wife might go over to Spa later than her husband, and catch up with him there, as was the case when Lady Leeds was given permission in October 1613 ‘to passe over unto the Spawe to her husband remaying there’.³³ Occasionally, though, women would simply travel by themselves, taking no more than a maidservant with them. Ann Rootes of Hampshire went to Spa in 1617 with ‘one man and two maids’, while Mrs. Mary Henslowe made the same trip the following year, with ‘two servants’.³⁴ Alternatively, they might go in the company of other women, as was the case with Ellen Tipper and Margaret Smith, both married women, who travelled to Spa together in the summer of 1623, or Mary Eltoft and Mrs. Anne Cadman,

³² PRO SP 12/154, no.5; see also the Philpotts (*APC*, 5 May 1619); the Nortons (*APC*, 20 May 1619); the Butlers (*CSPD*, 24 April 1608).

³³ *APC*, 15 October, 1613.

³⁴ *APC*, 30 May 1617; *APC*, 31 May 1618. See also Joyce Langdale (*APC*, 24 June 1618), Elizabeth Thompson (*APC*, 25 May 1620), Frances Parker (*APC*, 31 May 1620), Mary Blake (*APC*, 20 June 1622), Margaret Paston (*APC*, 30 June 1622), Jane Wilson (*APC*, 20 May 1623), Anne Robinson (*APC*, 30 May 1623), Joan Milbree (*APC*, 9 June 1623), Margaret Fairfax (*APC*, 25 June 1623), Mary Pigot (*APC*, 3 July 1623), Helena Scroope (*APC*, 10 July 1623), Margaret Lewkenor (*APC*, 26 March 1624), Barbara Fursdon (*APC*, 9 May 1624), Elizabeth Newport (*APC*, 9 May 1624), Margaret Bramton (*APC*, 10 July 1624), Elizabeth Whiting (*APC*, 22 July 1624), Mary Brereton (*APC*, 30 July 1624), Catherine Bellingham (*APC*, 30 July 1624), Ursula Seaborne (*APC*, 18 June 1625), Anne Smith (*APC*, 11 June 1626), Frances Browne (*APC*, 10 July 1628), Mary Tymperley (*APC*, 30 April 1631), Mary Cha[rriak] (*PCR*, 15 July 1639), Ann Foster (*PCR*, 5 July 1640), Mary Baines (*CSPD*, 10 July 1622), the Countess of Rutland (*CSPD*, 25 June 1622), Lady Wallingford (*CSPD*, 20 May 1623), Lady Savage (*CSPD*, 5 July 1622), Katherine Darcy (*CSPD*, 18 May 1637).

who made the trip in 1631.³⁵ Dame Mary Digby went to Spa in 1624 with her sister and eight servants.³⁶

Although it is interesting to see that women participated in the ritual of going to Spa with nearly as much frequency as men, the fact remains that they were always more closely scrutinised before they began their trips. For instance, as time went on, the government seemed to insist more and more on seeing a medical certificate before granting permission to its subjects (whether male or female) to travel abroad to take the waters. By the 1630s, in fact, such insistence had become more-or-less *de rigueur*. However, in some of the earlier records especially, women seemed to have been held to a far higher standard of scrutiny over their trips than their male counterparts. Men appeared to be licensed easily, often with the barest, if any, mention of ‘recovery of health’ as a ground for travel. Passes for women, however, always seemed to have to bear the imprimatur of a licensed physician. Even in the few cases where male travellers supported their applications with a medical certificate, the language was noticeably more lax than when women did the same. Certificates for a woman might plead that she ‘is particularly infirm and requires to vist the Spa in Germany’, that she has a ‘dangerouse disease upon her brest’, or that she ‘is troubled with nephritical passion’.³⁷ Often two doctors’ supporting notes are presented when a woman is involved, while it is rare to see so much supporting evidence with a man. Spa passes for women were also more likely to contain a specific proviso against using the licence to travel farther than Spa.

³⁵ *APC*, 9 May 1623; *APC*, 22 June 1631.

³⁶ *APC*, 9 May 1624. See also Catherine Gascoigne and Mary Bacon (*APC*, 12 August 1623).

³⁷ *CSPD*, 5 July 1639; BL Additional MS 11402, fol. 111r; *CSPD*, 10 July 1622.

As early as 1565, English travellers had begun noticing the popularity of Spa as a curative health resort, Sir Edward Warner remarking to Cecil that ‘there is great repair here for the benefit of the waters’.³⁸ That travelling abroad for health grew noticeably more popular after the turn of century, however, can readily be demonstrated by making use of the passport records available to us. Leaving aside, for the moment, the stray manuscript alluded to earlier, the first mention of Spa or of travelling for health in the passport records came on 12 July 1601, in the *Acts of Privy Council* – one Mary Shelley was given permission to return from Spa, having lived there a while for her health. But this was not actually a licence to travel *to* Spa. Following 1604, of course, the *APC* leaves us stranded with a nine-year lacuna, and when it returns into sight in 1613-14, there are no fewer than thirteen licences for going to Spa. Obviously, the watershed took place at some point in the early seventeenth century, but we are, as ever, at a loss to know exactly when. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* provides a little more help, but not much. In 1604, there is a pass for Sir Henry Glemham to travel to Spa, though health is not explicitly specified.³⁹ One wonders about this particular pass, though, as Glemham’s name turns up again in Padua in 1635. It is not until 1608 that the next Spa licence is recorded in *CSPD*, and, indeed, that year sees six such licences. *CSPD* is then devoid of Spa passes again until 1617. This is patchy record-keeping indeed, and one would be loath to rely on it too heavily. However, it does appear that the 1610s are when travel to Spa gained its greatest momentum, and certainly, by the 1620s, both *APC* and *CSPD* are full of licences for travel centred ostensibly on health.

³⁸ *CSPD*, 10 August 1565.

³⁹ *CSPD*, 1 May 1604.

That Spa grew steadily in popularity as the seventeenth century advanced is clear enough. In 1577, the town was still being described as ‘only a few nasty cottages’, but by the 1610s and 1620s, its name was synonymous with opulence and glamour.⁴⁰ In fact, the town increasingly became known not just as a place to go for the recovery of one’s health, but as a sort of ‘resort’ for the better sort. By the 1610s, it was not uncommon to see passes like the one issued to the Parhams of Somerset to go to Spa – a knight and his lady with servants, with no real mention of any health problems.⁴¹ The Parhams are a particularly intriguing case in that they lived in Somerset, and could presumably have just gone to Bath, which by then was a perfectly viable option for those seeking improvement to their health. But there was a reason why the Parhams wanted to go to Spa, and it probably had little to do with their health. By the 1610s, Spa had begun to establish itself as a place to see and be seen. Furthermore, just as fewer and fewer passes to Spa made explicit mention of health, six-month passports for travel to the resort were increasingly reissued year after year to the same people. The Devonshire knight Sir George Peter was the recipient of no fewer than six passes to go Spa over a ten-year period – and those are just the ones we know about!⁴² Certainly it is possible that such people simply suffered from chronic medical conditions that needed annual attention, but it seems at least as likely that the trip to the Ardennes had, for some English gentry, become something of an annual holiday. By 1616, the earl of Arundel saw nothing wrong with writing to Dudley Carleton, expressing his hope that ‘his and Lady Carleton’s visit to the Spa is rather for

⁴⁰ Alan Savidge, *Royal Tunbridge Wells* (Tunbridge Wells, 1975), pp. 28-30.

⁴¹ *APC*, 31 May 1613.

⁴² *APC*, 5 June 1616, *APC*, 31 May 1617, *APC*, 30 June 1619, *APC*, July 1622, *APC*, 7 April 1623, *APC*, 22 August 1626. See also Henry Huddleston (*APC*, 23 April 1617, *APC*, 27 April 1618); Sir Richard Anderson (*APC*, 21 June 1617, *APC*, 23 May 1618); Robert Needham (*APC*, 21 June 1617, *APC*, 23 May 1618); John Chamberlaine (*APC*, 4 June 1623, *APC*, 26 June 1624); Goddard Oxenbridge (*CSPD*, 24 April 1608, *APC*, 6 July 1614).

recreation than on account of ill health'.⁴³ And in 1619, John Chamberlain could refer casually to Spa without making any mention of its supposed health benefits, referring only to its 'good company, numbers, and other appurtenancies'.⁴⁴ Around 1618, and increasingly in the years following, fewer Spa passes seemed to have a doctor's certification associated with them, though the government became more restrictive by the later 1620s and 1630s. Little surprise, then, that by 1626, there were enough regular English visitors to Spa to justify the building of an Anglican chapel there, run under the auspices of the bishopric of London.

Spa also played a role in the history of English recusancy. As well as being a place of leisure and recuperation, it also soon developed a reputation as a sort of gathering place for English Catholics. Joseph Hall wrote in 1617 of 'the minerall waters of the *Spa*; to which many sicke soules are beholden for a good excuse: who while they pretend the medicinall use of that spring, can freely quaffe of the puddle of popish superstition; poisoning the better part, in stead of helping the worse'.⁴⁵ Initially, the government seems either to have been caught off-guard, or simply to have been surprisingly disinclined to do very much to put a stop to this. In May 1613, for instance, the Privy Council issued a licence to 'William Copley, of Gatton in the county of Surrey, esquire, a Recusant convicte, to goe to the Spawe for the better recovery of his health, during the space of twelve monethes, being therunto advised by phisitions'.⁴⁶

⁴³ *CSPD*, 20 July 1616.

⁴⁴ Savidge, *Tunbridge Wells*, p. 28. We should not, of course, make the mistake of thinking that no one believed in the restorative powers of the waters. Lord Windsor wrote to Cecil in 1568, telling him that he had 'received great benefit' from the Spa. *CSPD*, 30 June 1568. See also *CSPD*, 7 April 1617.

⁴⁵ Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? a just censure of travell as it is commonly undertaken by gentlemen* (London, 1617), fol. A4v.

⁴⁶ *APC*, 19 May 1613.

But Spa was far more than just a Catholic hideaway or a summer watering hole for the great and the good. There is real evidence that, for some visitors, it also served as a starting point for further adventures. There are some intriguing clues that suggest many travellers said they were going to Spa for recovery of their health, and then used the opportunity for further travels once they were beyond seas and out of sight. Such a traveller was Thomas Dalton, whose May 1618 pass was very specific about the nature of his trip: the young man was ‘to goe to the Spawe for recovery of his health, and from thence into France or some other partes beyond the seaes for his better experience and knowledg for three yeares’.⁴⁷ An even more interesting and telling example was buried in a letter from the Earl of Northampton to the Earl of Rochester in September 1612. *Inter alia*, Northampton advised his correspondent that ‘the wife of Mr Nevill, who calls himself Westmoreland, writes that her husband and his mistress are going to Spain, with a licence which he has for the Spa’.⁴⁸ Peregrine Bertie, as early as 1594, went to Spa for the recovery of his health, and then extended his trip into Italy.⁴⁹ Sometimes, a visit to Spa was just a visit to Spa, but it might inspire a future tour of the Continent in a subsequent year. Edmund Simmons of Brightwell, Oxfordshire, first went abroad to Spa in the summer of 1614. By the time he applied for his second pass to go to Spa, in May 1615, the authorities must have become suspicious, as his licence carried the strict proviso that he was not to go anywhere but Spa, and two physicians were asked to register their support for his application.⁵⁰ Two years later, Simmons was granted a pass

⁴⁷ *APC*, 3 May, 1618.

⁴⁸ *CSPD*, 3 September 1612.

⁴⁹ John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First* (4 vols., London, 1828), iii, 260-1.

⁵⁰ *APC*, 10 June 1614; *APC*, 21 May 1615.

‘to travell for three yeeres’, with no restrictions.⁵¹ Edward Sheldon of Worcestershire is another interesting example. In 1612, he was given a pass to go to Spa for his health, and three years later a pass to travel abroad for three years. Ten years later, in 1625, Sheldon reappears, and this time he is preparing to take his entire family abroad with him – the pass is for himself, his wife, and his son Ralph and his wife, along with no fewer than eighteen servants.⁵² Sir George Peeter went to the Spa two summers in a row – in 1616 and 1617 – and then in 1619, embarked on a three-year tour of the Continent. No sooner was he back in 1622 than he took a fourth trip abroad – this time to the Spa again – followed by another extended tour on the Continent over the course of the next five years. There was even a ‘Georgio Petreo’ recorded in the Padua register in 1635, indicating possible evidence of a whole lifetime of travel that had all begun with a trip to Spa!⁵³

The register of British students at Padua proves very useful in exposing yet more evidence of this phenomenon, since the names of many of those whose licences were issued for Spa subsequently turned up on the Padua register at a slightly later date. Richard Berry, for instance, who was given permission to go to Spa in July 1617, signed his name in Padua’s registers on 2 September 1618.⁵⁴ And John Digby, who took licence for the Spa on 31 May 1624, turns up in Padua as ‘Johannes Digby nobile Inglese’ on 28 July 1629.⁵⁵ In one case, that of Sir Henry Glemham, the intrepid bather turns up on the

⁵¹ *APC*, 7 June 1617.

⁵² *CSPD* ‘Undated. 1612?’ (in *CSPD of the Reign of James I, 1611-1618*, p. 164), *APC*, 26 September 1615, *APC*, 30 June 1625.

⁵³ *APC*, 5 June 1616, *APC*, 31 May 1617, *APC*, 30 June 1619, *APC*, July 1622, *APC*, 7 April 1623, *APC*, 22 August 1626; *Inglese e Scozzesi all’Università di Padova*, ed. Horatio Brown (Venice, 1921), p. 149.

⁵⁴ *APC*, 18 July 1617; Brown, *Inglese e Scozzesi*, p. 144.

⁵⁵ Brown, *Inglese e Scozzesi*, p. 146.

register thirty-one years after his original licence was issued (though, of course, there is a possibility that this could be his son).⁵⁶

Again, the government, it seems, was far from ignorant of Spa's potential as a point of departure for further travel. Richard Draycott's Spa pass in 1618 read as follows:

A passe for Richard Draycott, of Draycott in the county of Stafford, esquire, to goe to the Spaw to drinke of that water for reamydie and care of the stone, and other greate and long continewed deseases, he being thereunto advised by learned phisicians as the meanes wherein, or in nothing more, he may finde ease of his said infirmities, as appeareth by certificate under the hand of John Frear, doctor of phisicke, and to take over with him one Richard Bidle to attende him... with proviso not to goe to Rome.⁵⁷

What is striking about this pass is that it explains in such detail Draycott's infirmities, certifies them, and makes it clear that the purpose of his trip is to take the waters at Spa – and then tacks on a proviso against travel to Rome! But why on earth would this even need to be specified if the expectation was that the traveller was only going to Spa? Obviously, there was no such expectation at all, and the government knew full well what was going on, and perhaps even saw Spa passes as not being all that different from the 'tourist' passes discussed in previous chapters. Bizarrely, Draycott's pass was far from unusual, and those passes issued for the express purpose of going to the Spa for the recovery of health would quite often carry the proviso, standard for tourist passes, that the traveller was 'not to go to Rome'.⁵⁸ Spa passes for women seemed especially likely to contain some such proviso. Lady Harris' Spa pass made it menacingly clear that she should 'goe directly to the Spawe without making further use of this lycence, as shee will answere the contrary'.⁵⁹ By 1630, however, the government seemed to be taking more steps to curb the practice. In July of that year, the King wrote to the Lieutenant of Dover

⁵⁶ *CSPD*, 1 May 1604; Brown, *Inglesi e Scozzesi*, p. 149 (5 November 1635).

⁵⁷ *APC*, 3 June 1618.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Francis Stoner (*APC*, 21 May 1615).

⁵⁹ *APC*, 21 May 1615. See also Elizabeth Russell, same date; Margaret Greene, *APC*, 27 June 1615; Ann Rootes, *APC*, 30 May 1617; Joyce Langdale, *APC*, 25 June 1618.

Castle and Mayor of Dover, informing them not to accept any licences as valid until further instruction, as he had become ‘informed of notable abuses at this time in licences for travel, some under pretence of going to the Spa’.⁶⁰

III – *English bath towns*

If the line between travelling to Spa for one’s health and travelling around the Continent out of curiosity and interest was more blurred than we might have expected, then so too was the line between travel to Spa and the development of English spa towns. The obvious question to ask here is: was there an increase in interest in English bath towns concomitant with that in Spa, and if so, what does that tell us about the development of early modern attitudes to domestic travel? Should we simply take this as proof that medical science was advancing and people were taking advantage of new information, and that this was reflected by an increase in visits both to continental and English spa towns? The previous section ought to have dispelled the notion that travel to spa towns was merely a function of concern over health, so the obvious question is, can the same be said about domestic baths?

Previous generations of historians have been reluctant to see English spa towns as in any way fashionable before 1660. J. Sprange, the first historian of Tunbridge Wells, claimed that in the early seventeenth century, visitors to bath towns ‘had only the recovery of health in view’, and that it was only after the Restoration that polite society could flourish in such places. Of the culture of Tunbridge before then, he had little good to say:

⁶⁰ *CSPD*, 27 July 1630.

The amusements of the gentry were few, confined, and selfish... In short, delicacy, politeness, and elegant pleasures, were then but just budding forth from amidst the rubbish of Gothic barbarism, and, till these were grown to such a height as to be discernible amongst us, Tunbridge-Wells was not esteemed a place of pleasure, in which the people of fashion might depend upon being agreeably amused.⁶¹

Certainly at this stage, bath towns didn't enjoy anything like the popularity they came to experience among the fashionable classes of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But that does not mean that they were nothing more than places to take the water, or fashionable resorts waiting to happen, with no recognisable elements of gentility associated with them.

What makes Sprange's view particularly untenable, in fact, is seeing just how direct a connection there was in the minds of many contemporaries between the popularity of the Spa phenomenon and the growing interest in English bath towns. We have already heard how, in 1619, Tunbridge Wells was described by John Chamberlain as 'not inferior to the Spa for good company, numbers, and other appurtenancies'.⁶² Comparisons were quite frequently drawn between English spa towns and 'the Spa'. William Slingsby, who had travelled abroad in his youth and tasted the waters of Spa, recognised the waters of Harrogate springs 'in all things to agree with those at the Spaw'.⁶³ For many writers, Spa represented the ultimate spa experience (its name, of course, even to this day, is quite literally synonymous with the concept), and it was always held up as the example to be emulated. Edmund Deane dreamed of his beloved Knaresborough one day eclipsing the Spa:

To extoll it [Knaresborough] above the *Germaine Spaw*, may be thought in me either indiscretion, or too much partiality; but why I may not parallele them (being in natures and qualities so agreeable)... Wherefore being thus confident, I thought it no part of our duties, either to God, our King, or Country, to conceale so great a benefit, as may thereby arise and

⁶¹ J Sprange, *Tunbridge Wells Guide* (Tunbridge Wells, 1780), pp. 13-15. See also pp. 25-6.

⁶² Savidge, *Tunbridge Wells*, p. 28.

⁶³ Deane, *Spadacrene Anglia*, pp. 82-5.

accrue not onely unto this whole Kingdome and his Maiesties loving subiects, but also in time (after further notice taken of it) to other foraigne nations and countries, who may perhaps with more benefit, lesse hazard and danger of their lives, spoiling and robbing, better partake of this our *English Spaw* Fountaine, then of those in *Germanie*.⁶⁴

Given all this posturing about English bath towns and their ability to compete with Spa, it is probably not surprising to find no less a character than Joseph Hall making clear his disdain for foreign bath towns. Hall undertook a trip to Spa in 1604, presumably to see what all the fuss was about. Of course, he found it rather overrated, remarking to Thomas Chaloner that its mineral spring was ‘a water more wholesome than pleasant, and yet more famous than wholesome’.⁶⁵

In fact, this patriotic fervour and this desire to create English bath towns to rival the world’s best and most famous, developed even greater momentum over time. More and more commentators became convinced that, here at last, in spas, they had found something that might keep people from going abroad. Here at last was a need that could be catered to just as well at home as it could be overseas. In 1654, Roger Dudley, Lord North, reminded his readers that it had been he who had ‘first made known to *London*’ the waters of Tunbridge and Epsom, adding that ‘the *Spaw* is a chargeable inconvenient journey to sick bodies, besides the money it carries out of the Kingdome, & inconvenience to Religion’.⁶⁶ Even as early as 1572, Thomas Lupton’s dedicatory poem to John Jones’ book promoting the benefits of Buxton waters had read,

Though forrein soyle in worthy gifts doth marvellously abound,
yet England may bold to bost, wherein the like are found.
How many use to bathes abrode far hence with cost to range,
whereby they may their lothsome lims to helthfull members change
But such (onlesse they more desire for wealth then helth to rome)
they may have help with charges lesse and soner, here at home,
At Buckstones bathes whose virtues here, is lernedly displayed.

⁶⁴ Deane, *Spadacrene Anglia*, dedication.

⁶⁵ *Works of Joseph Hall* (Oxford, 1837), vi, 136.

⁶⁶ Dudley North, *Forest of varieties* (London, 1654), p. 134.

Therefore disdain not this to read that hath the same bewrayed.⁶⁷

From these kinds of chauvinistic remarks, one might get the impression that there was a nationalistic project underway to make English bath towns into fashionable centres of leisure, and that genuine health concerns were even less of a motivation here than they were at Spa. However, this would be a false impression. For most visitors, the baths were almost certainly genuinely thought of as place for healing, with comfort and entertainment a secondary factor. This much is attested by the large number of prisoners who were given temporary leave to go to Bath for their health, as well as the scores of recusants who were temporarily freed from house arrest to do the same. The *Calendar of State Papers* is also filled with many examples of wounded soldiers given leaves of absence to return to England to take the waters at Bath or Buxton or elsewhere.⁶⁸ And indeed, many found the mineral waters useful in treating their ailment, or at least claimed to. The earl of Leicester wrote to Burghley in 1587, to tell him that the earl of Warwick and Sir William Pelham had ‘received benefit’ from the waters of Bath. Leicester himself, however, remained sceptical, saying that ‘cannot yet say any good of it’, and that he ‘is always worse the day he goes into the bath’.⁶⁹ Leicester remained unconvinced by the supposed powers of the mineral waters, openly scoffing at those who put their faith in their restorative powers.⁷⁰ But it appears that he was an exception, and that most contemporaries took as granted that Bath’s waters possessed the ability to heal and cure all manner of ills.

⁶⁷ John Jones, *The benefit of the aunceint bathes of Buckstones* (London, 1572).

⁶⁸ Though, at least in the early days, such permission often came with rather strenuous conditions and bonds, particularly where recusants were concerned. See, for example, *APC*, 19 August, 1574; *APC*, 17 April, 1575; *APC*, 19 June, 1576); *APC*, 4 May, 1579); *APC*, 25 April, 1582; *APC*, 3 March, 1586, *APC*, 14 March, 1586.

⁶⁹ *CSPD*, 6 April 1587.

⁷⁰ See, for instance, *CSPD*, 28 July, 1588.

In the face of such evidence, it seems impossible to claim that English bath towns were simply burgeoning pleasure gardens for the gentry and nobility, and little else. However, it is clear that they did become a sort of gathering place for nobles and gentry alike. C.W. Chalklin, writing in 1965, was in little doubt about this, saying that ‘At the beginning of the seventeenth century... people were flocking to the watering places for whom bathing and drinking for health reasons was only a pretext: the spas were becoming centres of diversion for fashionable society’.⁷¹ And indeed, there is ample evidence to back up this view. As early as 1580, Leicester had written to the earl of Shrewsbury, thanking him for his ‘honourable and frendly intertaynment at Buxstons’.⁷² In 1594, Thomas Cecil wrote to his father that ‘I... mean shortly to go down to the Bath, where I am sure I shall meet some courtiers’.⁷³ In 1597, a letter from the Privy Council to the Mayor and Aldermen of Bath acknowledged that the waters ‘hath bin often used and frequented by divers noblemen, bothe Lords and Ladyes of great callinge, for their private ease and comodety’.⁷⁴ And a letter from Sir Walter Raleigh to Lord Cobham in 1601 reveals the extent to which Bath had come to be thought of as a sort of home away from home for the nation’s elite political classes. Raleigh writes, ‘I hope you will come to the Bath. If you hear that Bater’s house is taken up, it is but for me, and you may have one half, notwithstanding’.⁷⁵ By 1619 John Chamberlain could write that ‘the waters at Tunbridge... for these three or four yeares have been much frequented, especially this summer by many great persons’.⁷⁶ In general, the safest conclusion is probably that

⁷¹ C.W. Chalklin, *Seventeenth-Century Kent* (London, 1965), pp. 156-7.

⁷² HMC, *Calendar of the MSS of the Marquis of Bath*, v, 25.

⁷³ HMC *Calendar of the MSS of the Marquis of Salisbury*, iv, 587.

⁷⁴ APC, 24 March 1597.

⁷⁵ CSPD, 6 April 1601? [sic].

⁷⁶ Chalklin, *Kent*, p. 157.

English bath towns filled a dual function – as a genuine resort for the unhealthy, whatever their station in life, and as a ‘resort’ in the more modern sense for the better sort.

One question that this evidence leaves unanswered, though, is the extent to which the lesser and middling gentry might have been resorting to bath towns for pleasure and social recreation. Certainly there is evidence that many members of the ruling nobility and gentry began thinking of Bath, Buxton, and Tunbridge Wells as a fashionable destination for the summer, but it is much less clear just how far this social phenomenon trickled down to the ranks of those thousands of gentry who travelled abroad in their youth. Holinshed reported of King’s Newnham that one well was ‘reserved for such as be comelie personages and void of lothsome diseases: the other is left common for tag and rag’.⁷⁷ Visitors to Bath he described as ‘of the gentrie for the most part’.⁷⁸ By 1662, Dr. Edward Browne could write of Buxton as he passed by that its waters were ‘frequented in the summer by the Gentry of the adiacent country they drinke of the waters as well as bath in them... There is a handsome house built by them [i.e. the gentry] and a convenient bathing place thou not very large’.⁷⁹ We have very little hard evidence either way about the gentry, a function of the fact that they did not need a licence to go to Bath. However, there is one small piece of evidence that gives at least an idea. In 1574, Thomas Greves wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury with a list of ‘The strangers which be at Buxton at this present’. Included were eight noblewomen, three knights, and three ‘Mr’s (in addition to two doctors), indicating a fairly diverse group, perhaps surprising for so early a year.⁸⁰ And given that we have already established that the gentry were definitely going to Spa

⁷⁷ Raphael Holinshed, *The first and second volumes of Chronicles* (London, 1587), p. 215.

⁷⁸ Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 216.

⁷⁹ BL Sloane MS 1900, fol. 45r.

⁸⁰ HMC, *Bath* v, 22.

in significant numbers, it is probably not unreasonable to infer that travel to baths for leisure and pleasure was relatively common.

Fortunately, there are other scraps of evidence about changes taking place at Bath and other English spa towns that indicate pretty clearly that many of these towns were becoming centres of summertime leisure, recreation, and entertainment. As early as 1580, one correspondent described Buxton as being filled with ‘Yorkshire and Lincolnshire gentlemen... coming with cocks, dice, cards, and balls and music to contend at Buxton; they did not end until Friday’.⁸¹ In 1585, a manuscript from Bath noted that close to the Abbey were ‘2 curious Bowling Grounds, one of them is curiously and neatly kept, where onely Lords, Knights, Gallants, and Gentlemen, of the best ranke and qualitie, doe dayly meet in reasonable times to recreate themselves, both for pleasure and health’.⁸² By the early seventeenth century, Tunbridge was being described as crowded with ‘many great persons’ during the summer.⁸³ And a letter to Sir Hugh Beeston from a friend in 1612 encourages him to come to Bath if not for his health, then at the very least for the gambling.⁸⁴ By 1638, a riverside walk was created for the summer season, framed with two rows of trees, and before long, local pedlars and tradesmen could be seen ‘displaying their wares under the trees to the visitors as they passed up and down between their morning libations’.⁸⁵ It seems somehow unlikely that all this was a response to the activities of a handful of London elites, still less a response to the needs of prisoners, recusants, and mangy soldiers. Rather, it is hard to escape the conclusion that places like Tunbridge, Bath, and Buxton were becoming fashionable resorts for the gentry as well as

⁸¹ HMC, *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1877), p. 456.

⁸² John Haddon, *Bath* (London, 1973), p. 84.

⁸³ Savidge, *Tunbridge Wells*, p. 28.

⁸⁴ BL Lansdowne MS 92, fol. 203r.

⁸⁵ Savidge, *Tunbridge Wells*, p. 31. See also Sprange, *Tunbridge Wells*, pp. 20-23.

the elite nobility. Indeed, in 1654, John Evelyn described his time at Bath as being filled with ‘the idle diversions of the Towne’, which included ‘one Musitian... famous for acting a Changling’.⁸⁶

There is evidence, too, that women were increasingly part of the picture. In Tunbridge, in 1636, two houses were erected to accommodate leisure activities that had no tangible relation to the recovery of health. One house was for the ladies, and the other – the so-called ‘Pipe House’ – for the gentlemen. At the latter, ‘a pipe could be hired and smoked for the season, for half-a-crown’. Within a year or two, both of the houses had been turned into coffee houses, complete with pens, ink, paper, and the day’s pamphlets and journals.⁸⁷ At Bath, John Evelyn confesses, he and his companions ‘trifled & bath’d’, and socialised with those who frequented the town, as he put it, ‘for health &c.’⁸⁸ And just what Evelyn’s enigmatic etcetera might have referred to is hinted at in one of John Harrington’s epigrammes:

A common phrase long used here hath been
and by præscription now some credit hath
that divers ladies I to the Bath,
Come chiefly but to see, and to bee seene,
But if I should declare my conscience briefly,
I cannot think that is their Arrant chiefly,
For as I heare that most of them have dealt,
they chiefly came to feele, and to be fealt.⁸⁹

Again, we are reminded of the presence of women at bath towns.

Regardless of how much we can or cannot say about the status of bath towns as resorts for decadent gentry, though, one thing at least is clear, and that is that their *overall* popularity was growing. Of this much we have strong evidence. In 1657, the Lancashire

⁸⁶ John Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. E.S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), iii, 102.

⁸⁷ Savidge, *Tunbridge Wells*, p. 31. See also Sprange, *Tunbridge Wells*, pp. 20-23.

⁸⁸ Evelyn, *Diary*, iii, 102.

⁸⁹ BL Additional MS 12049.

Quarter Sessions heard the petition of Abraham Stott, a weaver-tenant of Castleton, near Rochdale, on whose land a well had been discovered. Stott sought compensation for damages done by visitors who had trampled all over his property, and he also petitioned for the right to run an alehouse to profit from the traffic. The petition was denied.⁹⁰

Holinshed complained in 1587 that ‘rumors are now spred almost of everie spring, & vaine tales flie about in maner of everie water’.⁹¹ John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton in 1619, informing him that

We have great noise here of a new Spaa [sic] or spring of that nature found lately about Wansted, and much running there is to yt dayly both by Lords and Ladies and other great companie, so that they have almost drawne yt drie alreedy, and yf yt shold hold on yt wold put downe the waters at Tunbrige [sic] which for these three or fowre yeares have ben much frequented, specially this sommer by many great persons.⁹²

When the living of Knaresborough fell vacant in 1642, the Prebend of York, Dr Eleazar Duncon, wrote of the importance of nominating a fitt man for that place’, saying that ‘the towne stands in neede of such a one in regard to the largeness of it, and the great resort to it in summer time by reason of the wells’.⁹³ By 1660, it was possible for a petition to the House of Lords by the residents of Tonbridge to say, ‘the wells called Tunbridge Wells have been much frequented for fifty years and upwards by many of the nobility, gentry, and others’.⁹⁴

And along with this extra popularity went a number of programmes of civic improvements to bath towns. As early as 1572, John Jones suggested public building projects for Buxton:

⁹⁰ A. Fessler, ‘A Spa in 17th Century Lancashire’, *Manchester University Medical School Gazette*, 33 (1954), 245-6.

⁹¹ Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 215.

⁹² *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N.E McClure (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1939), ii, 260-1.

⁹³ Geoffrey Ridsill Smith, *Without Touch of Dishonour: The Life and Death of Sir Henry Slingsby* (Kineton, 1968), p. 62.

⁹⁴ HMC, *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS* (London, 1879), p. 84.

And truly, I suppose that if there were for the sicke a Sanctuarie, during their abode there,... with also a lycense for the sicke, to eate fleshe at all tymes, and a fryday market weekely, and two fayres yeerely, it should be to the posterities, not onely commodiouse, but also to the Prince great honour & gayne.⁹⁵

The following year, in Bath, the civic authorities were given permission to gather alms all over England and Wales for the building of a new church and ‘the enlarging and bettering of St John’s hospital there’.⁹⁶ By 1581, the corporation was farming out the ever more lucrative job of Keeper of the Baths. In that year, Anthony Lovell paid 20s. for the privilege, a price which had doubled by the later 1580s.⁹⁷ ‘What cost of late hath beene bestowed upon these baths by diverse of the nobilitie, gentry, communalitie, and cleargie, it lieth not in men to declare’, exclaimed Holinshed in 1587.

yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garnished with sundrie curious peeces of workemanship, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the ease and benefit of such as resort unto them; but also better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie provision made for such povertie as dailie repaireth thither.⁹⁸

In 1621, the owner of the land on which Epsom’s springs were located enclosed the well with a wall and ‘erected a shed for the convenience of sick persons who resorted thither’. By 1640, Epsom was getting visitors from as far away as France and Germany.⁹⁹ The upkeep and general good order of the baths, as well as the amenities provided by the associated towns, was becoming more and more important.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Jones, *Buckstones*, fol. 2v.

⁹⁶ *CPR*, 13 April 1573.

⁹⁷ Haddon, *Bath*, p. 72.

⁹⁸ Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 216.

⁹⁹ Edward Wedlake Brayley, *A Topographical History of Surrey* (5 vols., Dorking, 1841-48), iv, 354.

¹⁰⁰ For more civic improvements, see *CSPD*, 25 April 1621, *CSPD*, 26 February 1623; *APC*, 13 June, 1573; *The Accounts of the Chamberlains of the City of Bath, 1568-1602*, ed. F.D. Wardle (Somerset Record Soc., xxxviii, 1923), pp. xii-xiii, 6-13, 44, 55, 71, 75, 85, 105, 130.

IV – ‘not fetch’t so farre’

If the growing popularity of English baths and spa resorts can be read as a sort of embryonic beginning of a domestic leisure industry, and, indeed, a conscious response, in the minds of some contemporaries, to the popularity of the Ardennes Spa, then we may have raised an interesting question. Was the active interest in promoting domestic spas as potential rivals to their Low Countries counterpart an isolated phenomenon, or was it part of a larger project? Were any serious and systematic attempts being made to lure young gentlemen away from taking a tour abroad? The answer to this question is inconclusive but interesting.

In 1617, Joseph Hall wondered aloud whether the ‘Gentilitie’ that so many youngsters travelled abroad for ‘perhaps need not be fetch’t so farre’.¹⁰¹ Hall may have just been blustering away in his usual fashion here, but he may also have been focussing on a question that more and more of his contemporaries were beginning to ask as well. A chorus of voices could be heard, in these years, floating the possibility of establishing a full-fledged continental-style Academy in England, in order to teach young gentlemen the very skills that so many claimed to be going abroad to attain. In 1620, the House of Lords heard a motion by the Lord Admiral, that

forasmuch as the Education of Youth, especially of Quality and Worth, is a matter of high Consequence, that therefore to provide that such Persons, in their tender Years, do not spend their Time fruitlessly about this Town or elsewhere; his Lordship wished, that some fit and good Course might be taken for Erection and Maintenance of an Academy, for the breeding and bringing up of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, in their younger and tender Age, and for a free and voluntary Contribution, from Persons of Honour and Quality, for this purpose.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 40.

¹⁰² *Journals of the House of Lords*, iii, 36.

The proposition apparently went over well in the chamber, and a committee was formed to consider its merits.¹⁰³ Little came of these plans in the 1620s, but by 1648, Sir Balthazar Gerbier and Samuel Hartlib were hard at work making the idea of a Royal Academy a reality.

The purpose of the Academy was explained in the articles of incorporation: it would allow wards of court to have a 'fit breeding, and an education given them in England, which they had not at all but in foreign parts; where it proved costly to their souls many times as much as to their bodies', with the idea that 'our Nobility and Gentry might learn those exercises in England in their youth; and spend their money at home, rather than in other countries'.¹⁰⁴ The new academy would teach modern languages, modern history, comparative government, natural philosophy, arithmetic, geography, perspective, architecture, music, dancing, fencing, riding the Great Horse, drawing, painting – in short, everything that England's ancient universities failed to teach, and which had made young gentlemen begin travelling abroad in the first place.¹⁰⁵ Hartlib's friend John Milton told him directly that if executed properly and carefully, the work of his Academy would mean the nation would never again 'need the monsieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them back again transformed into mimics, apes, and kickshaws'.¹⁰⁶ And Gerbier himself made it clear that the aim of his academy was to free fathers from 'such charges as they are at, when they send their children to forrain Academies, and to render them more knowing in those

¹⁰³ *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England*, ed. William Cobbett (36 vols., London, 1806-20), i, 1200-01.

¹⁰⁴ *Collectanea Curiosa*, ed. John Gutch (2 vols., Oxford, 1781), i, 212-13.

¹⁰⁵ Sir Balthazar Gerbier, *The interpreter of the academie for forrain languages and all noble sciences and exercises... The first part* (London, 1648), pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁶ Milton, *Of education*, p. 569.

languages, without exposing them to the dangers incident to travellers, and to that of evil companies'.¹⁰⁷

But Gerbier's vision is only the most well known example of an attempt to keep youngsters at home by building an academy. Trinity College, Dublin, for instance, had been founded as a modern academy with very much the same goal in mind. Even as early as 1561, Nicholas Bacon had approached Cecil with some proposals for the bringing up of wards, including instructions in music, modern science, French, and temporal and civil law.¹⁰⁸ And in 1631, a licence was given to Sir Francis Kinaston to erect an Academy in his home in Covent Garden, 'which should be for ever a College for the education of the young nobility and other sons of gentlemen, and should be styled the Musæum Minervæ'.¹⁰⁹ Robert Iliffe has already argued for understanding the Royal Academy of the later seventeenth century as a xenophobic response by English gentlemen, and indeed some of the more embryonic evidence from the early part of the century would seem to support that conclusion.¹¹⁰

In fact, xenophobia, and old-fashioned English insularity, can be adduced to explain much of the early history of domestic travel in England. Whether in the form of John Taylor's wanderings and Edward Browne's adventures, or the development of English bath towns as a home-grown alternative to their continental counterparts, or even the very conscious effort made to establish a domestic academy for the training and

¹⁰⁷ Gerbier, *Interpreter*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ *Archaeologia* (Soc. of Antiquaries, xxxvi, 1855), pp. 343-4.

¹⁰⁹ C.R.L. Fletcher, ed., *Collectanea. First Series*, (Oxford, 1885), p. 280. See also pp. 280-3, which outline the subjects to be taught therein.

¹¹⁰ Robert Iliffe, 'Foreign Bodies: Travel, Empire and the Early Royal Society of London. Part I. Englishmen on Tour', *Canadian Journal of History*, 33 (1998), 357-85.

education of gentlemen, travel within the shores of Britain was often fashioned as a direct response to the popularity of the European tour.

Chapter 7 – Eastern Travel

Spas, baths and the development of a domestic leisure industry are not the only pieces of evidence that should direct us away from the instinct to file sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travel under the rubric of ‘the rise of the Grand Tour’. It is also worth looking at the growing number of early modern travellers who were beginning to stray beyond the relatively well-known and well-understood kingdoms and principalities of Europe, and onto more remote terrain. This chapter, therefore, will look at English travel to the East – particularly to lands ruled by the Ottoman Turks and the Safavid Persians.¹

The reluctance of scholars to grapple with the history of early modern English travel on its own terms was already discussed at some length in the introductory chapter. Unfortunately, the study of English travel to the Orient has suffered even more acutely from this tendency. Just as scholars have been inclined to treat English travel within Europe as the handmaiden of larger projects, so too has the subject of travel to the East tended to fall under the umbrella of two radically different intellectual interests, both of which have confined its relevance to a supporting role.

For a long time, the terrain was occupied by historians of commerce and empire – a group of scholars whose primary interests were the movements of English ships, and the growth of maritime trade. They traditionally touched on casual or curious travel only in highly parenthetical fashion, writing about the growth in travel

¹ This is in fact rather a large geographical area. All of north Africa (except the kingdom of Morocco), Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, as well as, of course, Turkey, were under the aegis of the Ottoman Sultan at Istanbul. Iran, Armenia, the Caucasus and the area around the Caspian Sea, as well as parts of modern-day Pakistan and Afghanistan up to Mughal India were under the suzerainty of the Shah, who had his capital at Qazvin. Mesopotamia (Iraq) was prey to constant boundary shifts between the two empires. India does not really figure in this chapter because almost all Englishmen there were traders and few left printed accounts of a descriptive nature. Fewer still went to China, and Japan closed its borders completely in 1600.

as not just a by-product of the mercantile involvement with Asia, but as an almost irrelevant subset. Boies Penrose, for instance, gave over only one of his 335 pages to ‘English sight-seers’, while E.G.R Taylor was barely more generous with twelve pages on ‘the Urbane Traveller’, which anyway was mostly about Europe.² R.W. Frantz, J.H. Parry, G.D. Ramsay, William Foster, John Parker, Kenneth Andrews, and others, though all important contributors to the history of commerce and empire, have treated travel in much the same way as Penrose and Taylor did, and are just as dated in their own way, being generally narrative accounts of the roots of the British Empire.³

More recently, however, scholars of a more literary bent, such as Stephen Greenblatt, have undertaken work focussed mainly on the analysis of text, and interested in decoding western images of the ‘other’, much of it inspired, in one way or another, by Edward Said’s landmark study *Orientalism*, published in 1978.⁴ While always acknowledged as ‘instrumental’ either to empire or to representation, travel to the East in this period, just like English travel more generally, has never been allowed its own autonomy.⁵ This is not to belittle the work of economic historians or literary scholars. But as yet, no one has undertaken to rescue English pleasure travel to the

² Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420-1620* (Cambridge, USA, 1952); E.G.R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography 1583-1650* (London, 1934).

³ R.W. Frantz, *The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732* (Lincoln, 1934); John Horace Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (London, 1963); George Daniel Ramsay, *English Overseas Trade* (London, 1957); William Foster, *England’s Quest of Eastern Trade* (London, 1933); John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire* (Amsterdam, 1965); Kenneth Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge, 1984).

⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978). Indeed, the rather vexed prism of ‘orientalism’ should not be allowed to colour our perspective too much. Kenneth Parker puts it well when he suggests that ‘stories of European travellers in the Orient in the early modern period are left out because such stories resist being fitted neatly into a model of cultural encounter that conforms to a colonizer/colonized model of the world, one in which Europeans can impose upon the peoples whom they encounter. The Orient does not fit into the category of “people without history”’: Kenneth Parker, ed. *Early Modern Tales of Orient* (London, 1999), p. 9.

⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1991). For other types of literary treatments of the subject, see Samuel Clagett Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose* (New York, 1933); Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveler* (Rutherford, 1986).

East from the confines of commerce or the limitations of literary criticism, or even asked to what extent the curiosity and interest that drove hundreds, if not thousands, of young gentlemen to travel on the Continent in this period might also have been responsible for the growing interest in travelling to lands further east.

Eastern travel must first be put into its appropriate context. It must be acknowledged that the rise of English mercantile involvement with the eastern Mediterranean in the 1570s and 1580s was the chief precipitant to the increase in travel to western Asia. With very few exceptions, the travellers discussed below made their way to the Levant by hitching rides aboard merchant ships, and often used the opportunity to access parts further east. The foundation of the Levant Company in 1581 was therefore instrumental in providing the opportunity for English travellers to sail to Turkey.⁶

Cultural watersheds also made the years around 1580 conducive to eastern pleasure travel. The sorts of people who might later have patronised great journeys to the Orient were, in the 1560s and 1570s, still receiving educations that were remarkably inward looking. Geography as a serious academic subject was a virtually unheard-of, and still thoroughly medieval in its content.⁷ And booksellers did not have much of a market outside of private patronage, limiting severely the extent of

⁶ The decline of Antwerp as a trading post was also important here, as was the signing of a peace treaty in 1580 between Elizabeth and Sultan Murad III that gave English subjects free access to all the Sultan's lands. For more on all this, see Ramsay, *English Trade*, pp. 34-40; Sarah Searight, *The British in the Middle East* (London, 1979), p. 16; Parker, *Books*, pp. 95-7, 102-3; Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution* (Cambridge, 1993), chapters 1 and 2; Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, 1978).

⁷ Parker, *Books*, p. 95. The putatively updated sixteenth-century 'authorities', were not of much use either. This unempirical approach to geography was actually rather slow to die out, and lingered well into the early seventeenth century, with works like Abraham Ortelius, *Teatrum orbis terrarum* (London, 1606), Robert Stafforde, *A geographical and anthological description of all the empires in this globe* (London, 1607), Edward Brerewood, *Enquiries touching the diversity of languages, and religions* (London, 1614), Pierre D'Avity, *The Estates, empires, and principalities of the world*, trans. Edward Grimstone (London, 1615), and George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole worlde* (London, 1636) continuing to hold much purchase.

exposure an adventurer was likely to get.⁸ But by the late 1570s this was changing, as elites became more interested in hearing about foreign lands. Francis Drake was preparing to set sail on what would become his circumnavigation of the globe, Richard Eden's star had begun to rise, with the posthumous publication of his *History of Travel*, and in that same year, Richard Hakluyt and others probably began giving the first lectures in geography at Oxford.⁹ In 1579, the first English translation of Marco Polo was published, that of John Frampton.¹⁰ 1580 witnessed not only the peace treaty with Turkey, but also Drake's triumphantly heralded return from his lap around the world. Finally, a growing number of Dutch travelogues were being translated into English in these years, providing useful fodder for Englishmen considering voyages.¹¹ In 1582, Hakluyt tried to interest Oxford in the establishment of a permanent chair in geography.¹² By the end of the century, Robert Hues was writing on globes, Edward Wright on mathematical geography, and Thomas Hood on instruments. English geography was beginning to come into its own.¹³

By the 1640s, scholarship in oriental languages, literatures, and histories had developed a critical mass. Antiquarianism was also proving influential, as Thomas Roe, the ambassador to Istanbul in 1621-8, picked off antiquities to send to Arundel and Buckingham.¹⁴ In 1631, Thomas Adams, a London draper, had endowed an Arabic lectureship in Cambridge, which was filled first by Abraham Wheelock, and

⁸ Parker, *Books*, p. 97.

⁹ Parker, *Books*, pp. 48-50. Parker calls Eden the 'first propagandist for empire'. Richard Eden, *A history of travayle in the West and East Indies* (London, 1577). See also Haynes, *Humanist*, p. 13; J.N.L. Baker, *The History of Geography* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 14-19, 89-90.

¹⁰ C.F. Beckingham, 'The Near East, North and North-east Africa', in David Beers Quinn (ed.), *The Hakluyt Handbook* (London, 1974), p. 188.

¹¹ For a complete list of all Dutch travel narratives translated into English and published 1580-1625, see P.E.H. Hair, 'Dutch Voyage Accounts in English Translation 1580-1625: a Checklist', *Itinerario*, 14 (1990) 95-106.

¹² Parker, *Books*, p. 96.

¹³ G.R. Crone, 'Richard Hakluyt, Geographer', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, p. 10.

¹⁴ Searight, *British*, pp. 70-1.

then by Edmund Castell.¹⁵ Oxford, meanwhile, had Edward Pococke, who compiled the *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, and brought back Arabic manuscripts for Archbishop Laud.¹⁶ In 1638, John Greaves began measuring the pyramids, and later became a distinguished scholar of Arabic and Persian.¹⁷ The first English version of the Qu'ran appeared in 1649, a translation from Du Ryer's French by Alexander Ross.

I – 'extreames are all my joy'

The assumption that early modern travellers would have seen as clear a division between 'Europe' and its immediate environs as we do today is a dangerous one. Certainly, it would be foolish to ignore the clear psychological barrier that existed in the minds of many travellers between Christendom and lands belonging to the 'Infidels'. Sir George Courthop, for instance, was loath to go 'out of Christendom' without his father's permission.¹⁸ However, this psychological divide can easily be overstated. For one thing, many of those who travelled to the East, such as Fynes Moryson, Thomas Coryate, and Arthur Hall, are well known to us for their continental journeys.¹⁹ There are also isolated examples in *APC* and *CSPD* of passports being issued for eastern travels. In January 1621, for instance, Peregrine Merrick of Leominster, was given permission 'to goe to Jerusalem upon a mart'.²⁰ What is particularly noteworthy about Merrick's pass is the fact that he is identified as a gentleman of Hertfordshire. Certainly, it is not inconceivable that his mission was purely a mercantile one, but his status does raise doubts. Another gentleman, Carew

¹⁵ A.J. Arberry, *The Cambridge School of Arabic* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 6, 11.

¹⁶ Searight, *British*, p. 82.

¹⁷ Sari J. Nasir, *The Arabs and the English* (London, 1976), p. 26. Searight, *British*, p. 84.

¹⁸ *Memoirs of Sir George Courthop*, ed. Sarah Lomas (Camden Miscellany, xi, 1907), pp. 114-15.

¹⁹ On Arthur Hall, see H.G. Wright, *The Life and Works of Arthur Hall of Grantham* (Manchester, 1919), p. 45.

²⁰ *APC*, 3 January 1621.

Davie, son of Sir Henry Davie, was given a pass to go to Constantinople in 1617.²¹ In December 1635, meanwhile, a safe conduct was granted to Alexander Annand, Robert Lesley, James Wardlaw, John Innes, ‘and divers others’ to go into Persia.²² These certainly are very isolated examples, and may not seem much around which to build an argument. However, given the fact that passports very rarely specified a country of destination, two or three examples is more than enough to indicate that travel to the East was not unknown. Moreover, when a country was specified by the passport record, it was almost always France or the Low Countries, which one would expect, given their proximity. Few travellers bound for the Levant would have listed that as their sole destination, making it even less likely that it would come up very often as a destination in the passport records. That it does occur at all is rather telling.²³

The growing popularity of the East as a destination can be seen in a number of more subtle clues as well. For instance, James Howell’s *Instructions*, first published in 1642, went through a second edition in 1650, identical to the first but for the addition of a chapter on Turkey – a strong indication that it was no longer inappropriate to think of the Levant as a part of the itinerary for ordinary travellers. Popular literature also gives a clue about the popularity of Turkey as a destination. The character of Tom Tospot in Henry Hutton’s 1619 play *Folie’s Anatomie* is mocked, among other things, for travelling into the Holy Land: ‘With Coriat he travll’d hath by land, / To see Christs crosse, the tree where Iudas hanged’.²⁴ Tospot

²¹ APC, 19 November 1617.

²² CSPD, 16 December 1635.

²³ Indeed, passport records, as ever, can be frustratingly limited in what they tell us about the destination of a trip. In 1636, George Fenwick received a pass ‘to travel into foreign parts for three years, with two servants’. This makes him sound like an ordinary gentleman-tourist going to Europe, but in fact, we know from *DNB* that Fenwick lived in Connecticut from 1636 to 1645, taking an active part in its colonisation. CSPD, 24 March 1636.

²⁴ Henry Hutton, *Folie’s anatomie* (London, 1619), fol. B1v.

represents the iconic traveller, and it is telling that Hutton did not limit his character's travels to the European Continent.

So to what extent can some of the themes discussed in previous chapters be applied to travel to the East as well? How relevant, for instance, are the issues of tempestuous youth and idle curiosity to this chapter? Most travellers to the East in this period can fairly be described as distractible, eccentric young gentlemen, given to precocious and erratic behaviour. Sir Thomas Herbert, who was descended from a wealthy Monmouthshire family, appears from some records to have spent some time at Jesus and from others at Queens College, Oxford, and from others still at Trinity College, Cambridge, but he never actually took a degree anywhere – certainly not unusual for a gentleman of his day. What *was* unusual was that he managed to secure permission, at the age of twenty-one, to join the embassy of Sir Dodmore Cotton to the court of the Shah at Qazvin. Cotton died en route, and Herbert continued to travel all over Persia for himself. Thomas Coryate was the son of the rector of Odcombe, Somerset. He also entered Oxford but, like Herbert, did not bother taking a degree – though apparently not for want of skill. Coryate showed an ‘admirable fluency in Greek’, and whilst on his travels taught himself Persian, Turkish, and Hindi. After going down from Oxford, he seems to have led an aimless life for several years, until, at the age of twenty-six, he became a resident eccentric at the court of James I. A few years later, he set off for Persia and India. Henry Blount entered Trinity College, Oxford, at the tender age of fourteen, and maintained a reputation for being unusually bright, but not very studious or learned.²⁵ He next read law at Gray's Inn, and then spent several years travelling in Europe. He followed these jaunts with a more famous one, his *Voyage to the Levant*, published in 1634. William Lithgow had already

²⁵ Haynes, *Humanist*, p. 36.

travelled in the Shetlands and Orkneys in his adolescence, and the rest of his life revealed him to be an inconstant man, given to outrageous flights of fancy.²⁶ George Sandys was the seventh and youngest son of Edwin Sandys, the archbishop of York, and matriculated at St Mary Hall, Oxford, at the age of eleven. Fynes Moryson was the son of Thomas Moryson, an Exchequer official and MP. Fynes obtained licence to leave England at the age of twenty-three, after receiving bachelors' and masters' degrees in civil law from Peterhouse, Cambridge.²⁷ He apparently would have left right away, but 'deliberation made by my father and friends against my journey, detained me longer... than I had purposed'.²⁸ So the image of excitable youth painted in earlier chapters is clearly applicable here as well.

However, there is an interesting added dimension to it. Many of the travellers who extended their trips to include Ottoman and Safavid territory were not only young men who claimed to be curious about foreign lands, but also young men who claimed to have a particular fascination with the remote and the unknown. These men travelled to the Near and Middle East precisely because it offered the chance to experience things distant and unfamiliar. It is easy to see how this idea can be collapsed with that of idle fancy, and it often was – both for those travelling, and for those disturbed by the travellers' passionate desires to experience the remote. For these travellers, idle curiosity, it seems, was best indulged a long way from home.

Travellers were usually straightforward in their introductions, freely admitting their fanciful addictions to the remote. And often such apologies were passionately stated. 'Extremely do I live', exclaimed Lithgow in the verse prologue to his

²⁶ *DNB* (Lithgow); also James Burns, 'William Lithgow's *Total Discourse* (1632) and his "Science of the World": a Seventeenth-Century Protestant Traveller's view of Europe and the Near East' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1997).

²⁷ Cambridge University, Peterhouse Old Register, MSS 377, 406, 420.

²⁸ Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary* (3 vols., London, 1617), i, 1. On Thomas Moryson, see *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1558-1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler (London, 1981), iii, 103. All other information from *DNB* (Moryson).

Delectable Discourse, ‘extreames are all my joy/I finde in deep extreamities, extreames extream annoy’.²⁹ Continental travel was becoming common enough that many felt that the Near East was a worthwhile subject merely for its refreshing distance. Said Herbert, ‘My other travailes into some parts of *Europe*, I could have troubled you withall, but I love not repetitions... I had rather goe farre to fetch it, and send you farre off, to disprove it’.³⁰ Nor was Herbert alone. ‘*France* I forbear to speake of, and the lesse remote parts of *Italy*: daily survaide and exactly related’, wrote Sandys, and began his journal in Venice. Interestingly enough, even parts of the Near East seem to have been gaining a ‘been there, done that’ status. Of the Holy Land, John Eldred said that ‘because many others have published large discourse, I surcease to write’.³¹ Similarly, John Cartwright, in the opening lines of his *Preacher’s Travels*, insists that, while he could have confined himself to the Mediterranean islands, and other areas ‘that are so well knowen to most of our nation’, he instead chose specifically to concentrate on ‘the more remote parts of the world’. He says that he had two reasons for undertaking the journal. One was to introduce his countrymen to Shah Abbas of Persia, who he thought might make a valuable ally against the Turk, and the other was ‘for that I have not yet seene any that hath made a full description of these parts, as they are of this day, which I hope shall be performed by my selfe’.³² Some of these apologiae sound not unlike those of modern-day scholars in their introductions, justifying their subject matter simply by invoking its unfamiliarity (indeed, this group probably had publication more consciously in mind than travellers on the Continent might have). Henry Blount asserted that knowledge was best gained

²⁹ William Lithgow, *A most delectable, and true, discourse of a peregrination in Europe, Asia, etc.* (London, 1614), fol. A2r

³⁰ Thomas Herbert, *A relation of some yeares travaile begunne anno 1626, into Afrique & the greater Asia* (London, 1634), p. 2.

³¹ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598-1600). (repr. Glasgow, 1903-5), vi, 9.

³² John Cartwright, *The preachers travels* (London, 1611), p. 3.

‘in observing of people, whose institutions much differ from ours; for customes conformable to our owne, or to such wherewith we are already acquainted, doe but repeat our old observations, with little acquist of new’.³³ ‘It seems naturall’, he wrote, that

to our Northwest parts, of the World, no people should be more averse, and strange of behaviour, then those of the *South-East*: Moreover, those parts being now possest by the *Turkes*,... I was of opinion, that he who would behold these times in their greatest glory, could not finde a better *scene* then *Turky*: these considerations sent me thither.³⁴

It was the mere physical, geographical distance of Turkey that urged Blount on to the Levant.

This proclaimed fascination with the distant and the unfamiliar was noted with derision by some critics, including, not surprisingly, Bishop Hall. ‘It is an humerous giddinesse’, wrote Hall, ‘to measure the goodnesse of any thing by the distance of miles, and... to neglect the neerest.... And if neerenes and presence bee the cause of our dislike, why doe wee not hate our selves, which are ever in our owne bosomes?’³⁵ Hall warned the ‘far-distant owners’ of India’s treasures to ‘take heed, least they go [too] far’.³⁶ He claimed, ‘I have known some that have travelled no further then their owne closet, which could both teach and correct the greatest Traveller, after all his tedious and costly pererrations’.³⁷ Hall asked pointedly where (or even whether) the fascination with distance would stop:

If he have smelt the ill-sented Cities of *France*, or have seene faire *Florence*, rich *Venice*, proud *Genua*, *Luca* the industrious: if then his thoughts shall tempt him to see the rich gluttonous house in *Ierusalem*, or invite him to *Asmere*, or *Bengala*, must he goe?³⁸

³³ Henry Blount, *A voyage into the Levant* (London, 1636), p. 1.

³⁴ Blount, *Voyage*, pp. 1-2.

³⁵ Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? a just censure of travell as it is commonly undertaken by gentlemen* (London, 1617), pp. 40-1.

³⁶ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 3-4.

³⁷ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 31.

³⁸ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 21-2.

And finally, in a moment of exasperation, he exclaimed, ‘And what if that mans fancie shall call him to the stables of the great *Mogol*, or to the solemnities of *Mecha*, or to the Librarie of the Mountain of the Moone...?’³⁹

Nor was Hall the only critic to express anxiety about travellers’ fascination with distance. Sir John Strode warned his son against particularly lengthy voyages, saying, ‘If one might beholde (as in a Glass) them that travayle in long Pilgrimages to the holly lande, and see howe many weary pases, they treade,... And then they returne the way they went, only enwise in this,... never more, to lift... their feete, so farr nor so forrayne’.⁴⁰ In 1655, Thomas Culpeper wrote, ‘I conceive, Wisdom to be none of those Merchandises, for which we trafick only in far Countries’.⁴¹ And George Chapman mocked those who thought that ‘the riding of five hundred miles... would make’am wiser then God meant to make’am’.⁴²

II – *Blount*: ‘come fresh and sincere to consider them’

This idle and curious fascination with the lands of the Near and Middle East, once admitted and expressed, would have to be put to some use. To this end, our gentlemen voyagers favoured direct, unmediated, empirical, and non-academic investigation of distant lands – or at least they claimed to.⁴³ This tendency to emphasise empirical immediacy was, as will be seen, a direct outgrowth of the playful curiosity with the remote sketched above. It was in their ‘true and faithfull accounts’ of the ‘habits and customes of the Mahometans’ that the curiosity of these young men was given full literary voice. And there was a strong connection in the minds of

³⁹ Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 21.

⁴⁰ Isle of Wight RO, MS OG/SS/1, fol. 83v.

⁴¹ T[homas] C[ulpeper], *Morall discourses and essayes* (London, 1655), p. 66.

⁴² George Chapman, *Monsieur D’Olive* (London, 1606), fol. F1r.

⁴³ I am grateful to Sonja Brentjes, who has pointed out to me the degree to which such claims can be read as a trope and should not be accepted too readily at face value.

travellers between idle curiosity and direct observation. Many argued that the best approach to dealing with the remote and unfamiliar was direct experience and unmediated personal observation, that the most appropriate response to distance was immediacy.

In Chapter Four, we saw how much emphasis was placed on the importance of the avoiding of one's own countrymen, in an effort to immerse the young man into a French- or Italian-speaking environment. Interestingly, this idea seemed to have some parallels in eastern travel as well. Though the aim was not as much the learning of languages in this case, there were some voices that argued for the complete avoidance of not just fellow English, but indeed any Europeans, in order to maximise the authenticity of the experience. The tireless search for complete cultural immersion, the belief that one has not been privy to an authentic experience if one has spent all one's time with other tourists, as we saw earlier, is not unique to our own time. And one traveller, Sir Henry Blount, typified this purist approach to the Orient more than any other. Blount boasted that he set off from Venice

with a *Caravan of Turkes*, and *Jewes* bound for the *Levant*, not having *Christian* with them besides my selfe: this occasion was right to my purpose, for the familiaritie of bed, board, and passage together, is more oportune to disclose the customes of men, then a much longer habitation in Cities, where societie is not so linkt, and behaviour more personate, then in travell, whose common sufferings endeare men, laying them open, and obnoxious to one another. The not having any other *Christian* in the *Caravan* gave mee... notable advantages:... I became all things to all men, which let me into the breasts of many.⁴⁴

And Blount's initial zeal did not abate. Much later in his travels, upon arrival in Egypt, he found himself faced with the heat exhaustion of his Christian fellow-travellers, who proposed returning to Jerusalem. Blount, however, was 'not so impatient of the Climate, nor loving company of *Christians in Turkey*', and was more than happy to let them go ahead, while he stayed on and 'presumed to receive a longer

⁴⁴ Blount, *Voyage*, p. 5.

entertainment'.⁴⁵ Blount placed a great deal of emphasis on avoiding superficial travel, and on the importance of close and intensive contact with the natives. He cautioned against 'a reckoning made in hast, and therefore subject to the *disadvantage* of a hasty view, that is, to over-slip many things, and to see the rest but *superficially*'.⁴⁶

Blount was certainly not alone in expressing these views. Francis Bacon, for instance, felt that the traveller should create as many opportunities as possible to familiarise himself with the surroundings. 'When he stayeth in one City or Towne, let him change his Lodging, from one End and Part of the Towne, to another; which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance', he wrote in his essay 'On Travel'.⁴⁷ John Cartwright proudly proclaimed that he 'spent much time in those Countries, being familiarly conversant (to helpe my knowledge herein) with many *Sultanes*, and principall Commanders in the Kingdome of *Persia*, as also divers *Ianizaries*'.⁴⁸ Intimate proximity with the subject was becoming increasingly desirable as the starting point for observation.

But for Blount, his curious and empirical approach, his belief in direct experience and immediate observation, seemed to imply, indeed even inspire, a genuinely open-minded relativism. In his *Voyage to the Levant*, published in 1636, he made a series of statements that might surprise even the post-modern reader with their freshness. Blount began his book with an explanation of his reasons for going to Turkey, the first of which was as follows:

First, to observe the Religion, Manners, and policie of the *Turkes*, not perfectly (which were a taske for an inhabitant rather then a passenger,) but to satisfie this scruple, (to wit) whether to an unpartiall conceit, the *Turkish* way appear absolutely barbarous, as we are

⁴⁵ Blount, *Voyage*, pp. 37-8.

⁴⁶ Blount, *Voyage*, p. 61.

⁴⁷ Francis Bacon, *Essays*, pp. 102-3.

⁴⁸ Cartwright, *Preachers travels*, p. 3.

given to understand, or rather another kinde of civilitie, different from ours but no lesse pretending.⁴⁹

Here Blount places emphasis on the importance of deep involvement with a foreign culture, even going to the unusual extreme of admitting the shortcomings of travel, which he says is necessarily superficial. But his extraordinary conviction is that, by observation and direct involvement, he hopes to confirm his suspicion that this distant culture's differences are merely the product of an alternative worldview. Though Blount did not have the language to describe it in these terms, he was advocating an unmistakable cultural relativism. And he went on in this open-minded vein, recognising that the Turks could not govern a city like Cairo if they were truly useless beings, the city

being clearly the greatest concourse of Mankinde in these times, and perhaps that ever was; there must needs be some proportionable spirit in the Government: for such vast multitudes, and those of wits so deeply malicious, would soone breed confusion, famine, and utter desolation, if in the *Turkish* domination there were nothing but sottish sensualitie, as most *Christians* conceive.⁵⁰

He goes on to restate his desire to receive an 'ocular view', because

the eye having the most immediate, and quick commerce with the soule, gives it a more smart touch than the rest... so that an eye witsse of things conceives them with an *imagination* more compleat, strong, and intuitive, then he can either apprehend, or deliver by way of relation;... for relations are not only in great part false, out of the relaters mis-information, vanitie, or interest; but which is unavoidable, their choice, and frame agrees more naturally with his judgement, whose issue they are, then with his readers; so as the reader is like one feasted with dishes fitter for another mans stomacke, then his owne: but a traveller takes with his eye, and eare, only such *occurrents* into observation, as his owne apprehension affects, and through that *sympathy*, can digest them into an experience more naturall for himselfe, then he could have done the notes of another:...⁵¹

Blount's problem with related information is its false objectivity. He feels that only individual, experiential travel can compensate for the extreme subjectivity of written accounts. This passage also shows how readily one slips from that sort of concern

⁴⁹ Blount, *Voyage*, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Blount, *Voyage*, pp. 2-3.

⁵¹ Blount, *Voyage*, p. 3.

with direct experience, into a mocking of scholarship and the university, since it immediately follows with this amusing conclusion:

Wherefore I desiring somewhat to informe my selfe of the *Turkish* nation, would not sit down with a booke knowledge therof, but rather (through all the hazard and endurance of travell,) receive it from mine owne eye not dazled with any affection, prejudicacy, or mist of education.⁵²

And, having drawn together all the themes of subjectivity, empiricism, second-hand relation, and eyesight, Blount's next sentence delivers the *coup-de-grâce*:

...for the just censure of things is to be drawn from their *end* whereto they are aymed, without requiring them to our customes, and ordinances, or other impertinent respects, which they acknowledge not for their touch-stone: wherefore he who passes through the severall educations of men, must not try them by his owne, but weaning his minde from all former habite of *opinion*, should as it were putting off the old man, come fresh and sincere to consider them: This... was the cause, why the superstition, policie, entertainments, diet, lodging, and other manner of the Turkes, never provoked me so farre, as usually they doe those who catechize the world by their owne home;... for to a minde possest with any set doctrine, their unconformitie must needs make them seeme unsound, and extravagant, nor can they comply to a rule, by which they were not made.⁵³

The suggestion that a culture cannot be fairly understood until it is considered in its own terms is one we hear often in our own times, and one cannot help but marvel at the dramatic resonance of Blount's statement that the Turks cannot 'comply to a rule by which they were not made'. Nor are these the platitudes of a man searching for an original introduction. Sixty-one pages into the text, Blount writes that 'the most important parts of all States are foure, *Armes, Religion, Iustice, and Morall Customs*'. And, 'in treating of these', he says, 'most men set downe what they should be, and use to regulate that by their owne silly *education*, and received *opinions guided by sublimities, and moralities imaginary...*' The Oxford degree Blount had earned when he was sixteen had clearly not left him 'dazled with the mist of education'. Indeed he seems to have found it a mind-closing hindrance, and tried to escape what we might call its 'constructs', and form a more empirically based, and less fettered, judgement with his own eyes. 'I in remembering the *Turkish* institutions, will only Register what

⁵² Blount, *Voyage*, pp. 3-4

⁵³ Blount, *Voyage*, p. 4.

I found them, nor censure them by any rule, but that of more, or lesse *sufficiency* to their ayne'.⁵⁴ The direct, uninfluenced, empirical approach fostered by travellers' fascination with the remote, at least in the case of Henry Blount, led him straight into an open-minded tolerance.⁵⁵

III – *Babel's bricks and Adam's apples*

Our young traveller, of course, was not as impetuous as one might be led to believe from reading Joseph Hall and others. He might also be a recent graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, and have patiently spent two or three years being immersed in the classical curriculum. He had doubtless read some of the myriad travel advice books, as well as received written or oral advice from his fathers' friends, all of which urged him only to leave England's shores armed with centuries of biblical, classical, and medieval knowledge about the lands in which he was about to embark.

But, while he listened dutifully to their instructions, he was also at the vanguard of a new, less scholastic and more empirical, worldview. He set sail not only as a learned young man, steeped in the classical curriculum, but also as a curious young man, desperate to record the discoveries of his own eyes. Not surprisingly, though, his eyes often recorded nothing but bane and waste, and the overwhelming non-existence of the Near East of Herodotus, Pliny, or the Bible. He had come to record what his eyes would show him. But, unfortunately for the traveller, his eyes were lodged firmly into a head crammed with the ponderous authority of ancient texts, and it became the traveller's task to explain the discrepancy for the reader. And the explanation normally given, of course, was the presence of Islam or the Turk,

⁵⁴ Blount, *Voyage*, p. 61.

⁵⁵ It should be noted here that similar conclusions were reached by James Cleland, who, though not himself (as far as we know) a traveller, felt that the wise traveller should examine foreign customs 'truelie, naturallie according to their essence & utilitie'. James Cleland, *Ηρωπαίδεια, or the institution of a young noble man* (Oxford, 1607), p. 256.

whose recent entrances had obliterated a mighty past. The subject of the final part of this chapter, then, is the process by which the English traveller resolved a contradiction, and reconciled his eyes to his education.

The method of direct observation described earlier in this chapter was rather confidently applied to places that travellers knew from ancient authorities. As firmly as they may have been rooted in the knowledge given to them in the universities, there was a sense among some of the travellers that they were undertaking a new scholarly project, one whose foundations lay in their own empirical observations. They began to question, however tentatively, the dogma of received authority, believing their own eyes to be a more reliable authority. The places they had read about in the Bible, in Herodotus, in Pliny, in Ptolemy, and in the Old Testament, now stood before them, ready, not only to be beheld, but to be scrupulously examined, to be poked at and prodded at, to be diagrammed, even to have their physical dimensions measured or their chemical compositions analysed. And occasionally, there were moments of genuine optimism, when travellers enthusiastically confirmed that old and new approaches could coexist, and not yield contradictory results. Such cheerful optimism, though, was more the exception than the rule.

The scientific emphasis on direct, observational assessment, sketched earlier, was often applied to the fruits of their learning by the travellers when they arrived at a town or place mentioned in the Bible or in classical texts. In his travels through Persia, for instance, Thomas Herbert displayed both a definite belief in scientific approach and a strong concern with biblical and classical antiquity. His work was filled with tables and lists and encyclopaedic information. There was even a primitive Persian-English phrasebook, an explanation of the alphabet, and a list of Persian kings

since antiquity.⁵⁶ And this scientific approach particularly informed his view of ancient locales. Passing through the ancient country of Susiana (Khuzestan), onetime land of the Elamites, Herbert arrives at its capital, Susa (Shushan), where he descends into an extraordinarily detailed and scientific explanation of why he thinks Susa to have been the location of the garden of Eden. He proposes that the four rivers of Paradise were actually the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Araxis, and the Indus. He then gives a table of distances to support his point.⁵⁷ John Cartwright also entered the debate on the location of Eden, purporting to lay to rest speculation that it was to be found in the sky, rather than in Mesopotamia, where it had always been.⁵⁸ Cartwright's Eden is 'in circuit ten English miles'.⁵⁹ He goes on for several pages in this vein, making many references to the Bible, and then visually dissecting their physical remains. He claims to have come across the remains of the Tower of Babel, the story of which he retells. He then gives a scrupulous-sounding description of the tower, which he says is 'a quarter of a mile in compasse', and comments on its physical and chemical make-up, saying that it is made of 'burnt bricke cimented and joyned with bituminous mortar, to the end, that it should not receive any cleft in the same. The bricke are three quarters of a yard in length, and a quarter in thicknesse'.⁶⁰ John Eldred engaged in a similar analysis, but said the bricks were half a yard thick.⁶¹ William Lithgow undertook an equally rigorous scrutiny of the Euphrates river, arguing that it had changed course over time, and that it was composed of many streams, making it impossible to ascertain the exact location of Eden.⁶²

⁵⁶ An especially peculiar quiddity in the list of names of shahs is the sixth one down from the top, a certain 'Fraydhun, from whom descend the *Sacæ*, *Saxons*, and Englishmen'.

⁵⁷ Herbert, *Relation*, pp. 141-4.

⁵⁸ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 95.

⁵⁹ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 91.

⁶⁰ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, pp. 99-100.

⁶¹ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, vi, 5.

⁶² Lithgow, *Peregrination*, fol. L3r-v.

George Sandys' discussion of the river Nile was typical of this kind of approach to ancient learning, as was Sandys' work in general. While he engaged in rather complicated explanations of the floodtides of the Nile, it was clear that his interest in the river was initially sparked by antiquity, as he peppered his pages with references to the Hebrew and ancient Greek 'authorities', Anaxagoras, Aeschylus, Euripedes and others.⁶³ This indeed is the tone of the entire *Relation*, as every imaginable place of biblical or classical significance comes under the thorough and exacting scrutiny of Sandys' empirical mind.

Coryate's apologist Hermann Kirchner also argued that ancient places should come under empirical investigation. 'What I pray you is more pleasant, more delectable, and more acceptable unto a man', he asked, 'then to behold the height of hills, as it were the very Atlantes themselves of heaven? to admire *Hercules* his pillars? to see the mountains Taurus and Caucasus?' He goes on and on with a list of classical locations, many of them in western Asia. 'The place where *Noahs* Arke stood after the deluge: there where God himselfe dwelt', and so on and so forth listing rhetorically the settings of countless biblical stories.⁶⁴

Fynes Moryson was similarly given to subjecting received wisdom to empirical investigation. In his description of Jerusalem, he made it very clear that he had no intention of visiting the holy city as a pilgrim. Rather, it was his intention to confirm whether what was set down in the Bible could withstand visual scrutiny. 'For many monuments', he writes, 'the scripture gives credit to them, and it is not probable... that any apparent fictions could be admitted [in the Bible]: as on the contrary, it is most certaine that some superstitious inventions... have in time attained,

⁶³ George Sandys, *A relation of a journey* (London, 1615), pp. 92-8.

⁶⁴ Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities; hastily gobled up in five moneths travels* (London, 1611), fol. C6r.

to be reputed true, and religiously to be beleaved'.⁶⁵ His intention, then, was to wipe away centuries of embellishment and popular myth, and to employ only the revelations of his own eyes to verify the Holy Scripture. Indeed, he became very scientific when he suggested that 'he that conferres the situation of the City and of the monuments, with the holy Scriptures, and with the old ruines of *Rome*, and other Cities, shall easily discern what things are necessarily true or false, and what are more or less probable'. Moryson is here advocating a form of intellectual carbon dating, by suggesting that the traveller perform an empirical comparison of the ruins of Jerusalem and the ruins of Rome and other cities, to determine the age of the stones.

The empirical approach was often applied to classical learning with great confidence. There was a feeling, often not very subtly stated, that a new scholarly enterprise was underway. 'Although *Josephus* witnesseth, that in his time', a golden apple grew on the banks of the Jordan, wrote Lithgow, 'yet I affirme now the contrary'.⁶⁶ And on the Dead Sea, Lithgow again averred that 'Divers Authors have reported, that nothing will sinke into it, but by experience I approve the contrary'.⁶⁷ Cartwright wrote that 'after two daies travell from *Com* [Qum], we arrived at *Cassan* [Kashan] a principall Citie in *Parthia*; very famous and rich howsoever *Ortelius*, and others make no mention of it'.⁶⁸ The clear reference was to Abraham Ortelius, the Dutch geographer who, although contemporary, was still dependent on medieval patterns of thought. Ortelius was again mocked as outdated by John Gyfford, another of Coryate's panegyrists.

*Munster*⁶⁹ put up thy Pen, thou art put downe

⁶⁵ Moryson, *Itinerary*, i, 217-18.

⁶⁶ Lithgow, *Peregrination*, fol. P2r.

⁶⁷ Lithgow, *Peregrination*, fol. P2v.

⁶⁸ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 58.

⁶⁹ Sebastian Münster, who did a revised edition of Ptolemy at Basel in 1540.

By *Odcombs* issue⁷⁰; then *Combe* his crowne:
 Or stroke him or the head for shewing thee
 Each Gallows hid in thy *Cosmographie*.
Pomponius Mela,⁷¹ and *Ortelius*,
 Nay, *Plinie*, with thy bookes voluminous
 Goe, get ye gone, lowly too him fall;
 For his now Goose-quill farre out-flies yee all.

All these people were examples of geographers trapped in the older, less empirical style of geography. And Gyfford was very clear about why Coryate had achieved such a worthy revision of their works:

For he is more particular by ods
 In his descriptions, nay, he turns the clods
 Of every soyle to see what underlies,
 And that expresseth, be it wormes or flies...
 If neere his walke (nay though farre off it lay)
 But too't he went, and doth the same display.⁷²

It is simply because the travelling Coryate is willing to put in the extra effort to know his subject intimately, says Gyfford, that he succeeds in improving on the academic geographers stuck in their studies. 'Thomas Bastard' avers that

The like of things as thou hast noted,
 Nor is, nor was, nor shall be quoted.
 Nor in the chanting Poets theames,
 Nor in the wisest sickmens dreams:
 Nor in the books of *Bacon* Friar:
 Nor in *Herodotus* the lyar.⁷³

And William Austin adds that 'The famous booke of *Mandevill* Tell not of things so strange and evill', referring to the medieval eastern traveller, John Mandeville.⁷⁴ Not surprisingly, the popularity of this anti-scholastic line of thinking in English travellers to the East also evoked a certain amount of hostility in contemporary commentators, who felt that the traditional authorities were not getting treated with the respect that was due to them. In 1656, Francis Osborn wrote in his published travel advice

⁷⁰ Coryate was from Odcombe, in Somerset.

⁷¹ Pomponius' geographic compendium was published in 1585.

⁷² Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. F4r.

⁷³ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. G1v-G2r.

⁷⁴ Coryate, *Crudities*, fol. G6v.

manual, *Advice to a Son*, that it was not worth bothering to go all the way to Jerusalem simply to make an ‘uncertaine discovery of the places famed for Christ’s Death and Buriall’. Osborn felt it was simply not worth the hassle of the trip, saying, ‘I advise you to believe rather what you may read in your Studie, then goe thither to disprove it’.⁷⁵

Not everyone felt that traditional book knowledge of biblical and classical antiquity and the rigours of empirical observation were destined to be such diametrical opposites. Every now and then, there was an optimistic sense that the old and new ways of understanding the east would yield complementary results. Blount found that, at least in Alexandria, his eyesight did not contradict the ancient authorities. The city ‘beares yet the Monuments of its ancient glory: Pillars in great number, and Size both above ground and below, most of *Porphyry* and other *Marble* as firme’.⁷⁶ James Howell wrote that ‘Books... are likewise good Teachers,... yet the study of living men, and a collation of his own *Optique* observations and judgement with theirs, work much more strongly’. But Howell felt optimistically that ‘where these meet (I mean the living and the dead) they perfect. And indeed’, he went on, ‘this is the prime use of *Peregrination*, which therefore may be not improperly called a *moving Academy*, or the true *Peripatetique Schoole*’.⁷⁷ Fynes Moryson triumphantly declared of Jerusalem that ‘it will notoriously appeare, that the Citie is now seated in the same place, in which it flourished when our Saviour lived there in the flesh’. Indeed, Moryson refuses to ‘bee so wicked or so blockish, as not to beleeeve the holy Scriptures, or that which I did see with these eyes’.⁷⁸ The two mechanisms work in

⁷⁵ Francis Osborne, *Advice to a son* (London, 1656), pp. 86-7.

⁷⁶ Blount, *Voyage*, pp. 33-4.

⁷⁷ James Howell, *Instructions for forreine travell* (London, 1642), pp. 7-8.

⁷⁸ Moryson, *Itinerary*, i, 218.

tandem for Moryson and Howell, and there is no inconsistency. But such concord was rare.

Far more common was the conclusion that there was some gaping discrepancy between the authoritative version of antiquity supplied by the Bible and classical authors, and the landscape as seen directly through the eyes of the traveller. Thomas Herbert was aware of the mighty empire of the ancient Persians, almost from the minute he disembarked at Hormuz. He cites an old rhyme, 'If all the World were but a Ring, *Ormus* the Diamond should bring', but says that it's now a 'poore place'.⁷⁹ After several days travel, Herbert arrives at Persepolis, the capital of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and the Persian Empire. He sketches the history, making ample mention of Alexander the Great, then says, 'But how time has demolisht her glory, as most of all the Wonders of the World, how she lies now subiected'.⁸⁰ Upon arrival at Tabriz, formerly Ecbatana, Herbert remarks that '*Taurus* is now a Citie both great and famous, yet incomparable to what shee was in *Ecbatans* time', and insists that it is 'comparable to *Ecbatan* neither in beauty nor greatnesse'.⁸¹

Nor was Herbert alone in his sentiments. Thomas Coryate was similarly dismayed by Tabriz. '*Ecbatana*, the sommer seate of *Cyrus* his Court, a City eftsoone mentioned in the Scripture, now called *Tauris*, more wofull ruines of a City... never did mine eies beholde'.⁸² John Cartwright mentioned other writers who 'have written of the most stately and magnificent Empire of the *Medes* and *Persians* in times past, and so have compared it, with the moderne and present state thereof; which hath scarce a shadow of the antique Government, wherewith it was then ruled and

⁷⁹ Herbert, *Relation*, p. 46.

⁸⁰ Herbert, *Relation*, p. 57.

⁸¹ Herbert, *Relation*, pp. 116-7.

⁸² Coryate, *T. Coriate traveller for the English wits: greeting from the Court of the great Mogul* (London, 1616), p. 12.

governed'.⁸³ At times, especially when dealing with holy lands occupied by the Turks, Cartwright was merciless:

...the people among whom our Saviour himself conversed, at what time his beautiful steps honoured this world, with those churches in *Grecia*, which his apostles so industriously planted, so carefully visited, so tenderly cherished, instructed and confirmed by so many peculiar Epistles, and for whom they sent up so many fervent prayers, are now become a cage of unclean birds: filthy spirits do possess them.⁸⁴

Sandys commented on Alexandria, 'such was this Queene of Cities and Metropolis of *Africa*: but... now hath nothing left her but ruines; and those ill witnesses of her perished beauties'.⁸⁵ This comes on the heels of pages and pages on the ancient history of Alexandria. William Lithgow found the famed cedars of Lebanon disappointingly lacking:

When we arrived to the place where the Cedars grew, we saw but 24 of all... Although that in the dayes of *Salomon*, this mountaine was over-clad with forests of Cedars, yet now there are but only these...⁸⁶

Anthony Sherley was equally disappointed by Mesopotamia, noting that '*Ninivy* [Nineveh] (that which God himselfe calleth that great City) hath not one stone standing, which may give the memory of being a Towne', and that 'All the ground on which *Babylon* was spread, is left now desolate'.⁸⁷ Upon landing on Cyprus, he complained of Paphos that 'we found nothing to answer the famous relations given by ancient Histories of the excellency of that Iland, but the name onely... So deformed is the state of that Noble Realme'.⁸⁸ But the most succinct statement came from one Henry Timberlake, who was actually on a pilgrimage, and thus strictly speaking outside the bounds of this study. Timberlake's pithy observation on

⁸³ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, fol. A3r.

⁸⁴ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 73.

⁸⁵ Sandys, *Relation*, p. 114.

⁸⁶ Lithgow, *Peregrination*, fol. L2r.

⁸⁷ Anthony Sherley, *Sir A. Sherley his relation of his travels into Persia* (London, 1613), p. 21.

⁸⁸ Sherley, *Persia*, p. 6.

Jerusalem could just as easily have come from the mouth of any traveller. ‘*Terra Sancta, è no mais*’, he lamented.⁸⁹

IV – *New looks and old books*

How, then, did the English traveller explain these staggering discrepancies to his readership? How could it be possible that old books and their own eyes – the two forms of epistemological authority so roundly advanced by them – might yield such contradictory results? The answer was quite simple: the presence of the Turk, the Persian, and Islam. Thus the people of the Ottoman and Persian Empires became, in the travel descriptions, the casualties of the travellers’ inability to reconcile two apparently authoritative ways of knowing the Orient. Some travellers were more overt in offering this explanation, and others less so. But all made it clear that it was the degeneracy of the Turk or the Persian that explained the gap between the results derived from equally important ways of understanding the East.

Some travellers did not mince words about who was to blame for the contradiction. It was ‘the inhabitants (who little respect Antiquitie)’, according to Herbert. They had ‘left nought but wals to testifie the greatnesse of that glory and triumph it has enjoyed’.⁹⁰ Herbert continued, ‘Halfe a mile from *Persepolis*, is a Towne of two hundred houses, called *Mardash*, whose inhabitants so little know or value memory, that they daily teare away the monument, for Sepulchres and benches

⁸⁹ Henry Timberlake, *A true and strange discourse of the travailes of two English pilgrimes* (London, 1603), p. 24. Timberlake’s account, incidentally, is the only surviving record of a pilgrimage made by an Englishman in this entire period. See also Laurence Aldersey, ‘The first voyage or journey, made by Master Laurence Aldersey, Marchant of London, to the Cities of Jerusalem, and Tripolis, &c., In the yeere, 1581’, in Hakluyt, *Principall navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation* (1589), pp. 181-2, for a similar assessment, made by a London merchant, of biblical lands gone to waste. Philemon Holland even makes a similar case about Rome, in his translation of Titus Livius, *The Romane historie* (London, 1600), p. 1346.

⁹⁰ Herbert, *Relation*, p. 59.

to sit upon'.⁹¹ Herbert makes clear that it is the Turks who have ruined Tabriz.⁹²

Lithgow, on finding the Lebanon cedars unsatisfyingly scarce, explained that 'the rootes of some of these Cedars are almost destroyed by Sheeheardes, who have made fires thereat, and holes wherein they sleepe'.⁹³ Sherley blamed 'the barbarousnesse of the *Turke*,... having defaced all the monuments of Antiquity...'⁹⁴

Coryate and Cartwright, meanwhile, adduced divine providence as a possible cause of the decay, yet made it clear that the Turks were the immediate agents.

Cartwright begins his work by telling the story of Pompey fleeing Caesar at Pharsalia, and Cratippus telling Pompey that God's providence was inescapable. Cartwright states that in his journal, it will be

principally shewed, how all humane affaires, and the greatest Cities of renowne have had their Periods in their greatest perfections; to which though they have ascended *gradation*, yet they have forthwith fallen into a retrograde of declination, till they have been brought to the lowest degree which misery can allot. For in this small discourse wee shall see how unavoidable destruction doth alwaies attend on the succession of greatnesse.⁹⁵

At this point, one can assuredly expect that Cartwright's work is going to show just that. But instead, we encounter him only four pages later, in 'Hamath', a 'City of great Antiquity, and very famous in the Scripture: for it was delivered up into the hands of *David by Toi*', saying that

it is much ruinated, and falleth more and more to decay... but... the great Turke will not have it repaired, commanding these words to be set over the Castle gate,... in the *Arabian* tongue: *Cursed be the Father and the Sonne, that shall lay their hands to the repairing of this place.*⁹⁶

And on the next page, Cartwright traces the history of Antioch, mentioning that it fell to Sultan Saladin in 1187, 'and so now at this day the splendor and beauty is

⁹¹ Herbert, *Relation*, p. 60.

⁹² Herbert, *Relation*, pp. 117-18.

⁹³ Lithgow, *Peregrination*, fol. L2r.

⁹⁴ Sherley, *Persia*, p. 6.

⁹⁵ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 2.

⁹⁶ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 6.

altogether Eclipsed by the Turkes'.⁹⁷ With words like, 'the treachery, the covetousnesse, the wrath, the cruelties, the impietie, the wickednesse of these triumphing Turkes', it becomes difficult to accept that Cartwright believed the ruin to be the result only of divine providence, and more likely that he felt it was divine providence *expressed through* the Turks. Similarly, Coryate writes on Tabriz that

when I serious contemplated those ereipia [ruins], the doleful testimonies of the Turkish devastations, I called to mind *Ovids* verse.

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.

And that of Hesiod,

Τα δε υπερτερα νερτερα θησται ζευς υψιβρεμετησ.⁹⁸

The likelihood here is that Coryate is just displaying his erudition. It is quite clear that he believes the 'ereipia' to be 'Turkish devastations' and not the work of Zeus.

Nor were Coryate and Cartwright alone in these beliefs. George Sandys wrote in the dedicatory epistle to his narrative,

The parts I speake of are the most renowned countries and kingdomes: once the seats of most glorious and triumphant Empires; the theaters of valour and heroicall actions;... the places where... Arts and Sciences have bene invented, and perfited; where wisdom, vertue, policie, and civility have bene planted, have flourished: and lastly where God himselfe did place his owne Commonwealth,... above all, where the Sonne of god descended to become man; where he honoured the earth with his beautifull steps, wrought the worke of our redemption, triumphed over death, and ascended into glory.

After such a dramatic build-up, we are left eager to know what came next.

Which countries once so glorious, and famous for their happy estate, are now through vice and ingratitude, become the most deplored spectacles of extreme miserie: the wild beasts of mankind having broken in upon them, and rooted out all civilitie; and the pride of a sterne and barbarous Tyrant possessing the thrones of ancient and iust dominion.... goodly cities made desolate; sumptuous buildings become ruines; glorious Temples either subverted, or prostituted to Impietie; true religion discountenanced and oppressed; all Nobility extinguished; no light of learning permitted, nor Vertue cherished; violence and rapine insulting over all....⁹⁹

There is little doubt who Sandys considered responsible for the decay.

⁹⁷ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 7.

⁹⁸ Coryate, *English Wits* pp. 12-13. The Ovid translates roughly to 'divine power plays around with human affairs', and the Hesiod to 'Thundering Zeus makes the highest of things into the lowest of things'.

⁹⁹ Sandys, *Relation*, dedication.

At the other extreme, of course, was Henry Blount who, though he believed the decay to be due to the Turks, took a far less judgemental tone. However, even Blount was unequivocal about their ultimate culpability. Blount characteristically begins by allowing that Constantinople may be better off under the Turks:

...in this losse, it may be said to gaine; for it is since at an higher glory, then it had before, being made head of a farre greater Empire: of old it was ever baited, by the Thracians on the one side, and Grecians on the other; but now it commands over both.¹⁰⁰

But putting this allowance aside, Blount, knowing that ‘*Egypt* is held to have beene the fountaine of all *Science*, and *Arts civill*’, sought to ‘finde some sparke of those cinders not yet put out’.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, of course, he was disappointed. Upon arrival in Egypt, he began searching for the Table of Isis, and asked three Egyptian clerics, ‘but found them utterly ignorant of all things not Mahometan’.¹⁰² Blount’s explanation for the gap between ancient learning and modern decadence, however, while still focussing on the Turks, is slightly more sophisticated than those of others. He explains that all non-Christian religions lose their appeal after a while, and the ‘Priests, like other Impostors, when their devices began to take but coldly, changed them’. It is these changes that caused a disruption in the transmission of ancient knowledge. Blount also admits that Turks are relatively new rulers, and that not enough time has elapsed since their conquests for learning to make its entrance. ‘As for other learning, it is like to insinuate; but by degrees’, he wrote. It must be given time, ‘for learning is not admitted in the beginning of Empires... and so weakeneth the Sword; but when once, that hath bred greatnesse, and sloth, then with other effeminacies come in letters’. Military stability must come before learning, and the Turks have only just established themselves. Blount, then, both explains the mechanisms by which learning has been lost over the centuries, and holds out

¹⁰⁰ Blount, *Voyage*, p. 24.

¹⁰¹ Blount, *Voyage*, p. 3.

¹⁰² Blount, *Voyage*, p. 49.

optimistically for its renewal under the Turks. He even acknowledges the difference between the invasions of the Turks and those of the ‘Circassian Mamalukes’. Either way, though he may be more open-minded than Herbert or Coryate or Lithgow, he still refuses to claim that it was anything other than the entrance of the Turks onto the scene that had ‘corrupted all the ingenious fancy of that Nation into ignorance, and malice: Thus is fayled that succession of knowledge, which by word of mouth useth to be delivered from one generation, to another’.¹⁰³

It is worth noting that, although Turks and Persians both clearly were faulted for disrupting the glory of the past, Persians fared slightly better in the travellers’ accounts. A greater number of places mentioned in the Bible were under Ottoman hands than under Persian hands in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Whether the greater kindness displayed toward the Persians was due to this, or to the large Ottoman military presence in southeastern Europe, is impossible to ascertain. But the possibility that it was the former and not the latter is one worth entertaining.¹⁰⁴

In fact, Persians were routinely compared to Turks, against whom they featured quite positively. William Lithgow wrote that ‘The Persians much differ from the Turkes, in nobilitie, humanitie, and activitie’.¹⁰⁵ Thomas Herbert believed that the ‘Turkes be not comparable to the Persian for magnanimity and nobleness of mind’.¹⁰⁶ John Cartwright’s tone changed abruptly when he left the Sultan’s domains and entered the Shah’s. He dwelt at length on the ‘peace & tranquillitie’ of the Persian villages, ‘finding every man at his labour, and neighbour with neighbour going from one towne to another, which bred much contentment, and made us wonder at the great peace & tranquillitie, which the commons of Persia live in above the commons of

¹⁰³ Blount, *Voyage*, pp. 49-50, 83-4.

¹⁰⁴ See Parker, *Tales of Orient*, pp. 20-21, for an interesting general discussion of the difference in attitudes to the Turks and the Persians.

¹⁰⁵ Lithgow, *Peregrination*, fol. K2r

¹⁰⁶ Herbert, *Relation*, p. 145.

Turkie'.¹⁰⁷ Though he had had nothing but ill words for the Turks, Cartwright commented on Kashan,

This Citie is much to be commended for the civill and good government, which is there used. An idle person is not permitted to live among them: a child that is but sixe year old is set to labour: no ill rule, disorder, or riot is there suffered.¹⁰⁸

He spoke admiringly of the Persian soldiers, and compared them with the Turkish ones, 'who for the most part are very rascall, of vile race',¹⁰⁹ and then spent three pages ranting about the necessity of a Christian-Persian alliance to defeat the Turks. In Persepolis, Cartwright admired Persian armour, calling it 'of much more notable temper and beautie, then are those which are made with us in Europe'.¹¹⁰

Cartwright devoted much of his adulation to the person of Shah Abbas (1588-1629), who, from all accounts, was very much deserving of his epithet, 'the Great'.¹¹¹ He elaborated at length about the king, who was 'verie absolute both in perfection of his bodies, and his minde,... excellently composed in the one, and honourably disposed in the other'.¹¹² The Shah was 'of nature courteous, and affable, easie to be seene and spoken withall', he was 'a most excellent horseman and cunning archer', and 'a most iust and upright Prince', and 'I have seene him many times alight from his horse, onely to do iustice to a poore bodie'.¹¹³ Cartwright had a particularly favourable impression of the Shah's government:

...he punisheth theft & manslaughter so severely, that in an age a man shall not heare eyther of the one or of the other; which kind of severity were very needfull for some parts of Christendome... So that since *Abas* came unto the crowne, ful twenty yeares & upwards, the *Persian* Empire hath flourished in sacred and redoubted laws,... abundance of collections coming plentifully in, the rents of his chamber were increased

¹⁰⁷ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁸ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 59.

¹⁰⁹ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, pp. 72ff, 77.

¹¹⁰ Carwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 85

¹¹¹ Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge, 1980), *passim*. It is Abbas who was responsible for the still-visible architectural renaissance of Isfahan, but he was also apparently a benevolent king who mingled freely with the people in the streets, and invited any subject to lodge his grievances with him in person.

¹¹² Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 64.

¹¹³ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, pp. 65, 67 and 86

more than ever they were in his Grandfather *Tamas* [Tahmasp] his time, armes, artes, and sciences doe wonderfully prosper, and are very highly esteemed.¹¹⁴

Most travellers to Persia had admiring words for the Shah. Anthony Sherley wrote that

he is both one of the mightiest Princes that are, and one of the excellentest, for the true vertues of a Prince, that is, or has bin... the fashion of his government differing so much from that which we call barbarousnesse, that it may iustly serve for as great an *Idea* for a Principality, as *Platoes* Common-wealth did for a Government, of that sort.¹¹⁵

Persia's distance thus enabled its inhabitants to become the beneficiaries of English travellers' tendencies to be more tolerant of things remote and unfamiliar. The long and turbulent history of the Turks and Christendom, meanwhile, meant that Ottoman subjects fared much less well.

Cartwright and Herbert are most useful for observing this phenomenon.

Cartwright, we will recall, had begun his narrative with the claim that he was going to demonstrate the decay of the ancient glories of western Asia. And he demonstrated exactly that, in relation to the Turks in Hamath and Antioch. But Cartwright's tone changed radically upon entry into Persian lands. And this change carried over into his analysis of decadence as well. Upon arrival at Tabriz, he cites Ortelius and discusses ancient Persia very briefly, then dismisses discussion of either, 'being all matters of antiquitie, and not so pertinent to our journall'.¹¹⁶ Antiquity not pertinent? One wonders what happened to Cartwright's prefatory concern with demonstrating the incomparability of modern people to their ancient forbears. Cartwright's next astonishing comment is that '*Ecbatana* now called *Tauris* remaines in great glorie unto this day'.¹¹⁷ And in Nineveh, he does not dwell on the ruined state of the ancient city. Instead, he just mentions it, and quickly passes on to giving its dimensions in

¹¹⁴ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 67.

¹¹⁵ Sherley, *Persia*, p. 29.

¹¹⁶ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 42.

¹¹⁷ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 43.

furlongs. He is still subjecting antique glory to empirical measurement, but for some reason, in Persia, he does not dwell on the baneful influence of the Persians. In fact (to return to Tabriz) he feels that, if the city *has* diminished from its past grandeur, it is due to Turkish, not Persian, destruction:

...that Citie, which was once so populous and so rich, sometimes the Court and Pallace of the Crowne, and the honour of the Persian Empyre, now subject to the furie and cruelty of the Turke plunged in calamitie, and utterly destroyed. This is the uncertaine state of the world, sometimes up, and sometimes downe.¹¹⁸

That last appended sentence shows that, for Cartwright, explanations drawn from providence do not conflict with what his eyes show him: that the Turks are the cause of the destruction. Herbert, interestingly enough, makes a similar claim in Tabriz. And again, in Isfahan, Cartwright notes that ‘the inhabitants of this City do much resemble the ancient Parthians in divers things’, especially in horse-riding, which occupies a great deal of his interest.¹¹⁹ He even claims that the Parthians were savages until they were conquered by the Persians.

It is very difficult to enter into a discussion of western travellers in Asia without touching on their attitudes to the people they encountered there, and the corpus of scholarship on the subject is immense. However, much of this scholarship tends to focus on the actual textual descriptions of the ‘other’ rather than on the historical context from which the travellers themselves have emerged. By articulating the very direct connection between the growing popularity of travel abroad among English gentlemen in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries more generally, and travel to the East in particular, we can unravel some surprising attitudes. For instance, we have seen how the connection in the minds of both travellers and their critics between what we have begun calling ‘casual curiosity’ and

¹¹⁸ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 45.

¹¹⁹ Cartwright, *Preachers Travels*, p. 63

the sheer distance of the East was often very clearly articulated. For the majority of travellers from whom written accounts survive, the emphasis on empirical observation was also part and parcel of their very personal desire to satisfy their own curiosities – and they regularly said as much. Therefore, it should not be surprising that our emphasis on the role of personal interest and ‘mere’ curiosity has led us into a discussion of subjects such as the debate between classical antiquity and modern scholarship, and the ensuing negative attitudes about the historical role of the Turks and Persians. Indeed, ‘constructions of the other’ is just one of many historical themes that can be better understood and discussed when the very human curiosity of the travellers themselves is allowed to become a more central aspect of the history of travel.

Conclusion

Chapters Four and Five of this thesis might have given the impression that our young travellers faced a daunting and immovable column of hostility from their contemporaries throughout the period under question, simply for having expressed a desire to travel abroad out of an interest in seeing foreign places firsthand. It would be a shame if we were left with the impression that this hostility was the only, or indeed even the dominant, response to the new phenomenon. Travel certainly had its admirers, and the ‘debate’ over the value of travel for the young was just that – a genuine debate. Scholars, including possibly this one, have been too willing to focus on the intense criticism that travel received in this period, but just as much can be learnt about perceptions of foreign travel from those who championed it. William Bourne argued in 1578 that ‘Travailleurs into other Countreies doo much profyte the common weale’, and that if no Englishman ever travelled, then the country would ‘become barbarous and savage’.¹ One anonymous author called foreign travel ‘the glasse of human mortalitie’, and noted that ‘Peregrination brought forth Contemplation and Admiration... from whence lineallie discended this divine ofspring Philosophy and all other ingenuous and liberall Artes’.²

In fact, the sour reactions of Roger Ascham and Joseph Hall should never be taken to stand as representative of all contemporary opinion on the subject of travel. James Howell, one of the most well-known and strident champions of travel, said he thought it ‘a kind of degenerous thing, for any gentile Spirit to sit still at home, as it were lurking in the Chimney corner, & be so indulgent of himselfe, as never to see the World abroad’. Howell considered it ‘an injustice’ that man ‘should be confin’d within the compasse of one poor tract of ground’, and insisted that ‘all generous and noble Spirits should take pleasure in

¹ William Bourne, *A booke called The treasure for traueilers* (London, 1578), fol. 3v.

² Bodl. Perrot MS 5 (‘A direction for a Travailer’), fol. 6

Peregrination; they should make truce with their domestick Affaires, ask their Parents blessing, embrace their Kindred, bid their Friends farewell, and shake hands a while with their own Country'.³ The traveller in Phillips Stubbes' 1583 play, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, can be heard saying that he 'who so sitteth at home, ever conmorant in owne place, knoweth nothing, in respect of him, that travaileth abroad: and he that knoweth nothing, is a brute Beast'. The character even compares the man who refuses to travel to 'one dead in grave'.⁴ John Heydon argued that 'travel filleth the man; he hath lived but lockt up in a chest, which hath never seen but one land', explaining that 'he that searcheth forraign nations is become a Gentleman of the world,...'.⁵ Heydon reminded his readers that they were only young once, and wistfully suggested, 'Bestow your youth in Travelling, so that you may have such comfort to remember it when past... the longest day hath his evening, and... it never returns again'.⁶ William Higford called foreign travel 'an Essential part of a Gentleman', adding that 'upon his dunghill, the English Gentleman is somewhat stubborn and churlish: Travell will sweeten him very much, and inbreed in him Courtesy, Affability, Respect and Reservation'.⁷

Men like Higford and Heydon and Howell may not have been able to claim that they spoke for all their contemporaries, but their sentiments were, undoubtedly, indicative of a growing confidence in a particular way of seeing the world. The words 'tourism' and 'tourist' have been used only very sparingly throughout the course of this work, and always in inverted commas. This has been the result of a very conscious decision not to prejudice the nature of the subject matter. However, it is worth in conclusion losing some of our inhibitions and asking a rather bald question: did the years from 1560 to 1660 see something that we could justifiably call the 'birth of English tourism'?

³ James Howell, *A German diet: or, the balance of Europe* (London, 1653), p. 3.

⁴ Phillip Stubbes, *The anatomie of abuses* (London, 1583), fol. B4r.

⁵ John Heydon, *Advice to a daughter* (London, 1658), p. 93.

⁶ Heydon, *Advice*, pp. 107-8.

⁷ William Higford. *Institutions or advice to his grandson* (London, 1658), pp. 83-4.

We could, if we wished, begin with a very rigid definition of ‘tourism’, recognising its provenance as being contained in the word ‘tour’, or ‘Grand Tour’. (The *Oxford English Dictionary* dates the first usage of ‘tourist’ to the late eighteenth century). If we choose to adopt this strict definition, then it is a somewhat uncomfortable teleology to suggest that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travellers were in all senses ‘tourists’ (or ‘proto-tourists’, as some historians prefer to have it), as it would locate their activities firmly in the terrain of an irresistible build-up to an inevitable Grand Tour. However, if we take a somewhat more generous, and more modern, definition of ‘tourism’ – the practice of travelling for pleasure, or, even more broadly, any form of travel motivated by personal interest and not serving a particular purpose beyond satisfying curiosity – then clearly we have been talking about tourists over the previous several chapters.

In the end, it must remain a matter of debate whether it is accurate to speak of the travellers presented in this study as the first English ‘tourists’. There is one thing, however, that I hope is less unclear at this stage. By isolating travel history as a distinct topic within British cultural history, as well as by moving the idea of natural curiosity to the front and centre, we have begun to see new lines of inquiry opening up. We have seen what this realignment of our priorities can reveal about attitudes towards curiosity and the ‘usefulness’ of travel and attitudes towards youth, as well as about a whole host of other important historical trends. It has also encouraged us to stop thinking only in terms of the ‘Grand Tour’ or ‘exploration’ or ‘educational travel’, and to begin to understand the complexities of early modern travel – both the fluidity of its borders and its impact on domestic social history. And, perhaps most importantly, it has compelled us to undertake the neglected but hugely important task of subjecting the passport records to a systematic and exhaustive analysis. It seems extraordinary that so many have written about early modern travel yet so few have even suggested that there might be some value in attempting such a quantitative (and,

ultimately, qualitative) exercise. Yet passport analysis is only the most obvious example of the kind of work that awaits us if we begin to think of 'travel history' as a legitimate field of scholarship. The several lines of inquiry gestured at by the various chapters of this work are by necessity only a beginning. They should serve to alert us to the exciting possibilities that can present themselves if travel history is given the proper and intelligent attention it so badly deserves.

Appendix: Date-to-Volume Conversions for Passport Records

As mentioned in the list of abbreviations and conventions, it has been the practice here to use dates to refer to records in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign*, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, *Acts of Privy Council*, and unpublished Privy Council Registers. Below, for ease of reference, are conversion tables for matching dates of references to numbered volumes of APC and PCR (the other sources do not use volume numbers). All dates are new style.

Acts of Privy Council (APC)

1 January 1560 – 31 December 1570	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 7
1 January 1571 – 30 June 1575	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 8
1 July 1575 – 4 August 1577	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 9
5 August 1577 – 31 December 1578	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 10
1 January 1579 – 30 April 1580	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 11
1 May 1580 – 27 March 1581	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 12
28 March 1581 – 30 June 1582	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 13
19 February 1586 – 27 March 1587	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 14
26 March 1587 – 29 March 1588	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 15
25 March 1588 – 31 December 1588	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 16
1 January 1589 – 31 July 1589	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 17
1 August 1589 – 29 March 1590	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 18
26 March 1590 – 30 September 1590	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 19
1 October 1590 – 24 March 1591	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 20
25 March 1591 – 30 September 1591	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 21
1 October 1591 – 30 June 1592	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 22
1 July 1592 – 31 December 1592	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 23
1 January 1593 – 31 August 1593	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 24
1 October 1595 – 30 June 1596	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 25
1 July 1596 – 26 March 1597	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 26
25 March 1597 – 18 September 1597	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 27
20 September 1597 – 29 July 1598	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 28
30 July 1598 – 21 April 1599	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 29
23 January 1600 – 7 December 1600	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 30
7 December 1600 – 2 January 1602	<i>Eliz.</i> , Volume 31
1 May 1613 – 31 December 1614	<i>James I</i> , Volume 1
1 January 1615 – 31 July 1616	<i>James I</i> , Volume 2
1 August 1616 – 31 December 1617	<i>James I</i> , Volume 3
1 January 1618 – 30 June 1619	<i>James I</i> , Volume 4
1 July 1619 – 30 June 1621	<i>James I</i> , Volume 5
1 July 1621 – 31 May 1623	<i>James I</i> , Volume 6
1 June 1623 – 25 March 1625	<i>James I</i> , Volume 7
27 March 1625 – 31 May 1626	<i>Charles I</i> , Volume 1
1 June 1626 – 31 December 1626	<i>Charles I</i> , Volume 2
1 January 1627 – 31 August 1627	<i>Charles I</i> , Volume 3
1 September 1627 – 30 June 1628	<i>Charles I</i> , Volume 4
1 July 1628 – 30 April 1629	<i>Charles I</i> , Volume 5
1 May 1629 – 31 May 1630	<i>Charles I</i> , Volume 6
1 June 1630 – 30 June 1631	<i>Charles I</i> , Volume 7

[continued as] Privy Council Registers (PCR)

1 July 1631 – 30 April 1632	PRO PC2/41
1 May 1632 – 30 April 1633	PRO PC2/42
1 May 1633 – 30 May 1634	PRO PC2/43
1 June 1634 – 30 June 1635	PRO PC2/44
1 July 1635 – 28 February 1636	PRO PC2/45
1 March 1636 – 30 November 1636	PRO PC2/46
1 December 1636 – 30 May 1637	PRO PC2/47
1 June 1637 – 28 February 1638	PRO PC2/48
1 March 1638 – 31 December 1638	PRO PC2/49
1 January 1639 – 30 October 1639	PRO PC2/50
1 November 1639 – 31 March 1640	PRO PC2/51
1 April 1640 – 30 September 1640	PRO PC2/52
1 October 1640 – 30 August 1645	PRO PC2/53

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