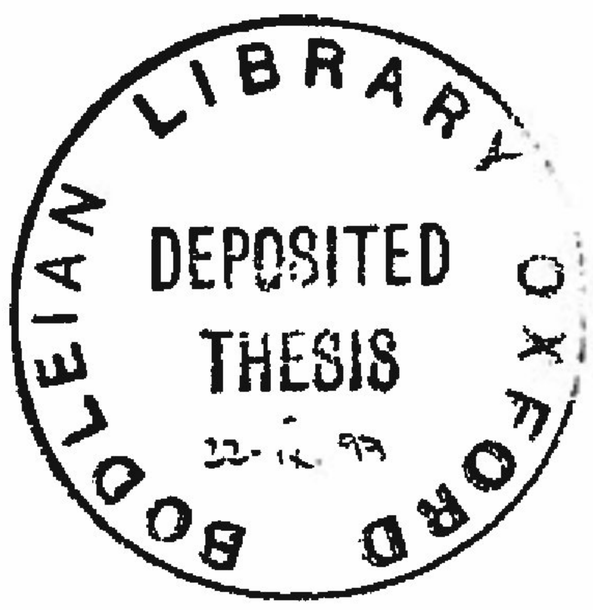
William Lithgow's Totall Discourse (1632) and his 'Science of the World'

A Seventeenth-Century Protestant Traveller's View of Europe and the Near East

James Robert Burns
Oriel College
University of Oxford

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ABSTRACT

William Lithgow's Totall Discourse (1632) and his 'Science of the World': A Seventeenth-Century Protestant Traveller's View of Europe and the Near East

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This thesis is an examination of William Lithgow (1582-1645?), and travel and travel writing in the early seventeenth century. Lithgow's chief work, The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations.... (1632), is notable for its outspoken treatments of Roman Catholicism in Europe and Palestine, its melancholy assessments of Mediterranean civilisation, its remarks on combined English and Scottish colonial enterprises in Ireland, and its 'eye-witness' descriptions of the Spanish Inquisition. The four main chapters of this study examine these episodes along Lithgow's itinerary and highlight characteristics of his self-presentation in each: Italy (Protestant/Catholic antagonism), the Mediterranean (tensions between the use of sources and first-hand observation), Ireland (responses to colonialism), and Spain ('fictionality' in contemporary travel narratives).

To establish the likely reasons and sources for Lithgow's narrative style, the thesis examines several calamitous events before, during, and after his travels; his religious upbringing and educational background; and his response to and adoption of other texts and generic models -- fictional and non-fictional, classical and contemporary, Catholic and Protestant. Unlike better-known English travel writers, such as Moryson, Coryat, and Sandys, Lithgow substantially rewrote and reissued his account twice -- the 1614 edition of his first journey was rewritten in 1623, then further descriptions of his second and third journeys were added to the 'Totall' 1632 edition. Changes to successive editions suggest his increased preoccupation with appearing as a divinely-countenanced Protestant pilgrim and with presenting his endeavours as the pursuit of the 'science of the world', or the careful compiling of first-hand observations and information from other sources. By focusing on his long-neglected work, the thesis examines how Lithgow refashions his narrative and his narratorial persona, considers the similarities and differences between the Totall Discourse and other works, and seeks to qualify the author's reputation as 'lying Lithgow'.

Preface

My acquaintance with Lithgow dates back to my M.Phil. studies and a paper I wrote on several early modern travel writers. Lithgow, far and away the most outlandish and the least studied among the group I examined, seemed a character fit for closer consideration, so I devoted my M.Phil. thesis to a study of his 1632 account. Almost three years later, as I struggle to conclude my D.Phil., I still find Lithgow a fascinating, if often frustrating, character. Much more remains to be said about him and his work. The thesis itself, with its varied approaches to several moments in the Totall Discourse and to issues surrounding the traveller and his life, reflects an effort to generate ideas in the face of little previous commentary and few comparative models. At times, my investigation may prompt more questions than it answers. Like Lithgow's account, it may also seem peripatetic. Travel narratives of this period are generally discursive, and I have had to fight against this seductive tendency in my own writing.

If the work sheds any light on Lithgow or contemporary notions of travel, then much of the credit belongs with those who have lent some 'direction' to me, including Jeremy Catto, John Stoye, John Elliott, Glenn Black, Brian Pullan, Andrew Hegarty, Daniel Carey, and the editorial readers at Scottish Literary Journal and Notes and Queries -- to name but a few. I owe my two advisors, John Carey and Robin Robbins, a great debt of gratitude both for their useful criticism and for their patience. If there are enlightening or well-argued portions of the thesis, then they reflect their guidance. Where there are mistakes, I am to blame.

Since I began researching this thesis, the person who first awakened in me a love of literature and history has died. I dedicate this work to her.

Table of Contents

Abstract ii

Preface iii

Table of Contents iv

Illustrations v

Abbreviations vi

Introduction -- Lithgow and the Totall Discourse 1
- I. Critical Commentary and Lithgow's Reputation 6
- II. Before and After the 'Painefull Peregrinations' 14
- III. Lithgow and Revisions of Place: The 1614, 1623, and 1632 editions 28
- IV. Lithgow in Italy, the Mediterranean, Ireland, and Spain 35

Chapter One -- Lithgow and Italy: the Beginning of a Protestant Pilgrimage 45
- I. Initial Readings of Danger in Rome 57
- II. Views of the Holy House of Loreto 68
- III. Playing the Learned Geometrician in Venice 90

Chapter Two -- Lithgow and the Way East: A Journey of Self Education 98
- I. Crossing the New Frontier: Lithgow's Passage to Constantinople 99
- II. Constantinople: Lithgow's 'prospect of that Little World' 125
- III. The Holy Land and Doubt 141

Chapter Three -- Lithgow's Description of Ireland: Poor Husbandry of Land and People 158
- I. A View of Horse-Tail Ploughs 174
- II. The Irish Woman Revealed 179
- III. A View of Irish Reformation 195

Chapter Four -- Lithgow and Spain: Inquisition and Agon 215
- I. Lithgow's Survey and Contemporary Attitudes 217
- II. Torture in Malaga 231
  - A. Sanctifying the Tale 234
  - B. Details and Fictionality 245
    - i. Descriptions 246
    - ii. Transcriptions 256
- III. True Account or Fiction? 266

Conclusion 275

Appendix A: Document concerning Lithgow's confinement in the Gate House Prison 282

Appendix B: Lithgow's poem to Eleanor 284

Bibliography 286

Illustrations

Fig. A -- 'The Author's portractures' by the ruins of Troy vii

Fig. B -- Lithgow in the North African desert after 154

Fig. C -- Native American Women with children after 182

Fig. D -- 'And here is the emblem of my misery.' after 236

Fig. E -- 'Loe here is the manner how I was mainly racked.' after 253

Abbreviations

(The following list includes only a few, commonly used conventions.*)

APC	Acts of the Privy Council in the Reign of James I...., ed. A.E. Stamp and J.V. Lyle (Edinburgh, 1930-34).
Bacon Works	The Works of Sir Francis Bacon.... , ed. J. Spedding, R.L. Ellis, and D.D. Heath, 7 vols. (1857-74).
Cal. Carew MSS	Calendar of the Carew Papers, preserved in the Lambeth Library, ed. J.S. Brewer and W. Buller (1867-71).
CSP Dom	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.... (1856-1924).
CSP Ireland	Calendar of State Papers, relating to Ireland...., ed. C.W. Russell, et al (1872-77).
CSP Ven	Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts...in the Archives and Collections of Venice...., ed. H. F Brown, et al (1905).
Jonson Works	The Works of Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford, P. Simpson, and E. Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925-52).
RPC	Register of the Privy Council of Scotland...., ed. D. Masson (1885-1898).
Lord Somer's Tracts	A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts...., ed. W. Scott, 2nd ed., 13 vols. (1809-15).
Spenser Works	The Works of Edmund Spenser, ed. E. Greenlaw, et al, 2nd ed., 11 vols. (Baltimore, 1966).
Wotton's Letters	The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton, ed. L.P. Smith, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1907).

*Conventions: Full citations of these and other works appear in the bibliography. Other abbreviations are standardised at their first citation in the footnotes. Generally, second and subsequent citations (especially of secondary sources) follow the format -- author, date, and page (and volume) number. Journals and common reference works are given their standard abbreviations. References to classical authors are taken from the Loeb/Heinemann editions, unless otherwise noted. Unless stated, London is the place of publication. In most primary source quotations, the lettering has been modernised: 'j' for 'i', 'u' for 'v', 's' for 'ſ', and so forth.



Fig. A -- 'The Authors portractures' by the ruines of Troy. (from the original edition of 1632, p. 124.)

Introduction -- Lithgow and the Totall Discourse

This thesis is a study of William Lithgow and some of the travels, experiences, and other factors that influenced the writing of his Totall Discourse of 1632. The introduction first presents Lithgow and his work, contextualises him among contemporary travel writers, and assesses his reputation and treatment among recent critics of travel literature. Evidence drawn from Lithgow's life before and after his travels, and differences between versions of his adventures published in 1614, 1623 and 1632, are used to correct or qualify certain objections raised in previous studies and to sharpen the focus of the present investigation. The introduction then outlines the main goals of the thesis, explaining the focus of each of the main chapters. These present Lithgow's descriptions of four distinct regions and examine specific issues which surface or hold special significance in his treatment of each place.

It is the aim of this study to establish Lithgow as a figure worthy of more careful and considered investigation by presenting aspects of his Totall Discourse which confirm its distinctive place in the body of early seventeenth-century travel writing. For its new contributions and the ideas it shares in common with similar works, the Totall Discourse merits closer attention than has been paid heretofore in surveys of British[1] travel literature. Moreover, Lithgow's unique narratorial habits, especially his idiosyncratic manner of borrowing and reworking the ideas of others, suggest his distinctive qualities and his awareness of previous travel accounts and other stylistic models. His efforts to set forth his

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[1]Throughout the thesis, the words 'Britain' and 'British' are used on occasion instead of 'Scotland and England' or 'Scottish' and 'English'. Although the two crowns were joined in 1603, the countries were not united until 1707. The expressions are used here for convenience's sake and when the argument concerns shared interests or institutions.

adventures as a singular and worthy endeavour further suggest some of the anxieties associated with travel and reveal the precarious generic position occupied by such 'true relations'.

* * *

Lithgow began his career as the result of a violent episode near his home in Lanark, Scotland, in 1604. His rendezvous with a well-to-do woman from the manor of Stonehouse was interrupted by her brothers and half-brothers, who pinned down the luckless suitor and sliced off his ears. A few years later, still burning with shame and indignation, but with his pockets filled with his inheritance and perhaps with compensation awarded by a local magistrate, Lithgow embarked on a series of ambitious travels which ended only after another violent encounter just over ten years later. After visiting much of Europe, the Near East, and North Africa, his efforts to reach the kingdom of 'Prester Jehan' were interrupted at the port of Malaga in Spain in 1620, when he was thrown into prison by the local governor on suspicion of acting as a spy for Robert Mansell's English fleet. Although cleared of charges of espionage, the hapless Lithgow was tried as a religious heretic because passages translated from his writings spoke derisively of the Virgin Mary's house in Loreto, the devotional habits of French pilgrims travelling to Compostela, the Pope, and Roman Catholicism in general. Over several months, he was put through a gruelling and humiliating series of interviews and tortures. Despite the Inquisition's sentence of death, he was released on Easter Saturday in 1621-- perhaps as a good will gesture during negotiations for a match between the Prince of Wales and the Spanish Infanta.

For Lithgow, body broken and spirit nearly exhausted, the months in the Malagan

prison brought his far-flung explorations to an end; but his travels had barely begun -- at least where his readers are concerned. By 1614, Lithgow had already made one foray into printing, drafting a brief account of his first journey (1609-12) through France, Italy, Venetian territories, and the Ottoman Empire (including much of Greece, the Greek isles, the Near East, and North Africa). The work was published by Nicholas Okes under the title A most delectable and true discourse....[2] After emerging from the Malagan dungeon and returning to England, he revised and published an expanded version of his first itinerary, to which he added a few remarks about his second set of travels and several pages about his ill-fated third journey.[3] What is most notable about this 1623 edition is that it gives only limited descriptions of these two later trips. Instead, it concentrates on further berating Catholics and Catholic forms of devotion in the context of Lithgow's initial travels. The reasons for this limited coverage will be discussed below. Only in 1632 did Lithgow add detailed accounts of his second (1613-15) and third (1619-21) journeys, including travels in Eastern Europe, Sicily, Ireland, and Spain, to create a final version of his adventures entitled The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painfull Peregrinations.[4] The 1632 revision is a

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[2]A most delectable, and true discourse of an admired and painfull peregrination from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affricke.... (1614). Afterwards referred to as 'Lithgow (1614)'. An 'enlarged' impression, with only minor corrections and a new dedication, was withdrawn by the Stationers' Company in June 1616 -- perhaps because the work had not actually been enlarged. It differs only in its pagination and print-type. See W.A. Jackson, ed., Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602 to 1640 (London, 1957), p. 356. On Lithgow's printer, Nicholas Okes, see P.W.M. Blayney, The Texts of King Lear and their Origins: Volume One, Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto (Cambridge, 1982), esp. pp 296-301, and Appendix A below.

[3]A most delectable and true discourse of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland... with certaine rare relations of his second and third Travels (1623). Afterwards referred to as 'Lithgow (1623)'.

[4]The full title of Lithgow's last account is The Totall Discourse,/ Of the Rare Adventures, and painefull/ Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Tra-/vayles, from SCOTLAND, to the most

worthy successor to the 1614 and 1623 editions, even more anti-Catholic in its tone and with a wider assortment of details and anecdotes relating to his adventures.

Although the Totall Discourse's claim to present nineteen years and over thirty thousand miles of travels through Europe, the Near East, North Africa, and the British Isles is misleading, in that it recounts only his three main journeys and a less arduous trip to Scotland in 1629, the work nevertheless describes one of the most ambitious overland itineraries of his day. Lithgow writes that the account is based on first-hand observations and experiments and that it serves to correct numerous old lies and to fill in gaps in received knowledge -- by a method he describes as the 'science of the world'. His pursuit of this 'science', as will be discussed below, opened the world to his highly subjective scrutiny. Sometimes he makes assessments that are more insightful and presents intelligence that is newer and more reliable than that offered by many of his contemporaries. At other times, his pronouncements are affected by the limits of his sources or his often prejudicial moral judgements. Certain details therefore seem scarcely credible, but the whole set of stories which comprise the enlarged 1632 account nevertheless cast Lithgow both as a formidable collector of political, geographical, anthropological, and scientific information in Europe and the Mediterranean, and as an opinionated champion of the reformed point of view -- one who, on behalf of his

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Famous/ Kingdomes in *Europe, Asia,* and/ *AFFRICA.*/ Perfited by three deare bought Voyages,/ *in Surveighing of Forty eight Kingdomes ancient/* and Moderne: twenty one Rei-publickes, ten/ *absolute Principalities, with two/ hundred Ilands.*/ The particular Names whereof, are Described/ in each Argument of the ten Divisions of this HISTORY: And it is also divided in/ Three Bookes; two whereof, ne-/ ver heretofore Published./ *Wherein is Contayned, an exact Relation, of the/* Lawes, religion, Policies, and Government of all/ Their Princes, Potentates, and People,/ Together with the grievous tortures he suffered, by the/ *Inquisition* of *Malaga* in SPAINE, his/ miraculous *Discovery* and *Delivery*/ thence: And of his last and late/ Returne from the *Northerne Iles* (1632). References to the Totall Discourse are taken from the 1906 edition by James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, and referred to by page number in the main text or as 'Lithgow' in the footnotes.

fellow Protestants, has proven himself able to discern essential moral truths, to withstand extremes of climate and temptation, and to expose the machinations of an array of worldly persecutors and liars.

The violent episodes which mark the beginning and the conclusion of his travels, and the curious array of anecdotes and observations which he adds to successive drafts of his narrative, are of signal importance for students of seventeenth-century travel writing and of British and Protestant popular culture in general. Lithgow's account helped colour the imaginations of contemporary and later English- and Dutch-speaking Protestants, travellers, and travel writers in their views of Europe and the Near East. Moreover, for the literary historian today, his work provides a useful lens through which to examine a variety of issues: the status of Scottish patronage seekers in Jacobean England; the attitudes of middle-class British travellers towards women, Turks, the Irish, and other 'Others'; early modern concepts of individual and national identity; the effects of violence and deprivation upon literary treatments of the self; and the influence of other literary genres upon travel writing.

The extent of Lithgow's contribution has long been underrated: not only is his account one of the first early modern descriptions of the Greek islands and the Near East printed in English, but he is the first Scot -- indeed, the first British traveller -- to record visits to Fez and numerous other North African sites, including the crossing of the Libyan desert. He is the author of an early poem in English in praise of a black woman -- dedicated to Eleanor, an Indian Negro slave who comforted him in the Malagan dungeon. He writes of meetings with infamous characters such as Verney and Ward, the renegade pirates, and Stephano Bogdan, whose infamous apostasy during Lithgow's visit to Constantinople nearly ruined the Levant Company and thoroughly discredited its ambassador. Likewise, Lithgow presents one of the

earliest English descriptions of coffee addiction (twenty-five years before the drink was introduced into England), and recounts first-hand observations of carrier pigeons, artificial incubation, and the sources and flow patterns of the Nile -- all subjects of interest and wonder in the West. More generally, he makes some of the most detailed and outspoken assessments of European and Near Eastern people and cultures of any traveller of his day. Barbara Lawrence, in her introduction to an abridged version of Lithgow's travels, calls the work a 'Baedeker with a moral purpose.'[5] In essence, this thesis examines how Lithgow's moral purpose, or his 'science of the world', develops from draft to draft of his work. So far, little has been done to analyse either Lithgow's life or his Totall Discourse. The thesis investigates several important influences and notable episodes in Lithgow's career, looking closely at changes in his writing style and outlook over time. Before considering several early and late influences upon his work and moving to a discussion of certain sites he describes in detail, it is important first to note what has and what has not been said about Lithgow and his endeavours.

I. Critical Commentary and Lithgow's Reputation

In various examinations of seventeenth-century travel, Lithgow's name and career are regularly mentioned, but most surveys pay him limited, often unfavourable, attention.[6] The

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[5]B.I. Lawrence, ed. Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations (London, 1928), p. 14.

[6]For general surveys of travel which discuss Lithgow and/or his contemporaries, see E.S. Bates, Touring in 1600: A Study in the Development as a Means of Education (Boston, 1911); C. Howard, English Travellers of the Renaissance (London, 1914); S.C. Chew, The Crescent and the Rose (Oxford, 1937); D. Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (2nd ed. Oxford, 1962), pp. 180-191; and J. Stoye, English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667 (New Haven, 1989). Most recently, Lithgow's work is cited in A. Mączak, Travel in Early Modern

best examples of this habit can be found in Boies Penrose's Urbane Travellers, which gives summaries of the careers of several early modern British travellers. Penrose abridges Lithgow's itinerary, gives a brief description of his character, and opts for limited critical evaluation of his work, typified by words such as 'absurd', 'unattractive', or 'blemished'.[7] Penrose offers legitimate criticism of Lithgow's sometimes infuriating prose style, which is florid, impenetrable, and bombastic by turns, but he makes little effort to critique other features of Lithgow's narrative. Although he accepts that Lithgow may have made a few unique observations, he does not bother to check the provenance of any of these. The few critics who have set out to examine particular episodes in Lithgow's career are not much more helpful. C.E. Bosworth has written several articles which give summaries of Lithgow's Mediterranean itinerary and identify some of the Turkish and Arabic words he introduces into English. Bosworth does not, however, offer useful criticism of Lithgow's narrative, the sources for Lithgow's ideas, or his relative reliability in comparison with contemporary writers.[8]

The only critic who provides a particularly sensitive analysis of a portion of the Totall Discourse is John Stoye, who offers a detailed study of Lithgow's Malagan troubles in his English Travellers Abroad.[9] Stoye's remarks are perceptive, but they do not consider the

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Europe (London, 1995).

[7]See B. Penrose, Urbane Travellers (Philadelphia, 1942), pp. 109-57.

[8]See C.E. Bosworth, 'William Lithgow of Lanark's travels in Greece and Turkey, 1609-11' Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester 65.2 (1983). See also Bosworth's 'William Lithgow: a Seventeenth-Century traveller in the Near East', Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society Memoirs and Proceedings 114 (1971-72), 5-26; 'William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in Syria and Palestine 1611-12', JSS xx (1975), 219-35; and 'William Lithgow of Lanark's travels in North Africa 1615-16', JSS xxiii (1978), 213-15.

[9]See Stoye (1989), pp. 271-77, and discussion in Chapter Four, Section III, below.

development of Lithgow's view of Roman Catholicism or changes in his Spanish narrative between the 1623 and 1632 editions. Thus he misses an opportunity to consider Lithgow's place in the evolution of British perceptions of Spain, as well as Italy and the Mediterranean. So far there has been no in-depth survey of even a significant portion of Lithgow's life or his writings -- except by James Maidment, a Scottish researcher whose work will be evaluated below.[10] By contrast, comprehensive surveys have been devoted to English travellers such as Thomas Coryat and George Sandys.[11] Critical studies of these writers often cite one or two of Lithgow's anecdotes and use them to draw slighting comparisons between the Scotsman and these and other English contemporaries.[12]

This ill-usage appears to arise from the adoption of an old and only partly deserved reputation about Lithgow and his writings. One component of this view is that Lithgow is an opinionated, unpleasant character who uses his writings to vent his bigotry. Such considerations will be discussed below. For now, it suffices to say that Lithgow's rough edges and the imperfections of his style should prompt interest in what brings them about -- a dismissive attitude does not help explain the psyche that produced such a work. As for the other component, it is best set forth by Maidment, who has set the tone for other critics by explaining that Lithgow earned the nickname 'lying Lithgow' or 'lying Will' for his habit of

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[10]J. Maidment, ed. The Poetical Remains of William Lithgow, the Scotish Traveller, M.DC.XVIII.-M.DC.LX., Now First Collected (Edinburgh, 1863).

[11]See M. Strachan, The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryat (Oxford, 1962); R. B. Davis, George Sandys: Poet-Adventurer (New York, 1955); and J. Haynes, The Humanist as Traveler: George Sandys's 'Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610' (London, 1986).

[12]See A. Parr, 'Thomas Coryat and the Discovery of Europe', HLQ 55 (1992), 581-85, and Haynes (1986), pp. 34-5. See also J. Friedman, 'A Critical Study of George Sandys Relation of his Journey to the Levant' (unpublished N.Y.U. Ph.D. dissertation, 1972), and M.A. Rogers, 'Materials towards an Edition of Geo. Sandys's A Relation of a Journey Begun Anno Dom. 1610 (1615)' (unpublished Oxford D.Phil. dissertation, 1975).

exaggerating his exploits.[13] Although Maidment goes on to challenge this notion, the nickname has managed to stick in subsequent surveys. Yet, except among contemporary detractors, who were often Catholics who disapproved of Lithgow's descriptions of Loreto, Compostela, and Rome, and in Sir Walter Scott's editorial notes for Lord Somer's Tracts, I have found no evidence of this nickname in Lithgow's day or in the first one hundred and fifty years after his death.[14] By contrast, it seems that he was looked upon in life and just after his demise as something of a hero -- for example, by James Wadsworth in an attack on Spanish double-dealing and by William Cartwright in a popular play of the late 1640s.[15]

There is little doubt that Lithgow embroidered some of his deeds and scrapes -- in fact, the narrative strategy suggested by such exaggerations, borrowings, and apparent inventions is one of the most important issues to be considered below. What is important to recognise at this point, however, is that most early seventeenth-century accounts are typified by a measure of plagiarism or outright falsehood. Modern critics, however, have borrowed the 'lying Lithgow' jibe to draw unwarranted comparisons between the Scotsman and his contemporaries, deriding his account without considering its relative reliability or the culpability of the narratives they themselves are discussing.[16] Notably, Haynes's survey of

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[13]Maidment (1863), p. xxi.

[14]W. Scott, ed. Lord Somer's Tracts (1810) iv, 534-45, esp. pp. 534-35.

[15]See J. Wadsworth, Further Observations of the English Spanish Pilgrime, Concerning Spaine (1630), p. 24. Also W. Cartwright's line: 'Travell'd as far in arms, as Lithgoe naked [unarmed]' in The Ordinary ([1648]; 1651) I, iv, 365.

[16]Note Friedman's remark: 'Of the six English travellers to the Near East considered in this study, only Lithgow turned to the account of a fellow voyager to supplement his own narrative.' (1972), p. 313. Lithgow was neither English, nor the only traveller (among Sandys, Coryat, Biddulph, Moryson, and Timberlake) in Friedman's study to borrow information from a contemporary.

Sandys adopts a patronising attitude towards Lithgow's account, conveniently ignoring what ought to be fairly treated as similar or worse 'failures' in Sandys's works.[17] Instead of discussing shortcomings common in most early modern British attempts to write about the world, or the large gaps in contemporary knowledge and experience which prompted a whole range of anxieties and failures, most studies seem to settle for criticism that asserts one traveller's precedence over another, thereby ignoring possible sources for various borrowings, mistakes, or exaggerations.[18] The common ingredients shared among contemporary travel narratives and the failures of several modern critical evaluations will be considered in some detail below. For the present, it is important to assert that, from the standpoint of accuracy, Lithgow deserves at least as much credence and as much attention as Coryat and Sandys, or even Fynes Moryson.

Take the example of Thomas Coryat, whom Lithgow is often accused of aping and whose endeavours have received more attention than most travellers of the day.[19] Coryat died in 1617, before the completion of an ambitious trip through India, leaving his Coryat's Crudities (1611), which gives a delightful account of his European travels, as well as his diary from Constantinople and assorted letters from his Indian journey, which were compiled and printed by Purchas and others.[20] Not only did Lithgow undertake a wider, more

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[17]Haynes (1986), pp. 35ff, in particular. See also Chapter Two below.

[18]Examples of this general tendency appear in Bush (1962), which belittles Lithgow's unique efforts in Greece and the Aegean (p.183), while uncritically praising many his contemporaries.

[19]See Maidment (1863), vii; and Penrose (1942), pp. 111, 158.

[20]References to Coryat's Crudities are to the two volume edition printed in Glasgow by Maclehose in 1905. Coryat's letters were published as Thomas Coriate, Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting. From the Court of the Great Mogul (1616) and in S. Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimes (1625), I, 4,17.

ambitious, itinerary on his first trip abroad, but he also rewrote his account at least twice and lived to see descriptions of this and subsequent journeys go through six printings -- as opposed to Coryat, whose Crudities was first republished in 1776.[21] Although critics often describe Lithgow as deriving his manner from Coryat, there appear to be no substantive borrowings in Lithgow's 1614, 1623, or 1632 accounts. Lithgow had already published remarks on Constantinople before Coryat's letters appeared. More importantly, the likening of their personalities and styles is most inapt. Coryat is undoubtedly the more light-hearted of the two, his trip through Italy filled with descriptions of pleasures and typified by an ease of expression. Lithgow by contrast tells a harder, often more moving, tale. Coryat remains the more diverting to read -- who else could describe sea-sickness so comically? -- but Lithgow forces his readers to confront the harsh realities of travel and to reckon with his stronger, more compelling personality. Frequently dour or scornful, with a prose style that can be frustratingly opaque, Lithgow sometimes adopts a more picaresque posture in passages added in 1623 and 1632. Perhaps this reflects a familiarity with Coryat, but stylists such as Nashe and Bacon are other models he may have imitated.

Critics have also compared Lithgow with George Sandys, in some cases declaring that the Scotsman borrowed whole passages from the son of the Archbishop of York and future treasurer of the Virginia Company. It is often assumed that because Sandys travelled before Lithgow, the latter's work is derivative.[22] What such criticism ignores is the fact that their Italian and Mediterranean travels were nearly simultaneous and that Lithgow published his first work, Rare Adventures.... (1614), before Sandys's A Journey begun Anno Dom. 1610

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[21]For editions of Coryat's works, see Strachan (1962), pp. 295-300. On Coryat's relative popularity, see Penrose (1942), p. 93.

[22]See Chew (1937), pp. 39-41, and Friedman (1972), esp. pp. 313-14.

(1615).[23] Rogers's dissertation, which notes revisions to Sandys's Journey in successive editions, indicates little substantive difference between printings in 1615, 1621, and 1632, and finds little evidence of borrowing on Lithgow's part.[24] Rogers, who refers to Lithgow's 1614 and 1632 editions, suggests only a single borrowing by Lithgow from Sandys and even hints at a possible borrowing from Lithgow by Sandys -- one to be noted at the outset of Chapter One. Lithgow appears to have taken several lines of verse translation of Virgil from Sandys in his own 1632 edition, but there seem to be no other substantive borrowings. What emerges as a likely scenario of influence and development -- one little discussed in Rogers and not at all in Haynes -- is that where Lithgow and Sandys write similar reports, they share a familiarity with a common source. This likelihood is discussed in Chapter Two below, along with several instances where Sandys, often cited as the more erudite and reliable writer, accepts and incorporates false stories which Lithgow goes out of his way to correct. To my knowledge, none of Sandys's critics has adequately verified his stories, particularly in Palestine. Such details will be pointed out in the course of the thesis, but they are mentioned here simply to indicate that Lithgow has been wrongly diminished by comparison with his English contemporary. Certainly Sandys maintains a more demure temperament and (unlike Lithgow) his style is rarely opaque, but these merits make him neither more truthful nor more interesting to read. Again, Lithgow deserves equal consideration alongside this more socially adept and popular contemporary.[25]

The last of the three main English travel writers of the day, and one with whom

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[23]References appear as 'Sandys (1615)'.

[24]Rogers (1975) pp. 85, 109.

[25]On Sandys's popularity, see Penrose (1942), p. 167.

Lithgow is infrequently compared, is Fynes Moryson, who completed his travels ten years before Lithgow embarked on his own, but whose Itinerary was not published until 1617 -- three years after the appearance Lithgow's first work.[26] In that they both undertook arduous journeys along similar routes and both speak at length of their aversion to Roman Catholic devotional practices, Lithgow and Moryson share more in common with one another than either does with Sandys or Coryat. Lithgow's descriptions of Ireland in 1623 and 1632 are important in this regard, too, as Moryson wrote at length about his own experiences there. Despite the fact that Lithgow offered his first draft to the press before Moryson, he seems almost to have taken his cues from the elder traveller. There are, however, numerous moments and characteristics which distinguish the two. Because he presents a view of places such as Italy, the Near East, and Ireland, at a brief, but notable, remove in time from Lithgow, Moryson is a particularly important figure to compare with the Scotsman. Likewise, Moryson's position as a gentleman traveller in Italy and Palestine and as a government servant and long-time resident in Ireland, make his own remarks and stature important to compare and contrast with those of Lithgow, the modestly-funded, private traveller. His work will be considered closely at various moments below.[27] Here, it is enough to say that Lithgow deserves the same attention paid to Coryat, Sandys, and Moryson -- not because he is a better or more truthful writer (a point I would hardly contend), but because the study of his account helps create a rounder portrait of seventeenth-century British travel, the

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[26]F. Moryson, An Itinerary, containing his ten yeere travel.... (1617) -- afterwards 'Moryson (1617)'. Moryson's Italian and Near Eastern travels appear in Book One, while most of his Ireland commentary appears in Books Two and Three. Unpublished chapters of Moryson's Itinerary are recorded in Shakespeare's Europe, ed. C. Hughes (London, 1903).

[27]On Moryson's work and its relative unpopularity (perhaps owing to its voluminous size and late publication), see Penrose (1942), p. 36.

similarities and differences among contemporary travel narratives, and patterns of consistency or change in various popularly-held opinions over time.

The work of uncovering the debts of each of these writers, of establishing their unique contributions, and of assessing their influences upon each other and upon those who followed is necessarily a product of accretion -- details gathered, similarities noted, and questions posed and sometimes answered only after extensive speculation and research. Only through repeated examinations, corrections, and emendations to the assessments made by literary and historical critics can we begin to understand and appreciate the influential complex of information offered by early seventeenth-century travel writers. So far, relatively little work has been devoted to these figures -- very little of consequence has been said about Lithgow. And yet with Lithgow, who wrote and revised accounts of his initial journey at least three times and who wrote two versions of his second and third journeys after his return from Malaga, we find a writer distinct from Coryat, Sandys, and Moryson. Unlike the others, Lithgow has left a crucial set of successive revisions by which to investigate how his views of people, countries, and cultures changed over time -- how his 'science of the world' developed. He was a traveller who repeatedly revised and revisited places he had seen through the successive alterations he made to his narratives -- his work and his life, therefore, demand close consideration.

II. Before and After the 'Painfull Peregrinations'

Except for James Maidment, who has assembled numerous useful documents in the introduction to The Poetical Remains of William Lithgow (1863), no one has attempted any

substantial research about Lithgow's life before or after his travels.[28] Yet these two periods are precisely where we need to look first for significant influences (other than his experiences abroad) which left their marks on the traveller and his work. I would argue that his early life and his bad fortune during and after his experiences in Spain have as much bearing upon the writing of the Totall Discourse as anything he witnessed or took part in while abroad. To begin with, an unpleasant encounter with another local family -- one of greater wealth and prestige -- and, more generally, the opportunities afforded him by his family deserve close attention for what they suggest about the source(s) of his travel money and his reasons for first leaving Scotland. Likewise, his education and early religious experiences exert a clear influence over how he thought and worshipped, where he travelled, and what he wrote.

Lithgow himself does not speak much about his youth, but he was born in Lanark in 1582.[29] Maidment draws attention to one of the few extant documents related to his early life, the will of his mother, Alison, who in the agnatic tradition common in Scotland kept her more grand surname, Graham, after her marriage to James Lithgow.[30] According to the preamble to her testament, her husband was a 'merchand burges' of the town.[31] Although the name 'merchant' could apply to nearly any Lanark tradesman of low or high estate, the title

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[28]See Maidment (1863), pp. xxxiii-xlix. Maidment's observations are reproduced by the DNB xxxiii (1893), 359-61, and by subsequent commentators.

[29]Lithgow speaks of having reached '33.yeares' in 1615. See Lithgow, p. 330.

[30]See Maidment (1863), p. xxxiii-xxxv. Maidment takes the text from the Edinbugh Commissary Record, vol. xxxix.

[31]Some editors accept Walter Scott's assertion that Lithgow was 'bred a tailor' in imitation of his father -- see Lord Somer's Tracts (1810) iv, 534. Evidence suggests instead that Lithgow had another relative named James Lithgow, who was a tailor and who appears as a witness alongside William's father James in various contemporary documents. See R. Renwick, ed. Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Lanark (Glasgow, 1893), pp. 118-9.

'burgess' was applied only to those of sufficient property and affluence to be called one of the first families of the town.[32] The particulars of Alison Graham's will indicate that the family owned a house, a garden, and at least 'twa half aikeris of land' in the burgh, in addition to sheep and cattle, and goods and debts receivable of around £1079. The document also reveals that Lithgow had a brother, James, and a sister, Marion, with whom (along with his father and an aunt) he shared the division of the estate, which includes a curious assortment of gifts left to William's sister:

> Item, I leif to Marionn Lytgow my dochter fyve hundret merkis with quhat funds her fader thinkis expedient to wair upon her quhen scho gettis ane honest mariage. Item, mair I leif to the said Marionn, sex pair of new scheittis, two pair small and four pair round, two new coueringis, twa kistis, four cuscheonnis, ane brass pott, ane pan, four peuder plaittis, the zoung [=young] kow, foure aulde scheip, with my haill lynning and wowin clayth.[33]

The passage is a poignant one, revealing a dying mother who wants to leave her daughter a dowry and moveable goods fit to procure a match. It also provides an indication of the family's standing in the community that such standards of propriety and provision had to be observed. With sufficient wealth to keep company with well-to-do merchants and burgers, a connection with the Graham family, and at least the appearance of domestic prosperity, Lithgow's family looks to have been part of an upwardly aspiring middle class. Of more immediate concern to the traveller, Allison Graham also directed her husband to provide that William would eventually inherit the house, the barn, and the family's lands, not to mention

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[32]'[M]ost of the influential families in the neighbourhood [the Carmichaels, Chancellors of Shieldhill, and the Johnstons of Westraw among others] did not think it beneath their dignity to be also so denominated.' Maidment (1863), p. xxxv.

[33]Maidment (1863), p. xxxiv.

two hundred marks to be received upon her death.[34] Thus it appears that by 1604, Lithgow found himself bereft of a mother, but invested with goods and money sufficient to allow him to see the world.[35]

As additional inspiration to his choice of future vocation, his parents provided him with the best education Lanark could afford. Maidment gives no details of Lithgow's schooling, but a history of Lanark Grammar reveals that he was educated in the only school in town, one which received its charter in 1183.[36] After the Scottish reformation, Lanark Grammar, like other burgh schools, came under the care of the state and, while still preparing young men for the church, the universities, and public offices, it embraced more modern, imported views on religion and education. These ideas are most clearly expressed in John Knox's The Buke of Discipline (1560), which makes numerous practical and doctrinal suggestions about the 'necessitie of Schollis' and the requirements 'for the virtuous educatioun, and godlie upbringing of the youth of this Realme.' Among these, Knox suggests that

> [a] certane tyme must be appointed to Reiding, and to learning of the Catechisme; ane certane tyme to the Grammar, and to the Latine Toung; ane certane tyme to the Artis, Philosophie, and to the [other] Toungis; and a certane to that studie in which thei intend cheaflie to travell for the proffit of the Commoun-wealth.[37]

Although Knox's proposals were not enacted as law, they were generally adopted by the

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[34]'Item, I leif to Wm. Lytgow my sone twa hundret merkis.... I ordaine my husband to infest Wm. my eldest sone in the house and airdiss barne, and twa half aikeris of land....' Maidment (1863), p. xxxiv.

[35]'Few of his higher-born neighbours could boast of the possession of half his personal wealth.' Maidment (1863), p. xxxv.

[36]See A.D. Robertson and T. Harvey, Lanark Grammar School (1183-1983) The First 800 Years (Strathclyde, 1983), pp. 9-14.

[37]J. Knox, The Works of John Knox, ed. D. Laing, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1846-48), ii, 209, 211.

burgh schools.[38] In 1567, control of the Lanark school passed to the town council, who hired and paid the school's two masters in accordance with Knox's suggestions. Lithgow's principal teacher, for at least part of his schooling, was almost certainly Robert Bannatyne, a native of the burgh, hired in late 1592 'for lerining the youth' of Lanark.[39] Along with an assistant, Bannatyne taught Latin grammar and the catechism to boys of nine years and upwards. If the curriculum of the grammar school in Glasgow in 1590 serves as an indication of what Lithgow would have likely learned in Lanark, then most of his day -- which stretched from five in the morning until six in the evening -- was spent in Latin drills and moral sentences.[40] Despautère's grammar, Cordier's, Erasmus's, and Castalio's Colloquies, and Cicero's Epistles were among the required texts in the first years. Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Terence, and more Despautère and Cicero dominated the third and fourth years.[41]

The impact of his early education on his chosen profession is obvious. Lithgow's work is full of classical allusions, particularly to Ovid and Virgil, but also to historians such as Livy and geographers such as Pausanias and Strabo. How much his familiarity ought to be attributed to his early years in school and how much to later independent study is difficult to ascertain, but it is clear throughout his Totall Discourse that Lithgow takes pains to show off his grasp of Latin -- coining curious latinate words, citing or imitating classical literature, or disputing with the observations of Pliny, Strabo, or others. The significance of this part of his education emerges especially in his travels in Italy and the Greek world -- discussed in

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[38]J. Scotland, The History of Scottish Education, 2 vols. (London, 1969), i, 45-7, 71-89.

[39]Renwick (1893), p. 108; see also pp. 117-18 for Bannatyne family holdings in Lanark.

[40]Scotland (1969) i, 82-5. See also R. O'Day, Education & Society 1500-1800 The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain (London, 1982), chapter 12.

[41]Scotland (1969) i, 82.

Chapters One and Two below. Whatever the impact of his earliest years in school, it is appealing to imagine Lithgow as a young boy reciting over and over the questions that introduce Cordier's dialogues: 'Where have you come from?' 'Where are you going?'[42]

There was also a heavy emphasis on the study of the Bible and the catechism in Scottish schools and churches after 1567.[43] At Lanark Grammar, Lithgow probably read Buchanan's Psalms and the Book of Order in one of its 1580s or 1590s manifestations. Henry Balnaves' Confession of Faith (1584), John Craig's Short Summe of the Whole Catechisme (1581) or Shorter Catechism (1592), or even John Davidson's Catechism of 1602 may have served to ground him and his fellow students in the doctrines of the kirk. Lithgow's life-long hatred of 'popery' and his suspicion of certain ecclesiastical hierarchies, which he lambasts in Italy, Palestine, and Ireland, would have been impressed upon him from his earliest youth. William, or at least his parents, would have recalled the hostile sentences found in the general confession authorised by the young James VI and his ministers:

> [W]e abhore and detest all contrarie religion and doctrine: buit chiefely all kind of Papistrie in generall, and particuler, even as they are now damned and confuted by the word of GOD, and Church of Scotland... [w]e detest and refute his usurped authoritie of the Romaine Antychriste... [w]e detest his five bastard sacraments...[w]e abhore his divelish Masse, his blasphemous Priesthood, his prophane sacrifice for the sinnes of the dead and the quicke....[44]

When Lithgow was just an infant, James sent word thoughout Scotland that his 'commisioners & ministers' should 'crave the same confesiō of their parishioners' to be

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[42]See J. Brinsley's translation, Corderus Dialogues translated Grammatically.... (1614), esp. iv, 9 (pp. 334-37), a dialogue about a brother who has gone to Germany.

[43]Scotland (1969) i, 85.

[44]J. Craig, A Short Summe of the Whole Catechisme.... ([1581], 1583), pp. 42, 43, and 44.

recited aloud in every church.[45] Undoubtedly Lithgow would have rehearsed these or similar lines, laden as much with anti-Roman sentiments as with tenets of doctrine. With such catechising in his youth, it becomes easier to understand the extreme nature of his anti-Catholic protests throughout the Totall Discourse. The cadences of this almost satirical confession, with its inversion of lines from the Credo -- especially the reference to the 'dead and the quick' -- are similar to Lithgow's own fabricated litany of Marian attributes in Loreto, mentioned in Chapter One below. From other catechism books, such as Balnaves's Confession, which was put together by survivors of the Marian persecutions, Lithgow would have learned to look upon tribulation and persecution by evil doers as a 'signe of Gods love' -- a belief he would cherish while languishing in the Malagan prison in 1620.[46] In all, his religious education admitted no toleration of popery, warning him as it did of the soul-destroying dangers of sin and Roman Catholicism, idolatry and superstition. The Lanark grammar school and its curriculum of classical and Biblical studies left its mark on Lithgow's character, predisposing him to look for certain kinds of people and certain kinds of monuments and cultures as he made his way through Europe and the Near East. Armed with Livy and the Hebrew prophets, his observations reflect a mixture of humanistic and Calvinistic learning onto which he grafts his own particular biases.

One man who would have preached many of these ideas to Lithgow and his family from the Lanark pulpit was William Birnie, a figure who also escapes Maidment's notice. Birnie came to Lanark in 1597, after first taking a degree at St. Andrews in 1588, making 'considerable losses' as a sea merchant, then leaving commerce to study for a further degree

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[45]See Craig (1583), p. 45.

[46]H. Balnaves, The Confession of faith, conteining how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his God.... (Edinburgh, 1584), p. 6.

in divinity at Leyden.[47] It seems likely that Birnie would have laced his sermons with tales of his experiences as one of those men who 'go down to the sea in ships' and that, despite his losses, he would have embellished his preaching with images of exotic foreigners, warm islands filled with fruits and wines, or great ports in heathen countries. His only published sermon, 'The Blame of Kirk-Buriall', includes references to India, Ethiopia, Egypt, and other exotic countries -- all commented upon in terms of the dubious morals of their inhabitants.[48] His influence on Lithgow's decision to travel and on Lithgow's perceptions of foreigners and foreign places can only be speculated upon, but it is certain that he was a trusted acquaintance of Lithgow's family, still preaching in Lanark and finding time to help James Lithgow measure out the boundaries of properties in town around 1607.[49] Whatever the effect of Birnie's preaching and his merchant experiences upon Lithgow's imagination and aspirations, his 'pastoral' experiences serve as witness to the rough and tumble life of the burgh. One Scottish church historian records Birnie's memorable presence in the pulpit:

> At his arrival there were several feuds among his parishioners, and quarrells frequently arose on the Lord's day after sermon; being a great peace-maker, and also a stout man upon his appearance with sword in hand, he had always the happiness to separate the contending parties without slaughter, and for the most part without shedding blood.[50]

Clearly Birnie was a man of numerous talents and Lanark was fortunate to have a preacher who could double as a referee at a time when, as James VI/I puts it, the Scots liked to 'bang it

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[47]H. Scott, ed. Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticane: The Succession of Ministers in the Parish Churches of Scotland, 7 vols. (Edinburgh, 1915-28) ii, I, 305.

[48]See W. Birnie, The Blame of Kirk Buriall ([1606]; Edinburgh, 1833), sigs. B2v-B3.

[49]Renwick (1893), p. 115. An instance of Birnie's possible influence on Lithgow's religious outlook forms part of the discussion on Ireland in Chapter Three below.

[50]Scott (1915-28), ii, I, 306.

out bravely' if they had differences.[51] 'Revenge', writes Keith Brown, 'was itself honorable' in early modern Scotland and the shedding of blood was essential to the pursuit of vengeance for wrongs ranging from simple acts of insolence to cattle theft or murder.[52]

Bloodfeuds, common throughout the countryside, were no exception in Lanark -- as Lithgow found to his peril. A disfiguring attack during an encounter with members of another family appears to be the immediate reason for his decision to go abroad. Maidment repeats the story of William's efforts to court a well-to-do local girl named Alison Lockhart, the discovery of the courtship by her two angry brothers, sons of the Laird of Bonnington, and the consequent vengeance they wreaked on Lithgow, who had his ears cropped by the vengeful pair. The story has become something of a legend to Scottish writers and local historians, who refer to Lithgow as 'cut-lugged Willie'.[53] The traveller himself gives a hint of the occasion in an obscurely phrased poem in the introduction to his Totall Discourse.[54] What he recalls at twenty years remove as 'that undeserved Dalida [Delilah] wrong' (4) was the inspiration for the first of his extended journeys.

Although Maidment's outline is generally correct, he makes wrong identifications of

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[51]From James's Basilicon Doron in The Workes of the Most High and Mighty Prince, James.... (1616), p. 162. Another Venetian observer describes the Scots as 'those people who live like savages and hardly recognize the King's authority.' Giustiniani to Doge, 2 Jan 1608 CSP Ven (1607-10), p. 78.

[52]K. M. Brown, Bloodfeud in Scotland 1573-1625: Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 26; see also pp. 27-32.

[53]See Lord Somer's Tracts (1810) iv, 534.

[54]Maidment's delicate description of a 'courtship' differs from Lithgow's scarcely intelligible poem, which nonetheless suggests that the assignation involved illicit sex. Compare Maidment (1863), pp. ix-xi, xxvi, and Lithgow, pp. 4-7.

the characters in the drama.[55] My own investigations have unearthed evidence that Lithgow ran afoul of a different family -- not the Laird of Bonnington and his sister Alice Lockhart, but the Hamiltons of Stonehouse, their Tweedie relatives, and a sister named Helen Hamilton. The Minute Book of the Secret Council of Scotland lists the formal commencement in April 1605 of a 'proces', a legal summons, instituted by Lithgow against James Hamilton of Stonehouse 'for payment to him of 1000 libs. as the assythment appointed to him for losse of his luggs.'[56] Based on the assembling of various sources, it seems that, in late 1604, Lithgow tried to woo Helen Hamilton, sister of James and Robert Hamilton, step-daughter of John Tweedie, and step-sister of several other Tweedie men. In response to his overtures, Lithgow found himself set upon by several of these men -- 'foure blood-shedding wolves' -- who brutally cut off his 'luggs' in imitation of a punishment usually reserved for thieves or cowards. Although from a fairly wealthy family, Lithgow was not part of the landed elite like the Hamiltons. Moreover, the bloodletting did not bode well for the future and Lithgow makes it clear that he was

> by seducements inforced, even by the greatest powers, then living in my countrey, to submit my selfe to arbitrement, satisfaction and reconciliation...afterward growing in yeeres, and understanding better the nature of such unallowable redresses, and the hainousness of the offence; I choosed rather (voti causa) to seclude my selfe from my soyle... then to have a quotidian occular inspection, in any object of disastrous misfortune: or perhaps any vindicable action, [that] might from an unsetled rankour be conceived. (6-7)

The exaction of a fine was his only recourse -- unsatisfactory compensation in a land that

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[55]For a full explanation of the likeliest scenario, based on evidence in the Scottish Records Office and Hamilton and Tweedie family histories, see my article, 'William Lithgow's Dalida: A Seventeenth Century Traveller's Departure from Scotland', Scottish Literary Journal xxiii, 1 (May 1996), 5-14.

[56]See RPC vii (1604-07), 40, and 581-83. The Scottish pound was worth about 1/6 sterling, according to Robertson (1983), p. 14.

demanded blood for blood. The humiliation of finding himself maimed and then forbidden to wreak vengeance -- perhaps by the Hamiltons' uncle, who was provost of the town, or by grander Hamilton cousins, some of whom accompanied King James to England -- would have been intolerable to many Scotsmen. That Lithgow left the country soon after his legal victory is not surprising, too, considering what happened to others who were awarded damages against their neighbours. Keith Brown records the dark victory of another early seventeenth-century litigant, William Buchanan, who won a case against members of the McFarlane clan only to find himself stripped and tied to a tree by the irate losers, who slit him open and mixed his entrails with those of his dog.[57] The painful and shaming sting of his cropped ears, and the fear of future reprisals -- 'unsetled rankour'-- no doubt hurried Lithgow on his way. If he indeed received the £1000 for which he sued, then the money no doubt provided further means (besides his inheritance) to support his first journey abroad.

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The various fragments concerning his early life -- the ultra-Protestant/anti-Catholic atmosphere of the Scottish church, the classical curriculum and Protestant catechizing of Lanark Grammar School, the relative wealth and status of his family, and his rough treatment by the Hamiltons and the Tweedies -- contribute to a picture of how Lithgow came to be the person he was and help suggest the sort of filter through which he viewed the world. These influences suggest reasons for his learning and prejudices, his harshness and his resourcefulness, as well as his preoccupation with money, his suspicion of others, and his often very scornful remarks about women. Likewise, a fear of reprisals by the Hamiltons or their allies may help explain his obscure, sometimes impenetrable, style -- especially in the

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[57]See Brown (1986), pp. 32, 278.

1623 and 1632 introductions, which include a cryptic poem detailing his disfiguring experience in Lanark (4-6). In examining several episodes along his journeys, these and other issues will surface and be further considered. It is also the case that events in his later life, particularly his treatment after his return from Spain, suggest further reasons why Lithgow wrote the way he did -- especially in 1623 and 1632. The most traumatic and influential experience of his life, besides the ear-cropping incident, was undoubtedly his imprisonment and torture in Malaga, an ordeal which lasted from the Autumn of 1620 through Easter of 1621 and which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four, but the aftermath of which must be noted here because of the further trauma it entailed and its clear influence upon his narrative.

Although Lithgow returned from his Spanish imprisonment as something of a hero, finding himself asked to display his 'martyred anatomy' to James VI/I at Theobalds before being sent to Bath to take the cure at the king's expense, his fortunes changed rapidly in the months ahead. When he militantly pressed his claims for recompense upon the Spanish ambassador, Don Diego de Sarmiento, Count Gondomar, the two men had an altercation. In his 1632 narrative, Lithgow claims he answered the ambassador's 'fistula' with his own fist.[58] Nearer the time, an eyewitness writes of seeing Gondomar 'beate a Scottish man' in the presence of numerous courtiers without regard for the recipient's lameness.[59] The wily Gondomar makes no mention of the encounter in his correspondence. Whatever the particulars of the incident, it is certain that Lithgow received the blame. He was immediately

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[58]Middleton makes fun of Gondomar and his malady in A Game at Chess (1625) calling the Black Knight the 'Fistula of Europe' (II,ii,45). The title page of T. Scott's The Second Part of Vox Populi (1624) includes a picture of the chair cushion Gondomar used for his affliction.

[59]Locke to Carleton on 22 April 1622 in CSP Dom (1619-23), p. 378.

thrown into the Marshalsea where he languished for nine weeks.[60] His commitment was signed by the very statesman who first heard of his plight in Malaga, Lord Secretary Calvert, who may himself have been in the pay of Gondomar.[61] Released from the Marshalsea in June 1622 after incurring substantial prison debts, Lithgow was sent by official command to the Charterhouse hospital because of his failing health.[62] There, over the next six months, he revised his 1614 account, adding further details about Catholic practices in Italy, other adventures from the Mediterranean, and a few highlights from his second and third journeys. Almost certainly because he ventured to write of his mistreatment in Malaga at a sensitive time in the negotiations for a marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta (and perhaps because his health had marginally improved), he was recommitted to prison around February 1623 -- this time to the Gatehouse where he remained for the next eleven months.[63] He was released on bond in January 1624, and given £20 in June 'to carrie him into his countrye' after 'having suffered long imprisonmente' and 'a great fitt of sicknes by meanes whereof hee was growne verie poore.'[64] His release, too, was signed by Calvert, as well as

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[60]See APC (July 1621-May 1623), p. 196 (17 April 1622).

[61]There are conflicting views on Calvert's relationship with Gondomar. A. Ballesteros-Beretta, ed. Correspondencia Oficial de Don Diego Sarmiento...., 4 vols (Madrid, 1936-45), contends that Aston and Calvert were in the pay of the ambassador from 1613 (iii, 86). This view has been reasonably questioned by Hugh Trevor-Roper who points out that Calvert was not Secretary of State until 1619 and Aston did not become ambassador to Spain until 1620. That Calvert was pro-Spanish and Catholic and that he favoured the Spanish match is confirmed in contemporary correspondence, discussed in Chapter Four, section III (esp. notes 97-100) below.

[62]APC (July 1621- May 1623), p. 244 (June 1622); CSP Dom (1619-23), pp. 408 (June 1622) and 445 (September 1622).

[63]CSP Dom (1619-23), p. 90 (Oct. 1623).

[64]Op.cit., p. 151 (January 1624); see also APC (June 1623-March 1625), pp. 167 (Jan. 1624) and 229 (June 1624).

Grandison and Chichester, whom Lithgow knew from his trip to Ireland. As will be noted in Chapter Three, Lithgow's effusive praise for the latter two in his 1632 description of Ireland probably owes something to their good offices in securing his release.

The few documents about his two stays in English prisons suggest that the traveller suffered both for his outspokenness and as a result of the vicissitudes of Jacobean foreign policy. When Lithgow returned from Spain, Gondomar had the king's full attention, the pro-Spanish faction was in the ascendant, and negotiations for the Spanish match were still being pursued with optimism. Had he returned bearing his Malagan wounds and written an account of his sufferings a few years earlier or later, his hero's welcome might not have dissolved into further troubles. As it happened, he left one horrific prison abroad to enter a scarcely more salubrious cell in the Marshalsea, then the Gatehouse, from which he eventually emerged with numerous debts and further illnesses.[65] Even one of his jailors wondered why Lithgow had been committed for so long a stretch.[66] Although not specified in Privy Council or State Papers (and not discussed by Maidment or other critics), the reasons for his second English imprisonment are made more clear by considering some of the differences in successive drafts of his narrative.[67]

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[65]As did the poet George Wither, who was imprisoned at the same time and describes the Marshalsea's appalling conditions: 'I was for many dayes compelled to feed on nothing but the coursest bread, and sometymes lockt upp foure and twenty howers togeather, without so much as a dropp of water to coole my tongue... beeing at the same tyme in one of the greatest extremityes of sicknesse that was ever inflicted upon my body.' The Schollers Purgatory (1624), p. 3. See also CSP Dom (1623-25), pp. 483-84. On his friendship with Wither, see Lithgow's 'Present Surveigh of London and Englands State'(1643) in Lord Somer's Tracts (1810) iv, 537ff.

[66]'Aquila Wykes [keeper of the Gatehouse prison] to the Council', in CSP Dom (1623-25), p. 90 (October 1623).

[67]A petition he wrote begging for his release is calendared in the Privy Council papers of 1632 with a query mark after the date (P.R.O. SP Dom (16) 229/43). The document likely reflects

III. Lithgow and Revisions of Place: The 1614, 1623, and 1632 editions

Lithgow's recommitment to prison in 1623 serves both as a means for filling in details of the biographical picture left incomplete by Maidment and as a useful introduction to the way his narrative changes over time. As pointed out earlier, Lithgow's 1623 edition includes an expanded version of his first itinerary -- but of the second he records only a few particulars about his return to Italy, and of the third he presents just part of his Irish account and a skeleton outline of his mishaps in Spain. To explain why he barely recounts his second journey, Lithgow writes that

> because all mine observations, bookes and papers, are lying in the hands of the Governour of Malaga, and the Inquisition there, (where I was twice racked and tormented in my third voyage, being bound for Æthiopia) I suspend the necessary discourse of these regions untill such time, as I may recover my money, bookes, seales, and testimoniall patents which they detaine.[68]

Since the diaries were never recovered, the full text of his second trip was written only in 1632 -- over fifteen years after the completion of these wanderings. In 1623, he also suggests -- but for very different reasons -- why he includes only a few details of his more recent third attempt:

> [H]aving finished, the descriptions of these my long, and first adventures, with a succinct (as it were) commentary of my second trevel; it is now most necessary (howsoever sparingly in respect of this matchevilian time) to relate the meritorious designe, and miserable effect of my third voyage.[69]

His choice of the expression 'matchevilian' is doubly significant -- both for its allusion to Machiavellian influences in contemporary court politics and for its apparent pun on 'evil

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Lithgow's circumstances in late 1623. It is transcribed and discussed in Appendix A below.

[68]Lithgow (1623), p. 182

[69]Lithgow (1623), p. 183.

match'.[70] In 1623, Lithgow devotes only a few pages to the Malagan affair, but makes it clear that the mere mention of his mishaps is a dangerous matter:

> O! What a grievous and stupendious taske have I now in hand, if I durst meddle with it; and yet I dare (but because I am forbidden by the higher Power) I will not; And therefore I will shun the least shaddow of offence. For in speaking the truth can I offend Justice: Noe! But ragged reason, inclining to factious times, heavy wrongs must make way sometimes (*nolens, volens,*) to the stronger hand.[71]

His published remarks coincide with a sensitive time in the futile negotiations for a Spanish match. Clearly, Lithgow found himself in stressful circumstances when he first wrote of his Spanish troubles in 1623. His concluding remarks speak at greater length of the dangers associated with telling even only part of his tale:

> Now would to God, in these last and worst times, that conscience and credit, were so well respected, impartiall, and sincere justice so truly administred; as poore mens causes, justly, and deservingly require: than should God be glorified, humane equity dignified, the worlds wide-wailing mouths stopped, and the law of nations put in practise, without feare, flattery, or partial regard. But what may I say, that I should not say; and what should I, that I dare not say: But as the world goeth now, (they tell me) I must learne to temporize, and looke over great mountaines, to lay hold on small dunghills, so therefore I must stumble before mine owne, when I have fallen before their enemies.[72]

Who the 'Power', 'stronger arm' and menacing 'they' actually are is never stated, but it is nevertheless clear that those before whom he feared he might 'stumble' made good on their threats. Although Lithgow concludes his 1623 version 'from my Chamber in the Charterhouse, the 13. of January 1623', we know that he had been in prison for several

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[70]It also calls to mind the Spanish ambassador as described by the subtitle of T.Scott's The Second part of Vox Populi; *or Gondomar appearing in the likenes of Matchiavell...* (1624). The work was published by Lithgow's printer, Nicholas Okes.

[71]Lithgow (1623), p. 195.

[72]Op. cit., p. 202.

months by October 1623.[73] Thus, it would appear that the publication of only two pages of Spanish details -- as opposed to twenty-five in 1632 -- served to land him in prison for almost a year.

Astonishingly, it is a point missed by Maidment and nearly every subsequent critic that the 1623 edition of his work even exists.[74] Thus, they have also missed the obvious suggestion that Lithgow was sent back to prison because his 1623 edition, with its brief, but angry outline of his treatment at the hands of the Malaga governor and the Spanish ambassador, as well as his hints of the strong-armed tactics of pro-Spanish members of court, caught the eye of menacing and influential readers -- perhaps Lord Secretary Calvert. The point that critics do not mention the 1623 version will be considered in more detail in the chapters below, but here it serves to underscore the significance of changes in his text over time. In one sense it is easy to see why critics may have missed the 'middle' edition -- for in 1632 Lithgow expunges any reference to his second post-Malagan imprisonment. Even the hints of the 'matchevilian' schemes of the pro-Spanish faction and the forbidding 'higher Power' have been greatly softened. Perhaps fear of further reprisals, shame over the imprisonment he had suffered, or just the passing of time led him to avoid direct references to those difficulties.

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In 1623, Lithgow indicates that he will have more to say about his adventures and that

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[73]It is possible that Lithgow was imprisoned in February -- the same time Prince Charles left (via France) for Spain. See Carleton's remarks on the Prince's journey in CSP Dom (1619-23), p. 503.

[74]Maidment and DNB do not mention the 1623 edition, which probably accounts for consequent lapses. For example, Penrose admits he does not know 'whether it was the same cause [the inital fight with Gondomar] or for something else' that Lithgow was recommitted. Penrose (1942), p. 121.

he looks upon his account as a work in progress, an as yet uncompleted task. It will be one of the aims of this thesis to show how changes in successive editions of his work indicate changes in circumstances, in his outlook, and in his narrative persona -- how his 'science of the world', the habit of revising and revisiting his old travels, develops from draft to draft. For the present, a few examples drawn from the opening pages of each edition serve to suggest some of the ways Lithgow rethinks his approach to travel and narration in successive revisions of his work. To begin with, Lithgow makes a different dedication in each of the three editions. As much as they reflect Lithgow's changing circumstances and attitudes, the new dedications reflect changes in contemporary politics. In 1614, he dedicated his work to Robert Carr, the Earl of Somerset, and his new bride, Frances.[75] That Lithgow chose a fellow Scotsman and the king's first great favourite suggests his own hopes for sponsorship and attention in the Jacobean court. During James's reign, the court was full of Scottish courtiers who came South to seek the king's favour.[76] Carr was one of the most successful members of this group and in turn bestowed favours upon those who sought him as an intercessor before the king. A year after publishing his 1614 account, Lithgow's fulsome praise for Somerset and Somerset's love of his king, country, and countrymen would ring hollow in the wake of accusations that the earl and his wife poisoned Sir Thomas Overbury. Although Somerset continued to sponsor artists after his disgrace and retirement, Lithgow removed his name and

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[75]See Lithgow (1614), sig. A2.

[76]Between 1603 and 1625 the court was more Scottish than English in personnel and style; two out of every five offices went to a Scotsmen, with the number rising more dramatically nearer the King's person, according to K.M. Brown, Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Royal Union 1605-1715 (London, 1992), pp. 10ff.

praises from subsequent editions of his work.[77]

In 1623, Lithgow broadened his dedication to encompass '[a]ll the illustrious nobles' of James's court.[78] Clearly, in the wake of Carr's decline and as a result of his own Spanish misfortunes and his stay in the Marshalsea, he hoped to find sympathisers who disagreed strongly enough with the King's Spanish rapprochement to protect him for broadcasting his story. The revised dedication is also full of curses for Lithgow's detractors and hopeful praise for all those who love truth and mercy. It condemns 'sicophants' and 'simoniacall matchevilians'. In the event, the 'matchevilian' court ignored his appeal to their better natures and Lithgow, without visible supporters, landed in prison again. Thus, in the 1632 edition, it makes sense that he turns from the unreliable court directly to the Crown. The new King having long since made a different marriage, Lithgow dedicates his last and 'Totall' account to Charles. The 1632 dedication retains those sections from 1623 which spurn false courtiers, flatterers, critics, and the irreligious. Despite past consequences, he gives further vent to his anti-Catholic sentiments, warning the king also about listening to the advice of courtly 'Achitophells', and boldly suggesting that Charles ought to pity the Scotsman for his former troubles.[79] All subsequent editions include the 1632 dedication to Charles. The evolution of these initial remarks suggests much about changes in Lithgow's outlook and fortunes. In 1614, he writes expansively, speaks with brash confidence, and directs his flattery towards the king's colourful darling -- he is a confident Scotsman seeking preferment

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[77]The dedication to Carr was scratched out of some copies of the 1614 edition and did not appear in the ill-fated 1616 printing. See STC 15710 entry in A.W. Pollard, et al, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books printed Abroad, 2 vols. (2nd ed., London, 1976). Afterwards STC.

[78]Lithgow (1623), sig. A2.

[79]Lithgow, p. xviii.

in a time of hopefulness. In 1623, he adopts a less confident and ingratiating tone -- though he begs the attention of worthy members of the court, he barely conceals his anger towards his detractors. His remarks are self-consciously pitiful and suggest the fear and bitterness he felt as a result of his recent imprisonment. In 1632, he abandons his servile posture, speaks with a more experienced and philosophical detachment, and refers to his journey for the first of many times as a 'pilgrimage' -- a term to be considered in more detail below.

Just as each version opens with a different dedication, each introduction shows different aspects of his evolving outlook. In 1614, Lithgow begins with a page-long introductory speech on man's inclination to travel.[80] With its allusions to notable biblical and classical travellers and its claims for the usefulness of journeys abroad, the piece is barely distinguishable from standard advice on travel to be found in Lipsius, Coryat, or other similar works.[81] In 1623, these same remarks reappear, but they follow six additional introductory pages which give an obscure explanation of his reasons for leaving home (the 'Dalida' incident and poem mentioned above) and are followed by several pages of insults aimed at Catholic sympathisers and false courtiers. In 1632, he adds still more criticism of insincere minions and flattering counsellors. Thus it appears that the passing of the marriage negotiations and his ability to weather a host of problems at home and abroad may have made Lithgow less fearful about criticising members of the court, or at least more apt to regard himself as one set apart by a divine calling and preserved from the machinations of various detractors and schemers by the hand of Providence.

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[80]Lithgow (1614), sigs. B1r-v.

[81]Compare ibid. with J. Lipsius A Direction for Travailers (1592), sigs. A2v-B1v. Coryat translates two Latin orations on travel by Hermann Kirchner, a Marburg professor, who extolls travel's merits in similar fashion. See Coryat (1905) i, 122ff, and ii, 71ff.

Numerous other changes from edition to edition could be discussed as well, but at this point, only a few of particular significance remain to be noted. For example, Lithgow's 1623 account opens with the acknowledgement that '[i]t is an accustomable saying, Travellers, Poets, Painters lye, and may lie by authority' (1). From this opening, he goes on to weave a defense of his enterprise. In 1632, the same line appears only after several pages of preliminary verbiage. Likewise it has been altered so that it instead condemns 'this stinging censure of absurd untrueth, *that Travellers and Poets may lye*...[etc.]' Thus in his last edition, he speaks of his travels in a posture that is more offensive than defensive. This strengthening of his stance between the 1623 and 1632 editions is reaffirmed when Lithgow turns to the subject of travel's innate value in his last edition at the opening of the new chapters added to describe his second and third journeys. He introduces more of the Lipsius-like praise he first used in 1614, but then he becomes more ambitious in asserting that travel ought to be properly treated as a science. After dividing all the sciences -- 'speculative' and 'physical' -- into what appears to be a set of roughly Baconian categories, he describes his own brand of study:

> [D]ivers dedicate themselves to the knowledge of these sciences, not knowing that they forget the most necessary, to wit, the science of the world... [It] is onely acquisted by conversation, and haunting the company of the most experiemented: by divers discourses, reports, by writs, or by a lively voyce, in communicating with strangers; and in the judicious consideration of the fasion (sic) of the living one with another. And above all, and principally by Travellers, and Voyagers in divers Regions, and remote places, whose experience confirmeth the true Science thereof; and can best draw the anatomy of the humane condition. (300-01)

In these few lines, Lithgow sets forth his 'science of the world', his notion that travellers are responsible for acquiring knowledge and reforming popular notions by assembling a wide range of resources. Reading, discussing, investigating, doubting, experimenting, and extrapolating are all features of the program he outlines. It is a science which privileges

travellers. This 'mission statement' only appears in 1632, when he has written, rewritten, reformatted, and expanded large portions of his account -- as it happens, this is the last, or 'Totall', version he has left. His ideas establish useful criteria by which all contemporary travel accounts should be judged -- indeed, useful criteria by which to help understand the search for knowledge in the early modern world. For the purposes of this thesis, these are the questions by which his endeavour must be evaluated: how much of Lithgow's Totall Discourse is based on what he has read, borrowed, or rewritten; how much comes from first-hand observation, experimentation, and inquiry; and how much is reliable and how much fabricated? Although not every detail, statistic, or personal story can be traced, confirmed, or disproved within the scope of this study, the ambitious aspirations Lithgow sets forth need to be evaluated, with particular attention focused on changes in his text over time, as well as the possible effects of his upbringing and the misfortunes that dogged his life upon his narrative. More generally, the thesis also considers how Lithgow fashions an 'anatomy of the human condition' through his 'science'.

IV. Lithgow in Italy, the Mediterranean, Ireland, and Spain

Just as it is impossible to recreate a complete picture of Lithgow's early and later life, this thesis cannot begin to describe every place that he visited or claimed to have seen, nor can it treat in comprehensive detail the vast assortment of subjects he discusses: Turkish administrators; Balkan viniculture; Irish women; the Mediterranean slave trade; piracy in Algiers; religious devotion in Loreto and Jerusalem; Islam and animism in North Africa; Transylvanian, Cretan, and Sicilian bandity; sodomy in Padua, Istanbul, Fez, and Rome; and

moon-worship in Morocco -- to name but a few. Some of these subjects will appear in the chapters ahead, others must wait for future attention. Likewise, although it was already the case that Hakluyt had condemned the 'wearie universal cosmographies' available to his generation and called upon new travellers and explorers to bring back fresh intelligence, Lithgow and most of his contemporaries could not resist including at least some out-of-date information from old reports alongside the new intelligence they published. In fact, it will be important to consider just how aware Lithgow is of other accounts -- from the antique to the contemporary -- as he makes his way through Europe and the Near East and as he adds to successive editions of his work.

The almost encyclopedic nature of the Totall Discourse does not mean, however, that its author does not highlight certain moments in his travels and explore certain themes, while either merely noting or passing over others entirely. Owing to the various subjects it covers and various stylistic habits Lithgow adopts, his work must be approached with a kind of 'itinerary'. To this end, the thesis is divided into four main chapters, corresponding to four places Lithgow treats with particular attention (two from his first journey and two from his third) and focusing on the most prominent characteristics of his description of each place. The four sites with their main themes are as follows: Italy and Lithgow's anti-Catholic stance; the Mediterranean, including Constantinople and Jerusalem, and Lithgow's education -- especially the tension between humanistic and Biblical training and practical, first-hand observation; Ireland and Lithgow's view of the colonial endeavour; and Spain and the 'fictional' aspects of Lithgow's travel account. Each subheading will be treated at length in the context of the country with which it is associated, but each will require evaluation at other moments in other chapters.

The first chapter discusses Lithgow's first journey through Italy. Between 1609 and 1610, Lithgow spent about ten months travelling between the various states of the peninsula. In particular, I focus on his visits to the Papal States and the Venetian Republic. Lithgow's presence in Italy corresponds to a significant historical moment: owing to the relaxation of prohibitions imposed by recent popes and the English crown, his visit was one of the first times a seventeenth-century traveller from the British Isles could write about travels through all (or most) of Italy's principalities. The chapter focuses on the way Lithgow defines his role as traveller. He defends himself against the accusations of frivolity or of popish sympathies often levelled against visitors to Italy by consciously styling his itinerary as a kind of Protestant 'pilgrimage' through Catholic-dominated regions. Paying careful attention to the creation of the Totall Discourse -- text from 1614, text added in 1623, and the last additions in 1632 -- I trace the development of his attitude towards Roman Catholics and their devotional practices. His scornful narrative posture seems to stem not only from his Scottish Protestant background and education, but also from his fear of popular British suspicion about the dangers inherent in visiting a Roman Catholic country. Changes in the narrative also suggest that bitterness about his Malagan experiences affects his description of Italy and Catholicism.

By examining differences between his editions, and comparing his remarks with descriptions of the same sites in Livy, the Geneva Bible, the journal of the French traveller Villamont, the guides of Angelita and Schotto, and other contemporary writings, I try to reveal some of the sources for Lithgow's comments on Roman Catholic devotional practices, to find the first hints of 'fictionality', or shaping, in his work, and to demonstrate his habit of re-visiting and re-writing places in successive editions. To this end, I have visited Loreto, the

site of one shrine Lithgow describes, to trace some of the source material he translates (and dis-figures) for his Protestant readers. I have also examined sources in the Marciana and Correr collections and the State Archives in Venice in an effort to verify reports Lithgow makes of events that took place while he was there. Despite similarities to other writers, including the aforementioned English travellers, Moryson and Coryat, Lithgow develops a distinct, at times unpleasant, style of narration in his Italian account. Fuelled by a hatred of Catholicism, the origins of which can be traced to his upbringing and his scarring treatment at the hands of various persecutors, he fashions for himself a role as a divinely-appointed champion of the 'true faith' on behalf of his fellow Protestants. The chief inspiration for this chapter is John Stoye's English Travellers Abroad.

The second chapter follows a more wide-ranging course -- tracing Lithgow's travels through the Mediterranean from 1610 to 1612. Here his instinct for treating his journey as a pilgrimage continues to hold sway, but he broadens his narratorial role to suggest that he feels he is involved in a kind of epic journey -- especially when he survives threats of death from storms, pirates, and shipwrecks. Although his initial remarks suggest feelings of depression and listlessness brought on by homesickness, adversity, and the failure of the Mediterranean world to live up to descriptions left by antique writers, his narrative's scope is broad enough to encompass other details. At least two other preoccupations dominate his description: a tendency to make moralising pronouncements about the decline of Greece and the rise of the Ottomans, as well as an intensifed interest in recording various 'eye-witness' observations and corrections about little-known or falsely described places. Broadly speaking, the subjects he discusses in the Mediterranean are part of his self-education, because various aspects of Lithgow's learning and intellect -- the lessons of grammar school and church and those of the

scientific movement, such as emphases on first-hand observation, intelligence gathering, and experimentation -- influence what he looks for and writes about in Greece, Turkey, and the Holy Land. By exploring the development of his poetic consciousness (his tendency to speak of himself as a pilgrim, epic hero, or moralising prophet) as well as his strategic and economic observations during the passage to 'Constantinople', we see the working out of his 'science of the world'. This 'science' becomes particularly important as he approaches Jerusalem, where he evaluates the stories told about various sites in Palestine with redoubled scepticism -- particularly as the shrines he visits are often under the care of Catholic or Muslim watchmen. Faith and 'scientific' survey battle for predominance as he travels in Palestine (he disdains to use the expression 'Holy Land'). Similarities and differences between his reports and those of contemporary visitors, especially Moryson and Sandys, suggest the tension between religious belief and historical scepticism felt by all Protestant travellers in the region. Furthermore, differences between successive editions of Lithgow's work shed light on the way his views develop over time. My main critical guide for this chapter is S.C. Chew, The Crescent and the Rose.

Moving from Lithgow's first journey and the successive changes to his descriptions of Italy and the Mediterranean world, the thesis turns in the third chapter to a consideration of Lithgow's remarks on Ireland, the first stop on his fateful third journey. The array of writings on the English presence in Ireland from and about the period is formidable; what makes Lithgow's survey notable is that he came as a tourist, not as a colonist or administrator or soldier. Likewise, his observations are collected during a relatively brief visit and he pays particular attention to the role played by immigrants from a cadet power, Scotland, in securing the country's stability as part of a greater 'Britain'. The chapter focuses on his

opinion of Ireland and the Irish and his observations on Britain's colonial endeavours. Here Lithgow's attitude is ambivalent: he is at once a supporter and detractor of the occupying nation. His main concern is not with a broad nationalistic agenda, but with the difficulties involved in establishing the reformed religion beyond the Pale. Neither wholly British nor simply Scottish in outlook, his six-month survey reflects a mixture of bigotry and sympathy. Of particular interest are his remarks on Irish tillage, dress, women, and religion.

In the spirit of the argument that certain Scotsmen felt 'an ongoing tension between imperial motivation and an urge to... autonomy',[82] this chapter looks to detect Lithgow's mixed sympathies. Moreover, it argues that his account provides a more subtle analysis of examples of Irish resistance -- which sometimes take the form of plowing habits or wet-nursing techniques -- than is offered by some of his English contemporaries, many of whom lived and fought in Ireland for years and had a more jaded view of the Irish and of the colonial endeavour. Writers such as Edmund Spenser, Barnaby Rich, and Fynes Moryson provide useful foils for assessing Lithgow's common and distinctive views. In this chapter, we see Lithgow as a voice on behalf of both the persecutor and the persecuted. Sometimes he applauds the subjugation of Ireland and the advancement of Britain's colonial project, at other times he decries the misplaced priorities of the occupying power. How much did his traumatic experiences in Spain at the hands of the Inquisition affect his outlook on a country thought to be in close sympathy with Spain and Rome? How much does his writing reflect a general sympathy towards human suffering? How much does his work reflect his hope in the ultimate triumph of a reformed nation-state? Such questions are raised by his remarks. My

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[82]From A.H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture (Edinburgh, 1979), p. ix.

main critical guides for the chapter are D.B. Quinn, B. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield, and A. Clarke.

The fourth and final chapter investigates Lithgow's account of his time in Spain, especially his description of his months in the Malagan dungeon. Lithgow's remarks represent a rarity -- there are few first-hand printed accounts of living conditions in Spain and almost none by contemporary British writers. Likewise, Lithgow's account of his imprisonment is a singular piece of reportage in that there are few extant memoirs written by survivors of the Inquisition. The chapter's subheading, 'fictionality', reflects the way Lithgow shapes the story of his incarceration. Although there can be no doubt that Lithgow went through the horrors of civil and religious interrogations and torture, his account offers a highly polemical recollection of the affair. His narrative suggests the extensive shaping required to make such a story -- lived out mostly in darkness, fear, and mind-numbing pain -- both coherent and persuasive. As has been suggested, Lithgow may have written the full account of the Malagan incident long after his tortures occurred and in the wake of numerous subsequent scrapes and traumas. The chapter examines the 1623 and 1632 presentations, especially his expanded 1632 description, and considers in detail the mechanics involved in putting his story together.

What happened to Lithgow in Spain clearly left deep impressions upon his body and his mind. His description of the violence enacted against him is very evocative, slightly deceptive (for instance, he recounts what was said by his torturers while he lay unconscious on the dungeon floor), and sheds light on how and why he went about re-drafting not just the last section, but the whole of his travel narrative in 1632. Because historical and critical guides on Spain are scarce, I have used sources recommended by J.H. Elliott, as well as John Stoye's analysis of correspondence surrounding Lithgow's Malagan episode as guides for

assessing the historical reliability of Lithgow's remarks. I believe Lithgow's stylistic approach is best understood in light of ideas about fictionality discussed in Natalie Zemon Davis's Fiction in the Archives. Lithgow's 'fictionality' is that of any narrator faced with the task of presenting a true and persuasive story: he must fill in blanks left by his limited access to certain information; he must supply details in an order that makes sense -- not necessarily in the order in which they were obtained; he must arrest his readers' attention and sympathy; and he must sound plausible and persuasive. This final episode and this chapter, which sum up much of what I think of Lithgow as a travel writer, serve as an appropriate end to the body of the thesis. The truth and fictionality of his account, the disfigurement of his body and mind, leave their mark upon perceptions and itineraries --his own and those of others-- from the early-seventeenth century down to our own day.

In my conclusion, I turn briefly to a passage with an ambiguous message from the last pages of the Totall Discourse to underscore the point that Lithgow's account went through many revisions, still holds many contradictions, and still deserves further evaluation. The final anecdote, although laid out in only its most essential terms, underscores the main arguments of the thesis: instances of physical abuse and a concern with the popular perception of his travels significantly influence Lithgow's treatment of other people and cultures. The evolution of his text(s) makes this abundantly clear. The way Lithgow's need to re-present himself (over and over) as an increasingly formidable and long-suffering pilgrim increases over time merits close attention. How and why he portrays himself more like an ideal Protestant hero, a resourceful picaresque pilgrim, in successive revisions is a question asked repeatedly in the course of the thesis. That Lithgow was called by some a 'lyving martyr' puts him in the inheritance of Bale, Foxe, and the late generation of Protestant

hagiographers and historians. Based on the way he constantly rewrites his own tale and in light of his critical reputation, we might, however, ask whether he is a 'lyving martyr' or a 'lying martyr'. His borrowings from previous writers and what appear to be several fabrications prompt questions about his view of the travel writer's duty: most importantly, does a 'true relation' in Lithgow's estimation amount to the proper instruction of his reader?

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Perhaps the least productive enterprise a critic of the writings of a traveller like Lithgow can undertake is to make value judgements or to weigh the moral validity of his account -- particularly as this is what Lithgow himself is always doing, or at least what he tries to do. To do so is to come to an answer dictated by one's opinion of Lithgow's opinions: after all, Lithgow's language is plainly concerned with choosing among moral categories, of creating taxonomies that reflect what were for him supposed to be normative certainties -- Protestant Britain should defend the true religion, Roman Catholics and Ottoman Turks have been deceived by the devil, women are not to be trusted, and so forth. Perhaps the better endeavour is to analyse as much as possible the mechanics of what, why, and how Lithgow thinks and writes as he does. He embarked upon his journeys with a variety of preconceptions, some of which were confirmed by his travels, others which he lost or rethought over time. His many traumatic experiences and the lessons he learned in his youth and during his travels shaped the glass through which he observed the world. Lithgow's view of the world is, in many ways, a projection of Lithgow's self upon that world. Lithgow's narrative offers a series of idealised responses to places, people, and circumstances.

At the same time, his account does describe Europe and the Near East at a particular

moment in time. His text, like all travel accounts, is a useful tool in the reconstruction of historical perception and cultural evolution. The stories that travellers brought back about other lands and other people had an enormous impact upon popular culture throughout Europe and especially in Britain. In some cases such reports contributed to the growth of commerce, the fostering of cooperation, and a spirit of tolerance. Many such moments are suggested in Lithgow's text. More frequently, however, travellers brought back stories which reinforced fears, stereotypes, and mistrust towards those who lived beyond certain borders. This, Lithgow does as well. His discussion is by no means simple or straightforward -- he makes a case for human sympathy and understanding almost as often as he does for separation and intolerance. At each point along his itinerary, his descriptions are built upon a combination of the expectations born out of his experiences and convictions, his borrowings from other travellers from antiquity to his own day, his personal observations and experiments, and his extensive editing of his own writings -- all part of the curious admixture he calls the 'Science of the World'. In his Totall Discourse, he builds a complex series of stories and arguments around the theme of his difference from others, presenting his readers with an account which is by turns disheartening and inspiring, sometimes tiresome, but always challenging.

Chapter One -- Lithgow and Italy: the Beginning of a Protestant Pilgrimage

> I would shunne, so farre as possible I can, all prolixity of knowne, and therefore unnecessary discourse.[1]

Lithgow begins the narration of his first adventures by promising to avoid re-hashing places and people well known to his audience. In this spirit, he condenses into a few lines the account of his first visits to the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, and Bohemia, and reduces his comments on France, where he spent ten months studying in Paris, to a two-paragraph description. Lithgow defends his brevity in telling of 'passing through France... sith it is manifested unto many in this Iland, both by sight and report' (9-10). Here he is telling only half the truth. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries did witness a proliferation of travel accounts, both diaries and printed itineraries, not only by the English and the Scots, but by travellers of every European background.[2] Among the places toured and described, at least initially, France did receive more attention than any other country, particularly as it was the most common place to visit by those finishing their education.[3] Indeed, in speaking of his departure from Paris, Lithgow mentions several young gentlemen who accompanied him to the outskirts of the city, drawing special attention to 'a Monsieur Hay of Smithfield', who later became an 'Esquire of his Majesties body' (9).[4] The inclusion of this name suggests not only that Lithgow

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[1]Lithgow, p. 10.

[2]See Stoye (1989), pp. 1-13.

[3]See esp. J. Lough, France Observed in the Seventeenth Century by British Travellers (Boston, 1984). See also Stoye (1989), pp. 17-46.

[4]Numerous Hays, most hailing originally from Scotland, occupied prominent roles in the Stuart households. This may have been Robert Hay, who became a Gentleman of the Robes late in James I's reign and continued as a favourite under Charles I -- see CSP Dom (1619-23), p. 336; and

toured, or wished to be perceived as touring, in the company of ambitious young men who used their time abroad to prepare for courtly life by perfecting the gentlemanly habits for which France was famed, but also that such company was easy to come by in France.[5] Noblemen's sons, tutors, diplomats, soldiers, recusants, and eccentric wanderers comprised the varied and numerous assortment who travelled through the country. The proliferation of such visits was accompanied by a proliferation of written descriptions by such travellers. These accounts, many of which were of an inferior or hackneyed quality, were so numerous that one observer, the teacher and courtier, Sir Robert Dallington, felt prompted to write 'To all Gentlemen that have Traveled' that

> [t]he marte is open for writing: & this towne [London] at this time more ful of such novelties thē ever was Frāckfort.... For our memories are so surcharged with the multiplicitie of their books, & our understandings so weakned with their unseasoned crudities, (like stomacks with rawe fruites,) that we are not able to digest them into any good blood either of knowledge or vertue.[6]

Dallington's remarks serve to warn his readers that time abroad can be poorly managed or inadequately recounted by those who travel in a frivolous mood or without a disciplined mind. His use of the term 'crudities' may have even inspired the title of Coryat's work. Dallington offers a detailed outline and several pages of advice on the proper 'method' for surveying a

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(1625-26), p. 541. James Hay, the first Earl of Carlisle, was sent on various missions to France during the 1610s and 1620s by James I and Charles I.

[5]Although the typical experience depended on the wealth and interests of the traveller, many educational visits to France included studies in languages, swordplay, and horsemanship. See Lough (1984), pp. 1-31.

[6]R. Dallington, A Method for Travell Shewed by Taking the View of France... in 1598 (1605), sig. A3r.

country before attempting his own more thorough and insightful description of France.[7] At the same time he published his account of his French travels, Dallington offered an equally informative guide based on his earlier tour of Florentine-held Italy.[8] That he wrote advice on travel to both regions underscores the point that, although the greater number of English and Scottish travellers devoted their time abroad to visiting France, there was a growing body of visitors, diaries, and printed matter dedicated to exploring and explaining parts of Italy -- especially Tuscany, Venice and Rome.[9] This re-emerging interest in Italy explains why Lithgow is telling only a half-truth -- though he leaves out France because he claims it has been thoroughly traversed and written about, he goes on to describe in great detail parts of Italy known to numerous British visitors.

In a similar explanation for leaving out descriptions of 'well-trod' places near the beginning of A Relation of a Journey (1615), George Sandys seeks to justify speeding past both France and Italy: 'France I forbeare to speake of, and the lesse remote parts of Italy: daily survaide and exactly related.'[10] For Sandys, the world that requires description begins beyond

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[7]See K. J. Höltgen, 'Sir Robert Dallington (1561-1637): Author, Traveler, and Pioneer of Taste', HLQ 47 (1984), 147-77.

[8]See R. Dallington, A Survey of the Great Dukes State of Tuscany in... 1596 (1605), as well as his translation of Guicciardini's Aphorismes Civill and Militarie.... (1613).

[9]On rise of Italian travel, see E. Chaney, 'Quo Vadis? Travel as Education and the Impact of Italy in the Sixteenth Century', Proceedings of the 1987 Annual Conference of the History of Education Society of Great Britain (1988); J. L. Lievsay, The Elizabethan Image of Italy (Cornell, 1964) and The Englishman's Italian Books 1550-1700 (Philadelphia, 1969); and A. L. Sells, The Paradise of Travellers (London, 1964). In a university town like Padua, well over half the visitors in Lithgow's day were thought to be from England or Scotland. See M. Grego, 'Viaggiatori inglesi nel Veneto', Viaggiatori Stranieri a Venezia (Geneva, 1981), pp. 43-8.

[10]Sandys (1615), p. 1. One critic calls attention to this phrase as a possible borrowing by Sandys from Lithgow's 1614 text -- see Rogers (1975) p. 95.

the European borders of the Venetian Republic. His preoccupations are those of a humanist interested in exercising his formidable knowledge of classical and biblical civilizations by describing less visited, if more ancient, places.[11] It is not until after he has tested himself in far-flung places that he is willing to return to a discussion of Italy's 'lesse remote parts'. Twenty years later, Sandys's sentiments are echoed by Henry Blount, writer of A Voyage into the Levant (1636), who believes firmly that there is nothing new to be said about Italy or its neighbours:

> ...so my former time spent in viewing Italy, France and some little of Spain, being countries of christian constitution, did but represent in a severall dresse, the effect of what I knew before.[12]

By Blount's day, all of Europe is too familiar, its people and places too easily fitted into sterotypical categories, to be of novel interest to him or to his readers. Instead, he turns his attention exclusively to the political and social culture of the Turks; and, in an attempt to construct an 'unbiased' account of what he encounters, he avoids travelling in the company of his fellow countrymen or other 'Franks'.

Besides the impetus to depart from the well-known, Sandys and Blount may have adopted an attitude of indifference to France and Italy because of a fear that their travels and commentary might otherwise be perceived as frivolous, as having never risen above the feckless, undigested pastime warned against by Dallington. Indeed, it was an Elizabethan and Jacobean commonplace for writers from Shakespeare to Hall to view 'educational' travels with suspicion

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[11]As treasurer of the Virginia Company, Sandys, a gifted observer, barely describes the Native Americans he encounters -- a regrettable omission on his part. Instead he spends most of his spare time translating Ovid's Metamorphoses and otherwise latinising a private space around himself -- so much so that the Indians are at best compared with the flesh-eating Polyphemos. See G. Sandys, Ovid's Metamorphoses Englished (Oxford, 1632), pp. 477-78.

[12]H. Blount, A Voyage into the Levant (1636), p. 3.

and 'educational travellers' as opportunists looking to indulge in vice and vain curiosity.[13] A recurrent theme in such popular treatments is that travel leads to foppishness, foolishness, or sin, and that following well-trod, well-known paths can more readily result in laxity of purpose or danger.[14] So the disclaimers added by Sandys and Blount serve to assure their readers that they have consciously avoided some of the easiest pitfalls in their way.[15] Both writers introduce a sense of significant purpose to their endeavours by insisting that they have passed over the familiar 'tourist sites' in order to seek out less familiar places.[16] Although the point should not be taken too far, it is important to consider in such a context what Lithgow, unlike such contemporaries as Sandys and Blount, should find of sufficient interest or novelty to prompt him to risk the condemnation of those inclined to call his decision to devote his first chapter to Italy an unnecessary addition to the burgeoning literature on travel in the peninsula. What is so important about his time there that, unlike France, the Netherlands, and Germany -- where there

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[13]Rosalind (to Jacques): 'A traveller, by my faith, you have great reason to be sad: I feare you have sold your own lands to see other mens; then to have seen much, and to have nothing is to have rich eyes and poore hands.' As You Like It (IV, i, 20-22). Hall in his Quo Vadis (1617) criticises the sensuality of young men when abroad: 'These lap-wings that goe from under the wing of their damme with the shell on their heads [and] runne wilde.' See The Works of Joseph Hall, 2 vols. (1647), i. 640.

[14]The most recent study of educational travel, S. Warneke, Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England (Leiden, 1995), gives a thorough catalogue of writers who raise objection to travel on these grounds -- ranging from Ascham and Hoby to Nashe and Jonson. See esp. Warneke (1995). pp. 41-73, 130ff. For early remarks on dangers of Italian travel, see R. Ascham, The Scholemaster (1570), pp. 23v-30v.

[15]It is easy to understand these misgivings if we read accounts like that of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who would have the readers of his autobiography believe he passed his time in France dueling over stolen ribbons and petty insults. See The Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury written by himself, ed J.M. Shuttleworth, (Oxford, 1976), pp. 40-52.

[16]G.B. Parks argues that the number of warnings against the moral dangers of travel increased over the century. See his 'Travel as Education' in R. F. Jones, ed. The Seventeenth Century (Stanford, 1951), esp. pp. 272-5.

were certainly important political and religious issues worth investigating -- he feels compelled to give such a detailed account of his experiences?

An indication of his motives emerges first in his 1614 account when he explains why he bothered to write of travelling at all:

> [T]he contemplation of this delightful and painfull pilgrimage, did incite my mind, to adventure upon my meditated attempts, not onely for my owne contentment, but also to animate other forward Spirits to the like resolute designes.[17]

Lithgow's choice of language suggests the view he wants others to take of his travels. He projects a certain response onto his readers with expressions such as 'painfull pilgrimage', 'meditated attempts', and 'resolute designes'. Clearly he wants to avoid the accusation of frivolousness or fecklessness during his time abroad and so initially casts his travels as a kind of pilgrimage, a journey both physically demanding and spiritually edifying. The verbs -- incite, adventure, and animate -- suggest constant motion and lively action on Lithgow's part. In 1632 he phrases this attitude differently, but to similar effect. After telling of taking his leave of 'Monsieur Hay' and the others, he writes that

> I bequeathed my proceedings to God, my body to turmoyling paines, my hands to the burdon, and my feete to the hard bruising way. (9)

Lithgow leaves the company of fashionable contemporaries and takes up a cross. He assumes the posture of one guided by a heavenly calling and, from the moment he turns towards Italy, he describes his journey as a 'pilgrimage'. His travels and the fashioning of his narrative are undertaken on behalf of those who share his views of the world. Thus he explains that his motives include a desire to 'animate' others and to set in motion a series of 'like resolute' pilgrimages by Protestants from Scotland and England.

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[17]Lithgow (1614), sig. Bv.

The rationale for Lithgow's decision to treat Italy as the real starting point of his narrative lies just beneath the surface of these lines. As becomes more clear in the pages that follow, Italy represents the stronghold of the 'Romish' church, and Lithgow's journey through the peninsula marks the beginning of a series of 'trials' which test his faithfulness to his Protestant convictions. It must be noted that he does not approach this 'pilgrimage' in the way traditionally adopted by Catholic sojourners -- with a final temporal destination in mind and with the promise of sanctification accompanying the devotee's arrival at some earthly holy site (Jerusalem, Rome, or Loreto, for example) and the performance of some signal action. S. G. Chew makes the point (borrowed later by S. Greenblatt, M. Campbell and others) that, although Jerusalem represented the main spiritual and geographical destination and the centerpoint focused upon by pre-reformation European pilgrims, later Protestant travellers adopted a different approach.[18] Although they often travelled along established pilgrimage routes and to various pilgrimage sites, these new travellers looked upon such stops not as final destinations, but as places to be taken in by sightseers. Specific sites were not necessarily to be privileged; all were part of a larger itinerary to be appreciated or scrutinised. Whether such an approach ought to be described as 'Protestant', 'modern', or 'scientific' is open to debate. What is clear in Lithgow's case is that he travels as a pilgrim of a Protestant stamp, in that he looks for every step of his journey -- not just his arrival at a pilgrimage site -- to be accompanied by tests of his commitment and proofs of his progress towards a final non-temporal destination. For Lithgow, each step, test, and proof foreshadows his as yet deferred arrival at a heavenly Jerusalem.

In connection with this belief, Lithgow's work bears a resemblance to Protestant

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[18]See Chew (1937), pp. 70-80; S. Greenblatt, Marvellous Possessions (Chicago, 1991), pp. 26-51; and M. Campbell, The Witness and the Other (Cornell, 1988), pp. 32-8.

conversion narratives, a popular form of writing among Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents in the period.[19] If the view of seventeenth-century Puritan writers was that life was 'a creative endeavour' and 'the highest art a man could practise', then Lithgow seems to share a similar preoccupation with presenting and interpreting his adventures as indicators of the progress of his spiritual life.[20] Indeed the fact that he revises his recollections of places and incidents along his itinerary in 1623 and 1632 further suggests that his journeys represent a life-long pilgrimage and that he takes seriously the issue of his spiritual progress. I have encountered no modern studies devoted to the significance of early modern travel in connection with spiritual autobiography, but there are various examples of Puritans who looked upon their travels abroad as having helped settle them in their religious convictions. In the case of Richard Norwood, a Puritan autobiographer whose Italian trip began the year Lithgow left Scotland, his experiences include an encounter with a recusant named Thomas who tried to proselytise him on the way to Rome. Norwood's 'Romish' encounter and various meetings with fleshly temptations throughout Italy led to much soul-searching and prompted him to return to Britain, where his subsequent life appears to have been marked by deep introspection and strong Protestant convictions.[21] In a similarly personalised way, Lithgow describes a series of perilous encounters in Italy, particularly in Rome and Loreto. Each experience serves to confirm him in his convictions and to assure him of his ultimate heavenly destination. Instead of compelling him to hurry back to the relative spiritual safety of Protestant Britain, however, these encounters prompt

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[19]See O.C. Watkins, The Puritan Experience (London, 1972).

[20]See Watkins (1972), pp. 1 and 26.

[21]See transcriptions of Norwood's journal in Watkins (1972), pp. 70-81.

him to seek out, survive, and report other dangers, many of which stand beyond the borders of Italy.

Insofar as there are numerous physical dangers he must avoid, deceptive texts he must decipher, and various sites and situations he must interpret properly, Lithgow's tale is informed by another more well-established genre besides that of spiritual autobiography. It shares a kinship, albeit a loose one, with the customs of romance. Frequently, he interprets the adventures that result from walking from one destination to another in allegorical or figurative terms. Much as Spenser does in the Faerie Queene, Lithgow presents many of the characters he meets as two-dimensional embodiments of spiritual temptations, physical dangers, or, less often, spiritual succour. Throughout Italy, he portrays himself as a self-appointed Protestant champion for whom the journey itself represents a significant mo[ve]ment. He combats possible accusations of frivolity by lending significance to each of his encounters,[22] some of which might otherwise seem inspired by idle curiosity or his own outspoken manner. His travels present this 'forward spirit' with an opportunity to confront the Roman Catholic church, confirm the tenets of his own religious belief, and present himself as an upholder of reformed ideals in the face of the numerous temptations and challenges which lie abroad. That his Italian experiences occupy the primary place in his work is in keeping with his religious, political, and educational background. It is in Italy that he must first prove his mettle as a Protestant pilgrim and knight-errant.

Although his writing appears to be informed by different genres, these are nevertheless

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[22]The accusation seems to have been feared by Anthony Munday, who justified his time in Rome by describing his successful 'infiltration' of the English College in Rome in The English Romayne Life ([1582]; 1590). In Munday's exposé, the 'perfidiousnesse' of the priests seems to stem from their habit of eating four times a day, 'the daintinesse of their fare', and their practice of self-flagellation. See Munday (1590), pp. 20-6.

subordinated to his particular brand of Scottish Calvinism, which contributes to his outspoken, acerbic hostility towards all things Roman Catholic. Both in his introduction and in devotional poetry published after the Totall Discourse, Lithgow professes himself a committed Protestant and evinces a Calvinistic preoccupation with man's utter depravity, God's appointment of an elect remnant, and the perfidy of the Roman Catholic church. As discussed in the introduction, he was raised near pulpits where he could have heard the stirring sermons of Birnie or the fierce lines of the general confession. Returning years later to Scotland, after surviving numerous scrapes and dangers, including his Malagan and London imprisonments, he treats his survival as a reward for faithfulness to his youthful training and as an indication of heavenly favour. With such evidence of divine protection and approval and with memories of his mistreatment in Spain, Lithgow becomes increasingly cynical, hostile, and sanctimonious in his revised treatments of Italy's Roman Catholic culture. His Italian chapter is therefore our first real introduction to the main characteristics of Lithgow's style of travelling and writing. Where Sandys travels as a humanist, raised as a Protestant, and Blount, as a practical sceptic, with moderately Christian views, Lithgow, in the anecdotal moments of his first chapter, casts himself in the mould of a Protestant knight errant, who journeys through a sometimes hostile succession of Roman Catholic cities and landscapes and who feels he must include Italy as the essential first leg of his narrative in order to establish his credentials as a hard-nosed Protestant. His is a carefully edited script calculated to give his intended readers, those 'like-minded spirits', a compelling tale of a reformed traveller's journey.

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Looked at from another angle, Lithgow's work also offers one of the first accounts in English of the *whole* of Italy in the seventeenth century. Owing to the vicissitudes of politics on

the peninsula, it was rare for subjects of the Crown to find it possible to travel freely between various states over the previous seventy years.[23] During the reigns of Henry VIII and his first two successors, English travellers showed every promise of developing the practice of regular visits to and commentary on Italy, but the practise was severely curtailed in the wake of a variety of international *causes célèbres*: the excommunication of Elizabeth I (the 'Pretended Queen of England') by Pius V in 1570, the Ridolfi Plot of 1571, the rise of territorial disputes within the Italian penisula in the 1570s, and England's prolonged warfare with Spain from the 1580s, to name a few.[24] In response to the Pope's actions and the continued hostilities with Spain, trade and traffic through the peninsula was strictly governed by the Crown and permission for travel was severely limited for both Protestants and Catholics from Britain.[25] Fynes Moryson, whose travels were conducted in the 1590s, but remained unpublished until 1617, provides a story of an encounter in Voghera which suggests the secrecy with which English travellers made journeys through Italy:

> [H]ere by chance I found an English Merchant in the Inne, who... professe[d] himselfe to be a Dutchman, and my selfe in disguised poore habit, sitting at the lower end of the table, and speaking to him in the Dutch language, he was forced for want of the language, to say that he was... borne upon the confines of France... whereupon I speaking to him in the French tongue, he had as little skill in that, as in the Dutch;... & we began to discourse in Italian, wherin he had spoken little before he uttered these words, *Io me ne repentiva.* that is, I repented my selfe thereof, whereas an Italian would have said, *Io me ne pentiva*; by which sillable added by him, I presently knew he was an English man.... [He] tooke

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[23]Stoye (1989) writes that the seventeenth century witnessed the increasing openness of the whole of Italy to English travellers (pp. 71-5). This followed a very uncertain half-century where, as Chaney points out, Italy was 'unprecedentedly inaccessible'. See Chaney (1988), p. 12.

[24]On these problems, see Chaney (1988), pp. 12-13. The few well-known English accounts of Italian travel during this period include W. Thomas, History of Italie (1549), G. Martin, Roma Sancta (1581), Moryson (1617), and portions of T. Hoby's Italian diary (written ca. 1550).

[25]See Stoye (1989), pp. 73, 116.

> me for a spie, and feared I should betray him, and presently went into the stable, where he commanded his servant to saddle their horses, that they might ride all night towards *Genoa*. But I following him, and boldly speaking English to him; he was soone content to stay all night, and to take me in my homely apparell for his bedfellow.[26]

The ridiculously transparent lies of Moryson's English merchant, for whom visits to territories 'not with us in league or amity' were forbidden by Elizabeth's Privy Council, suggest the manifold and complex fears under which such journeys were taken.[27]

By Lithgow's day, Italy had been opened once again and travellers were beginning to come to the peninsula in greater numbers. Not only peace treaties signed in 1598 and 1604, but also a change in the papal attitude towards Protestant visitors, made travel through Italy much easier by the time of Lithgow's visit.[28] As Stoye remarks: where Rome led, the papal states, Milan, and Naples followed; and by later in the century, when the British monarch had married a Catholic princess, visitors were welcome and the tourist industry could begin the steady growth that, except for occasional European conflict, continued unabated.[29] There were still many dangers in Lithgow's day and he records numerous hair-breadth escapes; nevertheless he had a window of opportunity which represented quite recent changes and one that was scarcely imaginable a few years before for a figure of his obscure background and extreme convictions. Although it would be possible to speak of his visits to less-often visited spots in the country -- Calabria and Sicily, for instance -- it is more useful, at least in terms of discussing his journey as

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[26]Moryson (1617), pp. 168-69.

[27]See Stoye (1989), p. 73.

[28]Ambassador Wotton, in a letter to the earl of Salisbury of 1605, tells that this change in papal attitudes toward English travellers began in the reign of Clement VIII. His letter, though optimistic about future prospects, also highlights some of the dangers that remained for Protestant travellers. See Wotton's Letters i, 330-2.

[29]See Stoye (1989), pp. 74-5.

a Protestant 'pilgrim' and 'knight' and as one wholly hostile to Roman Catholicism, to look at his treatments of three more well-known places in Italy -- Rome, Loreto, and Venice. His commentary on each, when read in connection with what other writers have to say, provides evidence of his particular preoccupation with Roman Catholic culture and, when changes in 1623 and 1632 are also considered, shows the development of his view of himself as a Protestant traveller.

I. Initial Readings of Danger in Rome

Because of its particular historical moment, Lithgow's treatment of Rome's well-known geographical and historical features and his several personal anecdotes fill a significant space in the evolution of commentary by British authors on the state of affairs in the ancient capital. Since visits to France and Italy were often undertaken by others for reasons which seemed frivolous or (in the case of recusants) pernicious to Lithgow and to Protestant British critics of travel, the narrative treatments of Rome by previous writers might have also seemed frivolous, or at best outdated, by his day. The distinction between earlier commentary and his own becomes clear if we compare Lithgow's opening description with that of one of the few English travellers and historians to leave a printed account of Rome in the middle of the previous century -- William Thomas, whose Historie of Italie was published in 1549:

> Thinking to finde a great contentacion in the sight of Rome, because that amongst al the citees of the worlde none hath ben more famous than it, I disposed my selfe to goe thither. But whan I came there and behelde the wonderfull majestee of buildinges that the onely rootes therof doe yet represent... than didde it greeve me to see the onelie jewell... and beautie of this worlde, that never had hir like, nor (as I thinke) never shall, lie so desolate and disfigured, that there is no lamentable case to be harde, or lothesome thyng to be seen, that maie be compared to a small part of it.... Than perceived I, howe just the

> judgement of God is, that hath made those antiquities to remayne as a foule spoyle of the Romaine tyranny.[30]

Thomas's words resemble Sandys' remarks upon first viewing Athens, where he laments the fall of a once-great civilisation. They are also similar to Lithgow's first reflections on the Eternal City:

> [t]his City of Rome now extant, is not that old Rome, which Romulus founded that tempered the morter with the blood of his brother Rhemus, who disdainefully leaped over the new wals; and was once the mistresse of the universe, for her triumphs and antiquities, but is now only the carkas of the other, of which she retaineth nothing but her ruines, and the cause of them, her sinnes. (10)

Despite their initial similarity to Thomas's remarks, Lithgow's opening words end on a different note. Thomas writes that after seeing its ruins he mused over Rome's fall, but his thoughts are of a particularly humanistic bent, typified by an emphasis on imperial Rome, whose 'antiquities... remayne as a foule spoyle of the Romaine tyranny.' Although he shares a similar fascination with its classical heritage, Lithgow focuses on contemporary Rome. It is an idea he builds upon in the lines that follow:

> [Y]et Rome was once the famous City of Europe, the mother and nurse of worthy Senators, the miracle of Nations, the Epitome of the world, the Kingdome of Mars, and the seven headed soveraigne of many Provinces. The seven hills whereon she stood, and now partly somewhere stands... do demonstrate the whoore of Babylon, sitting on the beast with seaven heads, and cannot be understood but of Rome, being builded on these seven hils: having a correspondence to seaven Kings who reigned there; and also acknowledging seven severall Rulers, Kings, Consuls, Decemviri, Tribunes, Dictators, Emperours, and now Popes. (11)

When he gives a brief history and geography of the city, Lithgow initially follows patterns and commonplaces established in earlier cosmographies and adopted by his contemporaries, echoing their praise for the glory that was Rome and lamenting the fall of that civilisation. Yet his

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[30]Thomas (1549), pp. 22r-v. Thomas's Historie has been called 'the first, and for a long time the only, introduction [to Italy] in English.' See Chaney (1988), p. 10.

approach differs from the cosmographies, as well as from Thomas or Sandys, when he turns to apocalyptic commentary. Lithgow's Rome has no doubt suffered as a consequence of its pagan inheritance, but more importantly, it has manifested itself to be the Whore of Babylon under the diabolical guidance of its present spiritual rulers. There is no doubt that Thomas disapproved of Roman Catholicism, as his account bears out in several places,[31] but his work lacks the same straightforward contempt, much less the apocalyptic suggestions, made by Lithgow.

Lithgow stands apart from most other intervening travel writers in that he tends to speak of what he sees not principally as a cosmographer or a humanist (though he shows his familiarity with these styles and approaches), but as a Scottish Calvinist armed with a reformed exegetical polemic. Where most contemporary travellers agree that the broken civilizations they survey have fallen by sin, they differ in determining the agency of that sin and in assessing the relative malevolence of those responsible. Lithgow goes beyond his predecessors and many contemporary travellers in compelling the Rome he visits to fit into an apocalyptic model of a decidedly Protestant design.[32] In one sentence he evokes images of Romulus and Remus, drawn from readings in Livy or Ovid; but this knowledge becomes so much window dressing. He focuses instead on the geographical, historical, and numerological indicators of Rome's place in an apocalyptic pattern of the world. As such, his words are typical of Reformation rhetoric from the Lollards to the Roundheads. What makes his remarks significant is his habit of taking standard historical and geographical observations and turning these observations into the stuff of

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[31]He decries the tradition of the pope being carried into Saint Peter's 'in a throne of wonderfull maiestee... set up as a god....' Thomas (1549), p. 39r.

[32]Like later English visitors, Thomas refers to the simony of Roman prelates, and the pomp and ceremony of the 'present aestate', but does not come close to the vituperation of Lithgow. See Thomas (1549), pp. 37r-40v.

an incendiary harangue. Equipped with a grammar school education and his own highly personalised readings in classical literature and recent histories,[33] he matches, or rather overwhelms, this knowledge with a religious agenda that owes much to the beliefs taught in the previous century by Bale, Foxe, and Knox.

There is no question that Lithgow's education was wide-ranging and thorough. It is also likely that, as the son of Alison Graham, he would have known the Geneva Bible in his homelife.[34] Rome's fallen walls and ramparts, which would have interested visitors like Sidney or Essex for strategic reasons, become indictments of a morally fallen civilisation in Lithgow's account.[35] The seven hills of the city, which might have elicited a poem or historical allusion had Sandys commented upon them, receive full-blown eschatological significance as well.[36] Following in the tradition of Scottish Presbyterian treatments of the Book of the Apocalypse, Lithgow's remarks on the hills and rulers of Rome evoke an idea familiar to readers of the Geneva Bible, where a note attached to Revelation 13.1 (the line 'I saw a beast rise out of the

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[33]In the next lines of his text, Lithgow describes three ancient 'ports' (ie gates) into Rome. As there were several dozen by his day, it is likely that he borrows this information from L. Alberti, Descrittione di tutta l'Italia ([1550]; Venice, 1596), which resurrects Pliny's description of the three 'portas' built by Romulus. See Alberti (1596), pp. 112-16.

[34]G.D. Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland (Cambridge, 1937), points out that literacy in the Scotland of Lithgow's day was very low, but that an act of the Privy Council required most reasonably well-off families to possess a copy of the Geneva Bible, a version whose popularity continued well into the eighteenth century. (pp. 2-5) See also RPC ii, 544-46.

[35]Both men's travel advice, especially as it related to military intelligence, was published in R. Devereaux, P. Sidney, and Sec'y [W.] Davidson, Profitable Instructions.... (1633).

[36]Again, in mid-sixteenth century accounts, notably that of Sir Thomas Hoby, the seven hills are mentioned in a strictly historical context, in Hoby's case most likely borrowed from Alberti. Compare Alberti (1596), pp.116-18 and T. Hoby, A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of Me Thomas Hoby, wt diverse things woorth the notinge, in Camden Miscellany, vol. 10, ed. E. Powell (London, 1902), pp. 24-5.

sea, having seven heades') explains that the phrase refers to Rome 'because it was first governeed by Seven Kings or emperors after Nero, and also is compassed about with seven moūtaines.' His words also resemble the commentary offered by various Scottish divines, such as William Cowper and Patrick Forbes, but especially John Napier, who draws attention to a similar list of seven types of rulers:

> And among the ambitious tyrāts & tumultuous people of the worlde, arose the gret Latin or *Romane* Empire, whose chiefe seat and Metropolitane citie *Rome*, is set up on their Seven hils... and hath bene governed by these sevē princely governmēts, *Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Triumvirs, Tribunes, Emperors, & Pop*[e]*s*....[37]

The Geneva Bible or Napier are likely textual sources for Lithgow's comments, but it is nevertheless characteristic that his own list of rulers --'Kings Consuls, Decemviri, Tribunes, Dictators, Emperours, and now Popes'-- differs slightly in its order from the others.[38] What adds more vigour to his interpretation is the fact that he, unlike most of the fiery preachers of Edinburgh or London, is an eye-witness to these sights. Like a modern-day reporter from the jungles of Vietnam or the streets of Belfast, Lithgow has seen these things and seen them recently; thus his experience and claims of reportorial accuracy lend greater force to his story-telling than the mere sermonising of the Scottish divines.[39]

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[37]See J. Napier, A Plaine discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John (Edinburgh, 1593), p. 166. See a similar list in P. Forbes, An Exquisite Commentarie upon the Revelation of Saint John (1609), p. 122.

[38]If the Geneva Bible inspired Lithgow's comments, it is likely that he (or his chosen commentator) used a pre-1602 edition, because the reference follows pre-Junius commentary. Napier, who seems his most likely source, is described as the most learned of the thirty-odd commentators discussed by William Cowper in his own Pathmos: or, A Commentary on the Revelation of Saint Iohn.... (1619).

[39]As Certeau observes, 'the discourse that sets off in search of the other with the impossible task of saying the truth returns from afar with the authority to speak in the name of the other and to command belief.' M. de Certeau, Heterologies: Discourse on the Other (St. Paul, 1986), p. 69.

Thoughout his time in Rome, Lithgow collapses his observations into a single-minded argument of its pernicious place in the course of history. The resulting narrative is an uneasy joining of various styles and preoccupations: where he parrots others or rehearses familiar geographical details without embellishment, he is pedantic, follows an uneven editing style and is not terribly interesting at first glance -- though the range and use of his sources will be examined in more detail below.[40] Where he tells his own anecdotes, he is clever, biting, at times funny, and almost always engrossing. What are most common and most interesting are those moments, as in the passage on the hills and rulers of Rome, where he imposes his own interpretations on geographical or historical descriptions already in place -- in other words, those moments in which his travels tread on history or where he reinterprets the commentary or travels of others. When he elaborates upon a site, a source, or a personal story, he provides us not just with an entertaining re-telling, but also with an informative self-portrait. We see this first with the hills and kings of Rome; but it is a trend that will reappear throughout his time in Italy -- not only in Rome, but particularly in Loreto and Venice. Tracing his anecdotes, his sources, and the changes made in his descriptions between his 1614, 1623, and 1632 editions, it becomes clear that Lithgow not only comes to use a greater repertoire of classical and contemporary writers, but also that he carefully crafts a more active place for himself within the narrative in order to reinforce many of the ideas most important to him. In successive revisions of his work, he further shapes an image of himself as the dutiful and morally-resolute Protestant pilgrim -- the sort of narrator who would appeal to the audience of witnesses and like-minded 'forward spirits'

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[40]Most of the geographical details (such as mileages, Latin place names, and produce lists) were only added to the 1623 and 1632 editions and appear to have been lifted from another or several other sources, including Alberti's Descrittione (which was plagiarised by Thomas and Hoby) and F. Schott, Itinerari Italiae Rerumque Romanarum Libri Tres (Antwerp, 1600).

he invites to read beyond his introduction.

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In the opening lines of his Roman description, Lithgow has already begun to re-cast his sources and make observations in the light of his religious view, attributing to the city characteristics of the Beast of the Apocalypse by dint of its seven hills. A similar treatment of other geographical and historical features obtains in the lines which follow, where he re-tells the well-known history of the Tiber by means of a curiously personified account of its tendency to flood its banks:

> The River Tyber which runneth through her bosome, is not unlike to Jordan and Tagus; yet not so big as either of them, being all three of a troubled and muddy colour; But it is exceeding outragious, and often Manasseth to drowne the whole Mansions, as greeving to grace the wals of such a wicked and imperious place. (11)

He begins by describing the size and consistency of the Tiber, comparing these qualities with those of rivers he encounters later and demonstrating a familiarity not only with ancient accounts by Pliny, Strabo, and Livy, but also with more recent reports like those of Alberti and (most recognizably) François Schott. In fact it appears that he borrows examples which speak of the problem of flooding directly from Schott,[41] whose guidebook served to inform numerous contemporary and subsequent travellers. Besides the similarity in the basic elements of the story, what seems to confirm this borrowing is the fact that a page later Lithgow turns abruptly from the Tiber to a description of wines in the Roman region; similarly, Schott on the next two pages of his work provides a listing of local wines, which he gives in the same order as Lithgow.[42]

That Lithgow was drawing much basic information from Schott is evident in other

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[41]See Schott (1600), pp. 334-5.

[42]Compare Lithgow, p. 13, and Schott (1600), pp. 336-7.

instances mentioned below. What is more important to note here is that, beyond his straightforward borrowings, Lithgow lends the river a personality, describing its grief in wending its way through the wicked city and explaining its flooding as an act of indignation and rebellion. He also seems to play off the multivalent meanings of the word 'manasseth', prompting his readers to wonder whether he is simply using the now-obsolete form of 'menaceth' or suggesting a link with Manasseh, the wicked king of Judah whose sinful behaviour 'filled Jerusalem from one end to another' with a torrent of blood.[43] He takes only the basic elements of the Tiber tale from the Latin guidebook, re-telling the story, mythologizing it in fact, to fit his Protestant world-view. When he tells of another instance of the river's flooding a few lines later, he lends the Tiber a quite different personality:

> This River of Tyber especially made muster of his extravagant disgorgements, at that time when Pope Clement 8. was crowned Duke of Ferrara, anno 1589. and that same night he returned to Rome, Tyber waxed so proud of his arrival, that impetuously inundating his bankes to make him welcome, he over-whelmed the better halfe of the Towne.... The like inundation was never seene of Tyber, as after this Coronation, portending, that as the first Gomorah was destroyed by fire, so this second Sodome should be sommerssed by water. (12)

Except for the date, which has been misprinted as 1589 instead of 1598, Lithgow essentially borrows and rewrites the story of this recent deluge from Schott.[44] The basic fact of the flooding, witnessed and reported by previous cosmographers and geographers, has been turned into another opportunity to explain geographical features in terms which conform to his religious preoccupations. We see this particularly in the way he personifies the river again -- though this

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[43]See 2 Kings 21.16.

[44]'1598. IX. Kal. Ianuarii Clementis VIII. anno. vii Põtificatus, Tiberis extra alueũ elatus tantã urbi stragem dedit, ut nullam post hominum memoriam maiorem. Põtifece iam triduo Ferraria, quam receperat, sedique reddidit Apostolicae, reduce, & salvo....' Schott (1600), p. 334. Lithgow either misread the date or Okes misprinted it, for Clement was not named pope until 1592.

time not as the grieving, suffering Tiber, unhappy to flow through the evil town, but as the compliant, vain Tiber, a willing participant in the pope's excesses. By turns, the river is witness or participant in these [super]natural acts.

In drawing together ancient and contemporary treatments of Rome and its features, he reinterprets everything he encounters by fitting all to suit his view of the world. For a Protestant of Lithgow's mien, Rome seems more foreign and foreboding than Palestine. When he visits the river Jordan later in his first journey, Lithgow finds that its muddy waters occasion no metaphorical comparisons or sermons on the sinfulness of the region's inhabitants. The Tiber anecdotes show Lithgow pausing to render a portrait of the landscape and its accompanying source material in a manner that is deeply personal and highly coloured by his prejudices. He embroiders the work of writers like Schott with explanations from which the devout Fleming (brother of a Jesuit) would have recoiled in horror. And for the first of several times, Lithgow uses landscape and weather to foreground his own ideas about cultures and civilisations.[45]

We see his practice of borrowing and changing other sources at work again when he appropriates (and alters) another Tiber anecdote, one attributed to Catherine of Siena, who compared the stench of the river to that of Papal corruption:

> I remember of a pretty observation of Saint Catherine of Siena, who being stricken in devotion, went to venerate Rome,... she came to take a view of the Popes Palace, where having spent a whole day, strictly remarkeing the gesture and carriage of the Popes servants: She sawe nothing but abhomination, prophanation, and irreligious living, and worser then in Rome it selfe: Whereuppon suddenly the next day she departed for Siena... [p]rotesting alwayes after for sixteene yeares time till her death, that the Winde never came from the East blowing Westward to Siena, but she thought the filthinesse of the

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[45]Lithgow is not the first to tell of Tiber taking on such a role: 'But in truth it is looked upon rather as a prophet of warning, its rise being always construed rather as a call to religion than as a threat of disaster.' Pliny, Natural History III, v, 55. See also Spenser's treatment of the Tiber in Ruines of Rome, stanzas 3 and 13, in Spenser Works viii, 141-54.

Popes Palace, and the beastlinesse of Rome, ever stunke in her nose. (12)

Lithgow's anecdote appears to adapt a story originating in the life written by Raimundus de Vineis [Raymond of Capua], a source translated by an English seminarian at Douai, John Fen, the year Lithgow left for Rome.[46] According to Fen's translation, when Pope Gregory XI met Catherine and asked her how she fared, she replied

> To the honour of almightie God I dare well say thus much, that I had a more perfecte sent of the horrible stench of the synnes, that are cōmitted in the court of Rome, when I lived at home in myne owne countrey, where I was borne, then they have them selves that doe commit such synnes everie daie.[47]

Once again Lithgow manipulates his apparent sources to describe Rome as he wants his audience to perceive it -- in this case, making the account more dramatic and outspoken than its original. He even inserts a marginal comment -- 'Meaning of Sodomy' -- next to Catherine's line about the filth to be found in the Pope's palace. His own version of the story, woven into the description of the Tiber, shows his willingness to muster the testimony of various orthodox Catholic writers and to alter the words of a highly revered saint to give testimony on behalf his version of Rome.

Although it is not certain that he read either the original or the translation of St. Catherine's biography, it is clear that he was reading, among other sources, Schott's relatively flavourless guidebook, and using its observations as the foundation for elaborate polemical structures never intended by the original author. Why? He has already hinted that his work is done on behalf of fellow Protestants in Britain to confirm all their worst suspicions about Roman

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[46]See The Life of the Blessed Virgin, St. Catherine of Siena, trans. John Fen, (St Omer, 1609).

[47]See Fen (1609), pp. 292-93.

Catholic vice and ignorance. He describes an even larger vision for his work at the end of his time in Rome:

> I can... truely bewray their all-corrupted estate... I need no information of any Romane Novice Traveller. Of whose sight and experience, would God all the Papists in Britaine had the like eie-witnessing approbation as I have had, I am certainly perswaded, with tears & sighes, they would heavily bemone the terrible fal of that Babylonian whoore, which in a prophane estimation) is their holy mother Church. (17-18)

Here he characteristically plays on the double meaning of 'novice', suggesting both the neophytes of Catholic religious houses, some of whom made his time in Rome quite dangerous,[48] and readers who had either not travelled or not travelled wisely. In the face of other guides and witnesses connected with Italy, Lithgow casts his work as uniquely true and portrays himself as a kind of travelling paladin, who tells of his adventures in an attempt not only to prevent other Protestants from falling prey to the wiles of Rome, but even to free some of those Catholics already held captive by its 'papisticall lies'. In the service of this goal he is willing to bend and alter his sources and even to alter his own narrative in its later editions.

In this connection, it is worth pointing out that much of what he has to say about Rome is not added to his account until years after his visit. The point will be made and discussed in more detail below and throughout the thesis, but it is worth noting here that the sections on the apocalyptic significance of the seven hills and the anthropomorphising of the Tiber are not included in his initial 1614 edition, but are added in 1623. The 'pretty observation' of St. Catherine appears only in 1632. That he sees fit to add, years after his first journey, numerous anecdotes to his narrative, should prompt us to question the way he decides what is worthy of inclusion and what his methods and standards for writing a 'true relation' are. At a greater

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[48]On the Jesuits and members of the Scottish College whom he accuses of making an attempt on his life, see Lithgow, pp. 18-9.

distance (physical and temporal), it would appear that accuracy becomes less important and the polemical point more significant. There was already plenty of rancour in his 1614 account, but it is significantly increased in the 1623 and 1632 editions -- expanded and published after his experiences at the hands of the Inquisitors in Malaga. These changes underscore the fact that, for Lithgow, the impetus for telling the story does not diminish, but grows more compelling, over time. It is not simply that he must tell of his travels through Italy, but the fact that he cannot stop travelling through Italy: telling, retelling, changing the story at least three times (perhaps several times more in drafts that have disappeared) to make it suit his purposes. Unlike Sandys and Blount, who write off the region with a stroke, Lithgow must linger over this portion of his journey. In successive editions, his emendations suggest that he feels that there is always something to add, something worth reiterating or reinforcing. And unlike Coryat, who would write with delight about his time in the peninsula despite his expressed antipathy towards Catholicism, Lithgow has to condemn Rome again and again: making his story angrier and more sarcastic over time, adding anecdotes to his narration (rarely does he delete lines from one edition to the next), and forever fighting the charge of frivolity by counterfeiting the role of the Protestant knight. Nowhere do these qualities become as apparent as during his journey to the site of the Holy House of Loreto.

II. Views of the Holy House of Loreto

> [M]eane while, having alwayes a regard of my hasty dispatching from Christendome, I returned... addressing my selfe to Venice for transportation. But by your leave, let me lay downe before your eyes some notable illusions of Modonna di Loretta, which I found in my way-faring journey.... (24)

When Lithgow left Rome, he travelled to Naples -- Parthenope, as he puts it -- before

hurrying back north to the port of Ancona and passage to the Serenissima. Before describing Venice, he pauses to tell of his visit to the House of the Madonna at Loreto, which he justifies by calling it an opportunity 'to amplifie my former discourse, concerning the errours of the Roman Church' and by promising to include information that 'yet was never Englished in our language'(24). Although it is true that for a substantial portion of his Loreto account he has, quite literally, 'Englished' portions of its history which no other traveller had translated, it is nevertheless the case that Loreto was a well-known site, having drawn devotees and commentators of Catholic extraction for several centuries and, by Lithgow's day, numbering many English Protestants (and even an occasional Turkish supplicant[49]) among its visitors and commentators.[50] Within the larger context of the popularity of and writings on the shrine to the Blessed Virgin of Loreto, Lithgow's description proves interesting, both because it is a place he must see for himself on his 'pilgrimage' through Italy and because he takes it upon himself to rewrite and recast the story of the shrine in order to provide a 'true account' written 'in our language' -- i.e., in a script edited for his Protestant readers.

Loreto is an earthly point he cannot avoid, because it lies beside the port of Ancona, which leads to Venice and so opens a passage to the East. It is also a spiritual challenge he must face during the course of his Protestant journey, because it represents one of the most significant centres of Marian devotion in the Papal States, and indeed in all of Europe. Although there was

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[49]According to Montaigne, who visited the shrine in 1581, a wealthy Turk left a candle stick at the shrine 'after making a vow to Our Lady of Loreto when he was in some extreme necessity and wanting to catch hold of any sort of rope to help himself.' M. Montaigne, Travel Journal in The Complete Works of Montaigne, trans. and ed. D. Frame (London, 1958), p. 971.

[50]The best monograph on Loreto is C. Chevalier's Notre-Dame de Lorette (Paris, 1906). F. Grimaldi, Il Libro Lauretano Secoli XV-XVIII (Macerata, 1994), gives a good update to this work.

no shortage of relics from the Holy Land at shrines around Europe, Loreto was endowed with an entire house said to have belonged to Mary's family and possessed of a formidable list of relics and attributed miracles. Because of its astonishing claims, Loreto is a proving ground for Lithgow's religious scrutiny before his actual embarkation for the Holy Land. As his narrative describes his approach to a 'centre' of Catholic pilgrimage, a place where devotion is tested in terms of one's interaction with icons and attitudes towards Marian devotion, it focuses upon the various perils Lithgow encounters as he draws nearer and finally comes to the site itself.

Since the early fourteenth century, Loreto had been an important destination or a marker along a longer pilgrimage route for many Catholics. From its first acknowledgement as a possible holy site during the papacy of Boniface VIII to its confirmation by papal bull during that of Julius II, the House of the Blessed Virgin was famed for having miraculously left its foundations in Palestine and flown on the backs of four angels to Sclavonia [Dalmatia], then to the hills of Recanati, and finally to its resting place in Loreto.[51] It attracted increasing interest among devotees, travellers, and popes from around Catholic Europe throughout the medieval and early modern periods.[52] Perhaps its most famous literary visitor was the French essayist, Michel de Montaigne, whose travel journal, left unpublished until the eighteenth century, includes an account of an Eastertide visit to the shrine in 1581. Interestingly, the writer who is best known as one of the fathers of modern scepticism betrays no sign of doubt as to the authenticity of the site. He devotes several pages to the house and even mentions a silver devotional medallion he leaves on behalf of his family. Montaigne remarks that '[t]his place is full of innumerable

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[51]See Chevalier (1906), esp. pp. 256-7.

[52]Even Erasmus seems to have left a work on the site: Virginis Matris Apud Lauretum (Basil, 1525). See Grimaldi (1994), p. 84, and Chevalier (1906), pp. 311-2.

miracles, for which I refer to the books' and adds later that 'there is more show of religion here than any place I have seen.'[53] Montaigne appears to be swept up in rhapsodic devotion, or at least firmly committed to the orthodox Catholic view, especially when he insists that the shrine has avoided the influence of charlatans, thieves, and avaricious churchmen.[54] It is curious that the writer whose 'Apology for Raymond Sebond' challenges those who speak confidently on any subject should be content to read and aver what has been written by others.[55] Montaigne's is of course not the only Catholic account of the period. Visitors closer to Lithgow's day include the English recusant, Charles Somerset, who makes mention in his travel diary of visiting Loreto in 1611.[56] A few years before Somerset, another Catholic visitor, Jacques de Villamont, a gentlemanly French traveller, would describe his trip to the shrine on his way to Jerusalem.[57] His views on Loreto provide a curious Catholic counterpoint to Lithgow's; and both men's travels, which follow essentially the same course, will merit close comparison in Loreto and at several other moments as they both move eastward. These individuals are but a few of the tally, but they

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[53]Montaigne (1958), p. 972.

[54]'I offered money to a number of priests; most of them were obstinate in refusing it, and those that did accept some did so with all the difficulties in the world.' Montaigne (1958), p. 973. These remarks are entirely at odds with the description F. Moryson gives a few years later. See Moryson (1617), pp. 99-100.

[55]He adds that 'there are several [books], and very recent ones, involving mishaps that have befallen those who out of devotion have carried away something from this building.' Montaigne (1958), p. 973.

[56]See C. Somerset, The Travel Diary (1611-1612) of an English Catholic. ed. M. Brennan, (Leeds, 1993), pp. 239-40. Brennan's introduction suggests that Somerset owned a copy of H. Tursellino's Lauretanae Historiae (Rome, 1597), a popular guide available to lead the faithful around the site and to prepare their hearts in devotion -- see p. 34. See notes 75, 77, and 79 below.

[57]J. de Villamont, Les Voyages du Seigneur de Villamont, Chevalier de l'ordre de Hierusalem, Gentilhomme du pays de Bretaigne ([Paris, 1595]; Arras, 1605).

serve to indicate that Loreto was a regular and popular part of the itinerary of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Catholic travellers.[58] Consistently, it is recalled by these visitors as a shrine worth visiting because of its spiritual potency, its ability to produce miracles and marvels. It continued to draw visitors and to elicit acts of devotion, particularly among English Catholic visitors, for many subsequent generations.[59]

Of course, the shrine of Loreto took on mixed significance from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. The visitors who came after the breakup of the Catholic church included Protestants curious to see a site they viewed as one of the biggest hoaxes foisted upon the unsuspecting faithful by the powerful and deceptive Roman Church. Concerning his own visit in the 1590s, Fynes Moryson recalls his experiences inside the 'darke Chappell', where, among other things, he tells of an exorcism performed by a mountebank priest over a woman paid to behave like a devil.[60] His observations -- written in a humorous style similar to Lithgow's -- bear witness to the scepticism among Protestants about accepting what has been offered as

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[58]Other Holy Land pilgrims who mention stops in Loreto will merit attention later, especially J. Zuallart, Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme (Roma, 1587), and C. van Adrichem, Jerusalem, sicut Christi tempore floruit (Cologne [?], 1584). For the most complete list of contemporary visitors and their writings, see Grimaldi (1994), pp. 64-124.

[59]In the church built over the site, there are four lozenges, two on either wall of the apse, which give a brief synopsis of the history of the house: one in English, one in Scottish dialect, one in Welsh, and one in Gaelic. All bear the signature of a Robert Corbington [Corby], a Scottish exile and member of the Society of Jesus, who (in the Scottish dialect) 'in the zeir MDCXXXV here trulie translated the premisses out of the Latine storie hannged up in the seyd kirk.' These inscriptions, and the presence of a figure like Corby as the chapel's chief penitentiary in the 1630s, suggest that the site had regular visitors from the British Isles well into the late seventeenth century. This would also help explain why the recusant poet, Richard Crashaw, was made a canon of Loreto in the 1640s. On Corby and his contemporaries, see G. Holt, St. Omers and Bruges College, 1593-1773: A Biographical Directory (Norfolk, 1979), pp. 73-4, and R. Crashaw, The Poems English Latin and Greek of Richard Crashaw, ed. L.C. Martin, (Oxford, 1957), pp. xxv-xxxviii.

[60]Moryson (1617), i. 98.

miraculous, especially when he explains that the shrine is kept in dim light in order 'to increase religious horror'.[61] Although reserving a 'due reverence to the blessed Virgin' throughout his visit, he nevertheless finds an opportunity to add injury to insult before he leaves:

> My consorts, of purpose to delight the Priests eares with the sound of money, as with musick, did cast into that chest many brass quatrines... myself being last when my turne was to give almes, did in stead thereof gather some tenne quatrines of theirs, which lay scattered upon the grate; and got that clear gaine by that Idoll.[62]

Unlike Lithgow, who concentrates on ridiculing Loreto with words, Moryson literally makes a profit off the well-endowed chapel. Yet he does not want his action to be construed as mere thuggishness. Instead, he presents it as an illustration of a Protestant traveller delivering a physical blow against idolatry. In a reverent tone, Moryson takes pains to explain his elevated motives and, curiously, to add a word about the good benefits he reaped as a result:

> God forbid I should bragge of any contempt to Religion; but since it appeares, that such worship is unpleasing to God: and because Papists will have all their miracles beleeved, I will freely say by experience, that having gotten these few quatrines in such sort as I said, yet after that, God of his mercy preserved me in my long and dangerous travell, and from that time to this day, by his grace, I have enjoyed, though no abundant, yet a competent estate, and more plentifull then in my former dayes.[63]

Moryson transforms what might otherwise seem an act of simple theft into one of worship. By pilfering a few coins from the shrine, in a spirit of devotion, he has acquired subsequent spiritual and temporal rewards. The quatrines become the symbol, or currency, of a transaction that meets with heavenly approval.

Despite his attribution of his future successes to God's grace, Moryson comes close to

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[61]Op. cit., i. 100.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid.

inverting or adapting the very rituals he ostensibly condemns among Catholic worshippers in that he measures his safety and wealth as having been secured 'from that time to this day'. The incident shows part of the ambiguity involved in Protestant visits to Catholic shrines, for it remains unclear whether Moryson ought to trace his improved health and fortune to actions, however correct, undertaken at the Holy House. To do so is perhaps to allow that Loreto is a place set apart from others as the locus of a kind of spiritual power. The question arises as to whether a Protestant should look upon actions undertaken at a Catholic site as being more spiritually potent than others. The tension is evident in Moryson's language: he gives praise and credit to God, but he treats Loreto as a pivotal point in his life. Thus, the moment complicates his previously scornful reports about the shrine, making it the site of a miracle (of sorts) rather than a simple milestone along the longer journey of life.

Moryson should not be unduly taken to task for this incident; it is certainly the case that Protestant writers continually look for signs and demonstrations of divine approbation. In this sense, his gesture recalls moments in the conversion narratives of other Protestants like Richard Norwood or Richard Kilby and suggests the psychological needs and religious sentiments many travellers carried with them.[64] Although Moryson introduces this story into the continuum of his narrative with the intention of contrasting true and false piety and illustrating the right way of proceeding on one's travels, he has also created a moment of tension for the reader in that the incident demonstrates how entrenched and universal was the tendency to attach significance to visits paid to such sites (what Peter Burke or Keith Thomas might describe as the popular and tempting preoccupation with magic) and how looking for such signs and popular demonstrations

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[64]See Watkins (1972), pp. 26-8, 70-81.

at a specific site can make the endeavours of a Protestant 'pilgrim' seem at times similar to those of their Catholic counterparts.

A similar tension in setting up an adequate way of disproving the miraculous appears in a passage from Thomas Gage's The English-American his Travail (1648), concerning his own visit to Loreto. The shrine provides the setting for his final rejection of Catholicism after a colourful (and questionable) career as a priest in Spain and America:

> I bethought my selfe further that I would try one way, which was to see if I could find out a Miracle, which might give me better satisfaction of the Romish Religion, then had the former experience of my life... I had heard much of a picture of our Lady of Loretto, and read in a Booke of Miracles or lies concerning the same, that whosoever prayed before that picture in a state of mortal sinne, the picture would discover the sinne in the soule by blushing, and by sweating. Now I framed this argument to my selfe, that it was a great sin, the sin of unbeliefe, or to waver and stagger in Points of Faith... therefore (if the Miracles which were printed of the foresaid Lady of Loretto were true, and not lies) certainly shee would blush and sweat, when such an unbeliever as I prayed before her. To make this triall, I went purposely to Loretto, and kneeling downe before God, not with any faith I had in the picture; I prayed earnestly to the true searcher of all hearts... In my prayer I had a fixed and setled eye upon the Ladies picture, but could not perceive that shee did either sweat or blush, wherewith I arose up from my knees much comforted and incouraged in my resolution to renounce and abandon Popery, and saying within myselfe as I went out of the Church, surely if my Lady neither sweat nor blush, all is well with mee, and I am in a good way for salvation, and the miracles written of her are but lies.[65]

The passage is worth quoting at length, not only because Gage's work has all but fallen completely out of popular view, but also because of the complicated logic Gage employs. As does Moryson, he seems to teeter on the edge of expecting a Catholic site and Catholic signs and demonstrations -- or in this case the lack of such signs and demonstrations at the site -- to provide certainty of salvation or divine favour. Both men rely on proofs analogous to those they seek to discredit. That they do so calls into question the straightforward differences claimed by contemporary Protestants or sometimes attributed by modern critics. As we will see below,

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[65]Thomas Gage, The English-American his Travail.... (1648), p. 210.

Lithgow takes great pains to construct a narrative which avoids any such ambiguities, especially as he draws near a site so connected with Catholic superstition in the British imagination.

Besides its problematic appearance in the itineraries of seventeenth-century travellers, we can also see Loreto mentioned directly in English popular culture, when it surfaces in a bloody Jacobean drama staged a few years after Lithgow's visit. John Webster's The Duchess of Malfi, first acted in 1613 and published in 1623, includes several scenes which underscore popular English ideas about Catholic superstition, treachery, and worldliness by focusing the dialogue and action around Loreto. In the first of these, the Duchess's faithless servant Bosola, recommends that she plan to meet her lover at the shrine under the pretence of a pilgrimage of contrition. Her maid servant warns against 'jesting with religion' and 'this feigned Pilgrimage', but only manages to bring upon herself the scorn of her mistress, who calls her a 'superstitious fool.'[66] The scene attacks Catholic devotion and the shrine on several levels: not only does the impious Bosola see fit to suggest a dangerous and sacriligeous pretence, but the Duchess endorses the ruse wholeheartedly, a move which earns her brother's fury and precipitates her undoing.[67] The maidservant, correct though her misgivings about the trip turn out to be, nevertheless remains a 'superstitious fool' to the audience because of her irrational obsession with the site. In a later scene, when the Duchess and her husband, Antonio, are discovered in Loreto by her brother and forced into exile, the encounter is commented upon by a pair of gossiping pilgrims.[68] Here again, Catholic visitors to Loreto are cast as worldly and vain, not as

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[66]J. Webster, The Duchess of Malfi (III, ii. 295-310).

[67]'Doth she make religion her riding hood....' Op. cit., III, iii, 55.

[68]See op. cit., III, iv.

practitioners of a sacred pursuit. These devotees are rustic socialisers, two-dimensional figures more interested in the celebrities they meet, the splendour of the ceremonies they witness, and the gossip to be picked up along the way, than in acts of worship or penitence.

Describing his own approach to Loreto, Lithgow presents the group of pilgrims he travels with much like those from Webster's play. Having recently left Rome, he recalls his narrow (almost Pauline) escape from a group of plotting Catholics, who doubtless would not have appreciated his references to the pope as Antichrist and his scornful scepticism toward what he describes in the margins as 'The Superstition of Papists.'[69] Despite the dangers a visit to the shrine presents to an outspoken Protestant, Lithgow maintains a defiant stance in his journey to Loreto, where more than anywhere else in Italy, he frankly discusses his hostile attitude towards Catholic devotion. He begins by giving a lively description of his encounter with the young pilgrims. Rather than the rustic clowns drawn by Webster, however, Lithgow's companions are young nobles who have elected to travel to perform acts of contrition at the shrine in surprising company.

> Before I came neare to Loretta by tenne miles, I overtooke a Caroch, wherein were two Gentlemen of Rome, and their two Concubines;... they intreated me to come up in the Caroch, but I thankfully refused, and would not,... At last they perceiving my absolute refusall, presently dismounted on the ground, to recreate themselves in my company: and incontinently, the two young unmarried Dames came forth also, and would by no perswasion of me, nor their familiars mount againe; saying, they were all Pilgrimes, and bound to Loretta (for devotion sake) in pilgrimage, and for the pennance enjoyned to them by their Father Confessour. Truely so farre as I could judge, their pennance was small, being carried with horses, and the appearance of their devotion much lesse: for lodging at Riginati [Recanati], after supper, each youth led captive his dearest Darling to an unsanctified bed, and left me to my accustomed repose. (24)

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[69]For his description of being spirited out of Rome, see Lithgow, p. 18. Interestingly, he claims to have been helped out of the city by a servant of the Earl of Tyrone, the notorious Irish lord, whose passage through Italy provoked several assassination attempts by the English ambassador in Venice. See Wotton's Letters i. 66, 420.

Lithgow focuses on the irony of the Italians' journey: four characters, who are supposed to be on a pilgrimage of penitence to the Loreto shrine, yet who are riding in a comfortable carriage (a symbol of luxury and licence, as Montaigne discusses in his Essays) and revelling in the sin for which they have presumably been enjoined to make penance, encounter the Scotsman, who walks over the bleached Adriatic countryside not as a supplicant, but both to satisfy his own curiosity and to provide an eye-witness indictment on behalf of his Protestant readers. His sense of religious obedience and moral propriety far outshines that of the ostensible penitents, who more closely resemble figures out of Webster's play. Philip Sidney might say that they proved pilgrims to 'noe Saint.' This is certainly the message Lithgow conveys in every line of the passage, which he punctuates with the words 'concubines', 'incontinently' and 'unsanctified.'

Although he treats them with irony and sarcasm, he also makes it clear that they embody diabolical temptations. On the road to Loreto, we witness not only Lithgow's moral indignation, but also his humanness, for beneath his choking disapproval there is also a suggestion of prurience in such lines as 'led captive... to an unsanctified bed.' Even the high-minded Lithgow cannot keep from watching the 'concubines' and describing them in almost salacious detail:

> When the morning Starre appeared, we imbraced the way marching towards Loretta, and these vermillion Nymphs, to let me understand they travelled with a chearefull stomacke, would oft runne races, skipping like wanton Lambes on grassie Mountaines, and quenching their follies in a Sea of unquenchable fantasies. (24-5)

It might be asked who was having the 'unquenchable fantasies'. Throughout the course of his walk alongside the dubious pilgrims, Lithgow betrays a tension in his description. His outspoken disdain teeters on the verge of infatuation -- clearly he feels a susceptibility to the beauty of the temptation he confronts as they 'imbrace' the path. His dutiful, focused 'marching', undertaken beneath the watchful eye of Venus ('the morning star'), stands in contrast to the frivolous

running and skipping of the 'vermillion Nymphs', who frolic 'like wanton Lambes on grassie Mountaines'. Lithgow suggests that by teasing, mimicking, and flirting with him ('let me understand they travelled with a chearefull stomacke') the women threaten to interrupt the direction and focus of his travels. Although they travel with him for many miles and several pages of the narrative, they never serve as more than two-dimensional figures temptresses he must resist.

Anthony Parr makes an intelligent, if brief, acknowledgement of this episode in which he notes the temptation it presents to Lithgow.[70] He goes on to describe as dangerous to Lithgow and to the narrative itself those instances which can be characterised as having 'surplus value', that is to say those which seem to depart from 'the main narrative drive'.[71] What Parr has perhaps mis-read is the significance of such discursive moments throughout Lithgow's narrative in Italy (and indeed throughout his several journeys). In some respects, the narrative seems scarcely more than a patchwork of geographical details and personal anecdotes. Such anecdotes, rather than representing a surplus or a threat to the narrative, as Parr suggests, are integral to his tale, having been crafted and fitted into the story in order to expose, then contain, temptations and tempters (or the Tempter).[72] His departures from 'the main narrative drive' to relate various anecdotes represent almost the entire value of the work. In support of this is the fact that most such anecdotes -- though as it happens not the tale of the wanton pilgrims -- appear as additions in the 1623 and 1632 versions of his work. His digressions are not a threat to the narrative, they

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[70]See A. Parr, 'Thomas Coryat and the Discovery of Europe', HLQ 55 (1992), 579-602.

[71]Parr (1992), p. 582.

[72]The same could be said of Coryat's encounter with the courtesan in Venice , recorded in (1905) i, 401-8, or Sandys meeting with the French captain in Malta, in (1615), p. 227.

are the most essential device of the narrator. Lithgow's habit of constantly rewriting and reworking such stories (as well as other borrowed sources) underscores their essential value to his strategy of presenting himself as a successful Protestant pilgrim.

Like so many examples of its close cousin, romance, travel writing is built upon the notion of wandering. In romance, knights and ladies who are attempting to reach a destination find that they must pass along perilous paths or through dense forests: 'So many pathes, so many turnings seene,/ That which of them to take, in diverse doubt they been.'[73] Often their progress is interrupted by temptation or danger. The moral importance of digression emerges most clearly in Spenser; Milton makes the same point in his Areopagitica when he withholds praise from 'fugitive and cloistered virtue'. There are interludes in which the reader has to believe that the author is in control, sees where he is, and is able to return to the path (physical, moral, and narrational) at the conclusion of the episode: 'Right so it fares with me in this long way, /Whose course is often stayed, yet never is astray.'[74] In Lithgow's narrative -- itself along a 'pathway' -- there seems to be a close link between his physical path and spiritual journey.

On the road to Loreto, the nobles and their mistresses represent the temptations of indolence and lasciviousness, two of the chief criticisms levelled against those who travelled. Mindful of such criticism and of his imminent passage to the east, Lithgow allots to the episode of the 'vermillion nymphs' and their gentlemen enough space to open and close the issue of the danger they presented. That he is closing the matter becomes clear as he and the others enter the environs of Loreto, where repulsion and moral outrage win out over the temptation of voyeurism.

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[73]Spenser, Faerie Queene I.i.10.

[74]Op. cit. VI, xii.

Lithgow, not the wanton gentlemen and their mistresses, comes across as the more successful pilgrim as he distances himself from them to watch the spectacle:

> Approaching neare the gate of the Village, they pulled off their shooes and stockings, walking bare-footed through the streets, to this tenne thousand times polluted Chappell, mumbling Paternosters, and Ave Mariaes on their beads. (25)

After a soul-threatening passage into the town, he loses his voluble companions, who are busy mumbling in unintelligible voices and fiddling with their rosaries. This is the conclusion to the 'surplus' scene. In what might be called a Bunyanesque way, he owns up to having faced temptation, but shows how the traveller can overcome such threats by sublimating his energy into a dutiful march and by recalling his companions with particularly sharp and disaffected mockery. During his walk to Loreto, we glimpse for the first of many times how he treats his travel as a form of spiritual travail.

Such densely written lines, full of concentrated detail, and his self-presentation as a disciplined, spiritual 'travailer' emerge again in his other encounters in Loreto. His disdainful, subjective manner qualifies his treatment not only of individuals he encounters, but also of written sources associated with the shrine. Although not the first English commentary by a visitor to Loreto, his narrative does provide the first English translation of portions of a popular history of the site.[75] Upon arriving at Loreto, Lithgow initially refuses to enter the chapel -- a moment of unwonted caution during his travels in the Papal States. The other devotees reflect upon his reticence with amazement:

> O (said the Italians) Jurando per il Cieloe Iddio Sacratissimo; This is the House wherein

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[75]There are other English descriptions of the house of the Virgin Mary at Loreto, including a translation of Tursellino's Lauretanae Historiae by T[homas] P[rice], a Douai seminarian, entitled The History of our Blessed Lady of Loreto (St. Omers, 1608). Tursellino's guide, while probably known by Lithgow through excerpts in Schott (1600), pp. 90-4, is not the source Lithgow cites.

> the Virgin Marie dwelt in Galile: and to the confirmation of these words shewed me a Booke, out of which I extracted these Annotations. (25)

Lithgow does not name the book from which he takes these extracts, but as the travellers who walked along with him hail from Rome and address him in Italian, it seems likely that they offered him an Italian guide to the site. This speculation seems to be confirmed as Lithgow's annotations closely resemble an Italian translation of a Latin history of the house, Lauretanae Virginis historia, a work written between 1525 and 1528 and offered to the pope in 1531 by Girolamo Angelita, who was a secretary to a commune in Recanati. The Italian translation, Historia della Translatione della S. Casa della Madonna a Loreto, by G. Galeotti, was printed first in Ancona in 1574 and in Macerata in 1575, and appeared in numerous editions into the following century.[76] Initially, the evidence suggests Lithgow's use of this particular source, for his version closely follows several specific passages from the Galeotti translation, including one presented in the voice of Mary, who was said to have visited Alessandro, the prior of San Giorgio in Torsalto, in a mystical vision to verify the truth of the story of the house.[77]

Lithgow begins with the story of the abbot, whom he calls George Alexander, who developed a deadly fever soon after the house came to Sclavonia. Having called upon others to carry him before a small altar inside, he lay in a swoon in the midst of which came a vision of the Virgin Mary, who greeted him with these words:

> Behold, thou hast often pierced the heavens, with invocations for thy reliefe, and now I am come, not onely to restore thee to thy health, but also to certifie thee, that thou doubt nothing of this House; for it is holy in respect of mee, the chast immaculate Virgin, ordained before all eternity to be the Mother of the most High. It was in this Chamber

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[76]Edition consulted: Macerata, 1602.

[77]Although the basic history of the shrine appears in Tursellino's version (with citations of Angelita), this information does not. See Tursellino (1597), pp. 16-7.

> my Mother Anna conceived me, nourished me, and brought me up, in singing Psalmes, Hymnes, and Praises to the glory of God.... (26)

The Virgin continues for several paragraphs, describing her connection with the house, explaining its movement from Palestine, and enumerating its sacred contents, as well as giving instructions to the abbot about appropriate worship and promising him the recovery of his health.

If we compare Lithgow's version to a corresponding passage from Galeotti's translation of Angelita, the similarity is striking.

> Ecco collei, che tante volte hai in tuo soccorso chiamata; Io son venuta, habbia fidanza figliolo, e non dubitare. Quella Casa, della cui nuova venuta tanto vi maravigliate, è santa, percioche io Immacolata Vergine ordinata ab eterno per Madre dell'unigenito riparatore della perduta humana generatione, in quella fui partorita felicemente dalla mia Madre Anna, e nata fui nodrita, & in quella sempre cantai Salmi, Hinni, e Cantici al vero & eterno Iddio....[78]

The passages are notably similar in sentence structure and detail -- particularly the lines that speak of Mary's ordination and her custom of singing psalms, hymns and praises. Although there are a few changes in the order of presentation and descriptions of divine attributes, the account given by Lithgow continues in much the same way as the passage from Angelita for two more pages.[79]

That Lithgow used this Italian version seems self-evident unless we consider a similar translation included in the narrative of the aforementioned French travel writer, Jacques de Villamont. In Villamont's narrative, the words of the Virgin are even more clearly a translation

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[78]Angelita (1602), pp. 15-6.

[79]Tursellino's account and the English translation by 'T.P.' are both substantially longer than Angelita's work, but the passages devoted to the story of abbot's vision of the Virgin's visit are much shorter and leave out nearly all other tell-tale references, including those to the Virgin singing psalms, hymns, and praises/canticles with her mother and a later reference to St. Luke as Mary's 'familiar', found in Angelita and Lithgow. See Tursellino (1597), pp. 17ff.

of the Angelita tale:

> Voicy celle que tant de fois tu as appellee à ton secours, j'y suis venuë, pour te donner advertissement que tu ayes bonne esperance, & que tue ne doutes point. Ceste maison de la venuë de laquelle vous estes tant esmerveillez, est saincte, à raison que may heureuse vierge immaculee ordonnee dés l'eternité pour estre mere du Reparateur du genre humain, fus en icelle heureusement conceüe d'Anne ma mere, puis y ay este nee & nourrie, chanté Psalmes, Hymnes, & cantiques au vray & eternal Dieu....[80]

Lithgow, in turn, seems to have followed the sense of Villamont's translation more closely than the Italian version. Of the differences between the texts, three serve to make the case. The Italian version says that the Holy Family fled from the house to avoid the cruelty of Herod 'si come Iddio per l'Angelo commandato m'havea' (p. 16-7). Villamont says it was 'par l'advertissement de l'Ange' (p. 114). Lithgow likewise tells us it was done 'by the advertisement of the angel' (p. 27). The Italian version makes no special mention of Christ joining the celestial court, a detail specifically added by Villamont and mentioned by Lithgow. Finally, with reference to an image of the Virgin found in the chapel, all three sources report Mary as affirming that the figure was made by 'Saint Luke (my familiar)', but only Villamont and Lithgow put brackets around the expression.[81]

The evolution of Lithgow's translation of the Loreto visitation is by no means obvious. Perhaps he was offered the Italian version of Angelita's history first, but when it came time to prepare his account for press, he translated his own copy from that of another travel writer, in this case a devout Frenchman, adding and deleting and abridging as he saw fit. What is more clear and of much greater significance is the fact that Lithgow slightly, but tellingly, alters the received

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[80]Villamont (1605), pp. 112-3.

[81]For a more complete 'proof' of this attribution, see my article 'William Lithgow and the Englishing of Loreto' Notes and Queries, new series, 43. 2 (June 1996), 175-78.

story, as expressed in both the Angelita/Galeotti and Villamont versions, to make several polemical points. Several of these changes are worth noting: for instance, he generally alters the self-effacing message of the Virgin found in the original story, leaving out her ascription of the work of salvation to her son -- as is brought out in lines like 'madre dell'unigenito riparatore della perduta human generatione' (Angelita) or 'mere du Reparateur du genre humain' (Villamont). Instead, Lithgow foregrounds her as a figure of independent (and to a Protestant reader, idolatrous) significance -- 'Mother of the Most High'. Lithgow also tells his readers that the house was moved several times because of the 'incontinent' doubts of the abbot, who sent a group of investigators to the Holy Land to determine the truth of the shrine (p. 27). This aspect of the story (the faithlessness of the abbot as a cause of its movement from Sclavonia) appears in neither the Italian nor the French account -- its movement being attributed in both to the Virgin's desire to protect pilgrims from pirates and bandits. Such changes in translation may be regarded as acts of interpretation, but they suggest deliberate misconstruction -- for in the margins beside Mary's words, Lithgow adds the pointed comment 'A Papisticall Dreamd Of Oration' and, a few paragraphs later, the line 'The shamefull opinions of the Papists concerning Loretta' appears alongside the main text.

Despite its own differences from the source, Villamont's text is a closer rendering of the Galeotti translation of Angelita than is Lithgow's. The fidelity of Villamont's adaption makes sense when one considers the orthodoxy of the rest of this devout Catholic traveller's journal as he moves across Europe and the Holy Land. His translation is executed in a different spirit from Lithgow's and as such betrays both subtle differences in its version of Mary's words and in the substance of the history itself. Such differences are worth comparing in further detail in future studies, but here the fact that Lithgow seems to have 'Englished' a French translation of an

Italian translation of the main Latin source on Loreto (each produced by men of quite different extraction from the dour Scottish traveller) is well worth noting, particularly because it shows how Lithgow seems to have freely adapted other sources, subtly shifting their emphases and working them to his own ends.[82] Perhaps Villamont qualifies as one of the 'Romane Novice Travelers' Lithgow promises to supersede in his descriptions of what is to be seen in Italy.[83] This moment of translation and adaptation in Lithgow's narrative brings back into focus the issue of the difficult role he has created for himself as a pilgrim/traveller. Confronted with a wide range of sources, many of which he does not believe, Lithgow nevertheless includes them in his critique, providing his readers with a mixture of personal narrative and source material. His solution is to re-present some of this material not so much in bowdlerised as in 'knoxified' fashion. Lithgow translates freely, changing and adapting his sources, manipulating them to suit the polemical point of his narrative.

The habit of rewriting the texts he appropriates from others is one he also applies to his own adventures in Loreto in the several editions of his account. To his description, he adds a page-long condemnation of the exaltation of Mary to divine status in his 1623 edition, focusing his strongest mockery on her 'division' into a variety of names by various Marian devotionalists

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[82]Villamont's tale of his visit to the shrine was also read by the English traveller, Fynes Moryson, who in turn paraphrases various passages and stories from this account, but leaves out the central story of the Virgin's miraculous visit and speech to the abbot. It is worth noting that Moryson seems not to know of Angelita, for he attributes the researching of the story to Villamont, whom he mistakenly credits with having uncovered the history of the shrine on his own 'by diligent search'. See Moryson (1617), pp. 97-100. See also Villamont (1605), p. 112, for the spurious claim of originality.

[83]Moryson also distances himself from Villamont's assertions, repeatedly prefacing them with expressions like 'he sayeth' or 'he addeth'; he also inserts a stronger warning in the margins near the end of his remarks on Loreto: 'Let the reader beleeve as he list. Woe to him that beleeves. Woe to him that beleeves.' Moryson (1617), i. 98.

like Bernardino de Busti and St. Bonaventura, both of whom wrote litanies familiar to Catholic visitors of the shrine:

> [I]n their Bonaventure Ladies Psalter, Monstrate esse matrem, & coge illum peccatoribus misereri, Shew thy selfe a Mother and compell him (viz. Christ) to have mercy upon sinners. Infinit citations could I produce, of such like intollerable attributs, beside the dividing of her in a 1000 stiles, viz. The Lady of the wines, Lady of the oyles,... Lady of the meeds, Lady of the sheepe and goats, Lady of the springs,... [etc.] (31)

Lithgow's scornful catalogue, which also includes Ludolphus of Saxony and John Chrysostom, demonstrates his remarkable familiarity with a wide range of source material and further indicates his willingness to appropriate and ridicule the works of others in order to dissuade the aforementioned 'Roman Novice Travellers' from pursuing an idolatrous course.[84] His own 'litany' of titles for Mary, fashioned in a style that mocks the repetition of Marian salutations in Catholic versions of the Psalter, continues for another page and a half, borrowing titles from places he visited and a variety of written sources. Rather than ending with a 'Hail Mary', however, his litany ends with a curious blessing:

> But to conclude their blasphemies, & horrible lies, blessed is the blessed Virgin Mary (the Mother of Christ according to the flesh) above all women for ever and ever. (32)

The significance of the 1623 additions to his remarks on Loreto is that they show a broadened familiarity with the sources associated with Marian devotion and his ever-increasing desire to turn this knowledge towards the refutation of Roman Catholic practices. At the same time, he is careful to declare his respect for Mary in terms that would meet with mainstream Protestant

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[84]His catalogue suggests that Lithgow was perhaps familiar with The Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1624), a translation by 'R.F.' of a French translation (1609) of the Psalterius S. Mariae Virginis (1554), attributed to Bonaventure. This work contains several litanies (pp. 329-336) which describe Mary with similar titles and attributes, a number of which Lithgow would have doubtless found incendiary: 'you as a mother can obtaine for us all that which we ask him' (24) 'be a mediatresse for me unto him' (23-4).

approval.

One last anecdote added in 1632 further serves to demonstrate Lithgow's habit of recording and reediting his own observations. Here, his scorn is expressed in language that seems to borrow from, or at least to share much in common with, developing preoccupations with verification and substantiation:

> There was, I say, a young lusty woman hard by my elbow, busie at her Beades, who with the heate of the throng, and for lacke of ayre, fell straight in a sound: the women about her gave a shoute, and cryd that our blessed Lady had appeared to her; whereupon she was carried forth and layd upon the steppes, that discend from the Chappell to the Church-floore, five hundred more come to visite her with salutations of Saint, Saint, O ever blessed Saint. (28-29)

In addition to illustrating a sometimes vivid and economical style of writing, this episode also supplies more eye-witness evidence to debunk 'fleshly false-sprung miracles' and to heap scorn upon the devotees of Loreto:

> Now it was Friday in the fore-noon and the woman having travelled all night, and to save charges of fish, had eaten a cold bit of her owne meat privately in the taverne, with halfe a Buckale of red Wine: The people more admiring this imaginary heavenly trance, than the reliefe of the woman; at last sayd I, brother Arthur, I will goe open yonder womans breast, and I did so: and holding up her head before all the people, there sprung a flood of vin garbo downe the Alabaster stayres, intermingled with lumpes of ill-chewed flesh: Whereat the people being amazed, from a Saint swore she was a Divell: and if my friend and I, had not made hast to carry the sick woman from the Church to a Taverne, doubtlesse, they had stoned her to death; and here was one of their miracles. (29)

It seems Lithgow has a ready, 'fleshly' explanation for what the others call a miracle. Although he rescues her from the fickle crowd, his narrative is not sympathetic to the 'young lusty woman', whose devotion is called into question in that she eats meat and drinks wine on a day when she is expected to eat fish and drink water. Lithgow's explanation, offered as evidence obtained with what he presents as empirical detachment, prefigures his later attempts at eyewitness observation and personal interpretation -- what he later describes as the 'Science of

the World'. His scepticism is a curious mixture of Protestant distrust and a scientific concern with proof. Here, too, we witness the way he participates in a stream of growing doubts about mysticism and magic. Once again, Parr's notions of 'surplus value' and threats to the narrative appear misguided, for clearly Lithgow judges this 'departure from the main narrative drive' to be a crucial moment in rendering his Italian journey as a lesson for his readers. Only the watchful traveller is adequately equipped to debunk old stories, false devotion, and misinterpretation with his 'true Histories' and 'lively Portraicture'.

Or at least this is what Lithgow would like his readers to think. The story behind the narrative's evolution is more complex. The anecdote of the 'false sprung fleshly miracle', unlike most of the other main features of his Loreto story, only appears in the 1632 edition of his work. More significantly, the figure of 'brother [James] Arthur', whom he names as a witness to the episode does not surface in either the 1614 or 1623 editions until Lithgow has reached Ancona, the day after his visit to the shrine: 'I embarked at Ancona in a Frigato: and by accident here I encountred with a most curteous, and discrete Gentleman, James Arthur, whose companie was to me most acceptable....'[85] Although it cannot be ascertained whether the tale is a complete fabrication or why Lithgow only saw fit (or remembered) to include it later, it is clear that in order to accredit the story, he has turned his 'discrete' friend into a witness of things he would not have seen, based on the evidence of earlier versions of the narrative. Thus it appears that, as with changes to his Roman description, he continues to 'make' his travels even when he is no longer there. It seems that Lithgow must re-vise and re-visit Loreto over and over in order to persuade his readers and himself of the proper significance of what he has seen and accomplished

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[85]Lithgow (1614), sig. C3; (1623), pp. 21-2.

in his travels and in his narrative.

III. Playing the Learned Geometrician in Venice

James Arthur continues to play a prominent role as a travelling companion and a witness of events in the 1632 version of Lithgow's passage to Venice. The most extraordinary of these spectacles is the execution they witness upon sailing up to St. Mark's square for the first time:

> Mine associate and I, were no sooner landed, and perceiving a great throng of people, and in the midst of them a great smoake; but we begun to demaund a Venetian what the matter was? who replied, there was a gray Frier burning quicke at S. Markes pillar, of the reformed order of S. Francis, for begetting fifteene young Noble Nunnes with child, and all within one yeare; he being also their Father confessor.... These fifteene with child, were all re-cald home to their fathers Pallaces; the Lady Prioresse, and the rest of her voluptuous crew, were banished for ever from the precincts of Venice. The Monastery was razed to the ground, their rents were allowed to be bestowed upon poore families, and distressed age, and their Church to be converted to an Hospitall. Most part of all which M. Arthur and I saw, before ever we either eate, drunke, or tooke our lodging in Venice..... (33-34)

As with the last anecdote in Loreto, Lithgow includes this incident only in 1632, the first two versions containing only a thumbnail sketch of the Serenissima and observations borrowed from Schott, Edwardes, and others.[86] The dubious circumstances surrounding James Arthur's inclusion in the last story from Loreto and the late appearance of this anecdote prompt a closer investigation of the Venetian episode. That Lithgow and Arthur should arrive during the burning of such a notorious character is a striking coincidence -- though interestingly it is by no means

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[86]Lithgow begins his description of each Italian city he visits (and a few he does not) with a Latin epigram and a loose translation of the verse into English. The epigrams, by Thomas Edwardes, first published in A. Romanus, Paruum Theatrum Urbium (Frankfort, 1595), are almost certainly borrowed by Lithgow from Schott, in whose work they appear on the opening pages. See Schott (1600), pp. ix-x. See epigrams in Lithgow, pp. 11, 19, 25, 32, 34, and 38.

unheard of, for Villamont describes the burning of a treacherous priest between the two columns of the Piazza immediately upon his own arrival.[87] That the dispossession of the nuns, the razing of the monastery, and the conversion of the church and its chattels into the property of a hospital should happen before the two had even stopped to dine, however, sounds utterly implausible. Nor is there any specific mention of this incident in the Venetian State Archives, the letters of the outgoing English Ambassador (who often recorded such events), or later catalogues and histories.[88] It would seem once again that Lithgow is willing to fashion or alter a story in order to bolster his polemical position. And in this case, where there is no specific evidence to support his account, it appears that he made the whole thing up.[89]

If it is the case that he concocted the incident, it must be considered whether his story-telling interferes with his duty as the 'pilgrim' traveller to render a 'true history', as well as whether the veracity of Lithgow's entire narrative of Italy should be called into question. Certainly, Lithgow has introduced a scarcely credible anecdote, but to dismiss the episode as a canard is to lose an opportunity to consider what (perhaps) contributed to its fashioning. A little detective work reveals possible sources for his tale. Venetian church historians write that the Church of Santa Lucia in the Canareggio was undergoing a major renovation from 1609 to 1611

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[87]See Villamont (1605), pp. 136-7.

[88]No specific reference is to be found in the CSP Ven; the reports of Wotton or Carleton; F. Sansovino, Venetia Citta Nobilissima et Singolare (Venice, 1663); or G. Tassini, Curiosita veneziane (9th ed. Venice, 1990).

[89]The most recent guides to Venetian sex, crime, and executions in the period -- B. Pullan, Venice: A Documentary History 1450-1630 (Oxford, 1992) and Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice (Oxford, 1971), as well as G. Ruggiero, The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice (Oxford, 1985) and Binding Passions (Oxford, 1993) -- do not mention this incident.

and was reconsecrated in 1617.[90] The site itself, near the English ambassador's residence, would have been in a state of disrepair when Lithgow passed by. During the time of Lithgow's visit, there is no mention of a specific incident involving the priest and several nuns of St. Lucia, but there are letters from Sir Henry Wotton which speak of men who were caught entering a well-known convent, Franciscans and Benedictines who were put to death for heresy, and other public executions in the Piazza -- all occuring in the months leading up to and perhaps after Lithgow's arrival.[91] Similar cases are by no means unheard of in early modern Venice: for example, on 10 November 1561, a priest named Pietro Leon of Valcamonica was beheaded and burned on the Piazzetta after confessing to having known twenty women in the convent of the Convertite on the Giudecca. Although this nunnery was not populated by daughters of Senators (rather, retired prostitutes), the priest seems guilty of even more sinister crimes than Lithgow attributes to his wayward Franciscan: Leon confessed to having drowned children born after his liaisons with the nuns.[92]

Perhaps Lithgow heard this or a similar story and, having witnessed a burning upon his arrival, conflated the story of such a friar with the mayhem surrounding the rebuilding of St.

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[90]'L'anno 1609: si gittò à terra il resto della Chiesa vecchia.' Sansovino (1663), p. 141. See also Tassini (1990), pp. 355-56.

[91]See esp. Wotton's Letters i, 438-63 (Summer 1608-Summer 1609). On the condemnation of friars by the Quarantia Criminale of the Venetian Senate in Decembert 1608, December 1609, see CSP Dom (1603-10), p 486; CSP Ven (1607-10), p. 401, 403; and G. Tassini Alcune delle più clamorose Condanne Capitali eseguite in Venezia sotto la Repubblica (Venice, n.d.), p. 292. Tassini in particular mentions a 'Padre Girolamo', canon of St Spirito, executed in 1609.

[92]Leon's scaffold speech can be found in the Correr Library: Cicogna MS. 3239 -- misnumbered as MS 2082 in Tassini (1990) and elsewhere. The particulars of Leon's confession further resemble the case Lithgow describes, especially the role played by the convent's mother superior in the affairs of the wayward priest.

Lucia. Coupled with the facts that the English embassy and much of the city was rife with anti-papal sentiment and that the pro-papal convent of St. Anna's was in disrepute because eleven well-born sisters had been caught a few months before with nine noblemen in their rooms, the mixing of the stories begins to seem more plausible.[93] Recalling that Lithgow recreates this portion of his narrative only for the 1632 edition, around twenty years after his visit, and considering his approach to story-telling elsewhere in Italy, the description he gives of the incident makes more sense. Once again, we witness him writing his travels at a remove, compressing a variety of stories and memories from his inspection of Venice, epitomizing them as typical tales to be expected of monks, nuns, and visitors of monasteries.[94] As narrative, it reads quite well; and for his readers, it provides the perfect Protestant version of what one would expect to find nuns and priests, an idealised account by an observant pilgrim.[95]

He lets other characteristics of his narrative style peep through in this astonishing story, thus giving his readers a foretaste of the kind of story-telling that will dominate the accounts of

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[93]On St. Anna's, see esp. Wotton's Letters, pp. 438-40. The sisters of St Anna's convent were noted for their pro-papal politics, which may have lent emphasis to local talk of their impropriety. See also Tassini (1990), p 29, and similar cases in W. Bouwsma, Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty (Berkeley, 1968), pp. 386-90.

[94]The Venetian poet, Busenello, would writes of 'nuns consecrated to God, who every day came to the window to meet their lovers' and of the similarity in Venice between going to mass and going to the bordello. [*La monaca ch'a Dio xe consecrada/ Xe ogni dì a la fenestra co l'amante.... Ai perdoni se va per far bordelo/ La messa serve per andar a spesso.*] Cited in P. Molmenti, La Storia di Venezia nella vita privata (7th ed. Trieste, 1973), iii. 356-58. Molmenti also cites six infamous instances of priests and noblemen illicitly entering convents between 1602 and 1611 (iii, 359).

[95]Aretino, the papal secretary, would agree: 'It is right to say as much evil as possible about nuns, since they show themselves to the rabble worse than the prostitutes. The stench of their corruption, which has peopled the world with Antichrists, prevents me from smelling the virginal flower of the true spouses and servants of God....' The Ragionamenti (1534) or Dialogues of the Divine Pietro Aretino (Paris, 1889) i, xxxiii.

his second and third journeys. As the priest burns, we witness the same biting sarcasm and anger as was expressed towards the 'fleshly false-sprung miracle' in Loreto, this time mixed with an even more shocking sense of humour:

> I sprung forward through the throng, and my friend followed me, and came just to the pillar as the halfe of his body and right arme fell flatlings in the fire... And I cannot forget, how after all this, we being inhungred, and also overjoyed tumbled in by chance, Alla capello Ruosso, the greatest ordinary in all Venice, neare to which the Friars bones were yet a burning: And calling for a Chamber, we were nobly & richly served: After dinner they layd up our budgets and our burdons, and abroad went we to see the Citie... The next morne... I demanded our dependant, what was to pay? he answered, Un scudo all huomo par ciascun ripasto, A Crowne the dyet for each of us, being ten Julets, or five shillings starling: Mr Arthur lookd upon me, and I laughed upon him... whereat my companion being discontented, bad the divell be in the Friars ballocks, for we had payd soundly for his Leachery: many like deaths, for like causes, and worser, have I seene in all my three voyages, if time could permit me to particularize them; But from this thou mayst play the learned Geometrician till thou findest more. (33-4)

As in other colourful anecdotes that appear only in 1632, Lithgow's style here is typified by even angrier and more ironic comments. Burning bodies, ambiguous references (-- was he 'overjoyed' because of the burning or because he found the inn?), and shocking oaths call to mind Nashe's style in The Unfortunate Traveller. The last of his tales from his initial visit to Italy, the anecdote also serves to put Lithgow's achievement as a 'pilgrim' thus far into perspective. Having successfully interpreted and avoided spiritual temptations along this first leg of his journey, he stands before a pyre upon which burns a priest who was unsuccessful in navigating around similar spiritual and temporal dangers.

The lines of most significance in this passage are the last few, however, where Lithgow situates his description of the burning friar in the context of 'many like deaths' he has witnessed. By declaring that he has no time to 'particularize' other such stories, he is perhaps owning up to the fact that this is what he has already done. Here, as elsewhere in Italy, he has taken the essential parts of various stories and assembled them into a coherent and succinct tale that fits the

point of view he wants to put forward. In this case, he constructs a version of a 'typical' or 'epitomized' burning for his Protestant audience in Britain. In addition, he encourages his readers to play 'the learned Geometrician', leaving to them the task of reconfiguring the scene in other settings, imagining and reimagining such moments played out over and over upon the Piazzetta and at numerous other sites in Italy and throughout the Roman Catholic world.[96] Once again, he issues a challenge to other 'like forward spirits', his Protestant readers, to act as travellers either by visiting these places or (if actual travel is impossible) by engaging in imaginative acts in order to multiply the number of such stories -- 'till thou findest more'. Thus Lithgow both 'animates' his own travels and provides his readers with the stories to 'incite' their own meditations.

By the end of the chapter (and the end of Lithgow's stay in Italy), James Arthur, his companion, slips out of view -- a silent witness, who might have confirmed or denied the Loreto and Venetian stories. Whether he would cannot be said, but he was certainly alive at the time of the Totall Discourse's publication and could have easily challenged or authorised Lithgow's account.[97] Whether or not he could is perhaps of secondary importance, for by the chapter's end, it becomes clear that Lithgow reckons the 'truth' of his account to be based on its nearness to epitomizing what best suits his arguments against Catholicism. The problem presented by the conclusion of his Italian chapter, its apparent elements of fiction, is complicated by the author's avowal at the opening of his work of presenting a 'true history' and 'lively portraiture' -- while

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[96]In an especially unpleasant moment later, Lithgow tells of hurrying from Geneva to Dijon to witness a similar burning. See Lithgow, p. 306-7.

[97]According to a brief farewell poem to Italy (pp. 35-6) added in 1632, James Arthur was still alive, having survived the Earl and Countess of Glencairn, whom he served from immediately after his return to Britain in 1612.

he creates the latter quite readily, his notion of the former suggests an abiding tension between 'truth' as material proof or correct religious conviction. This issue will be examined in a variety of other contexts throughout the thesis. In his Italian narrative, he demonstrates for the first time a scepticism towards what others describe as miraculous, but he seems willing to fabricate stories or graft other experiences onto his own and call them true. He is also not above complaining about expensive inns or making jibes at a dead priest's expense. Thus he offers a portrait of himself that shares something in common with Nashe's Jack Wilton, or the picaresque hero of Lazarillo de Tormes. Again this is a feature that will require further investigation, particularly in Spain.

In his carping about his bill at the Venetian ordinary, there comes the impression that Lithgow cannot find any peace in Italy. Likewise, there is no resolution in his Italian narrative. One senses that if Lithgow had found the time, he would have read other sources, remembered other details, or rewritten or added various anecdotes. As it stands, his Italian narrative, more so than any other portion of his 1632 work, remains a patchwork, the result of his habit of editing, reordering and intensifying his abuse of its Roman Catholic practices. Where does Lithgow's narrative of Italy point his readers? In physical terms, Venice is his last western port-of-call before he moves into the Mediterranean, for even in the Greek islands and mainland, most of the territory he travels through is under Turkish domination. Rome and Loreto in particular have served both to showcase his geographical and historical knowledge and to demonstrate his careful scripting and editing of the places and people he encounters to make them suitable for his readers. Most clearly in Loreto and Venice, Lithgow wilfully bends and appropriates texts and contexts for his own purposes. Nearly everything he sees, reads, or experiences is fitted to serve

his Protestant purposes and his self-depiction as a spiritual travailer. Every anecdote and detail contributes to the verification of his pilgrim vocation. The baroque, sensual worship he witnesses at Loreto, which Crashaw would find so appealing twenty years later, makes him uncomfortable and prompts him to spit with contempt. It will become part of his self-appointed pilgrimage to visit other shrines said to have housed the Blessed Virgin. An uneasy joining of facts and fictions, the narrative of Italy is Lithgow's chance to test his mettle as a writer and traveller before turning East.

Chapter Two -- Lithgow and the Way East: A Journey of Self Education

Lithgow sets off into the Mediterranean with the intention of exploring the Greek world, the Ottoman Empire, and the Holy Land. He travels in order to see how places along his route compare with what his studies and recent reports have led him to expect. When travelling in Italy, he found that Rome, Loreto, and Venice matched his Protestant predictions, or at least the way he describes them confirms what is to be expected in a reformed traveller's report. The Mediterranean presents him with a more complicated problem. Although there were many accounts of the region -- epics, geographies, histories, and travel guides -- they do not always correspond to what Lithgow finds. His narrative seems at first a jumble of borrowings, corrections, and personal anecdotes. He turns regularly to various written sources, but it is clear that these do not suffice to explain what he experiences. As a result, he pursues an extensive programme of observation and experimentation: eye-witness testimony serves to correct old notions and false reports.

Restless in his aims and egotistical as a narrator, Lithgow cannot be content simply to correct the record. He wants to present his travels as a unique set of adventures, so he rewrites the Mediterranean -- not only by offering first-hand observations to supersede the 'lying relations' of previous writers, but also by including a wide array of curious personal anecdotes and opinionated commentary. To distinguish himself from other writers, he experiments with his role in the narrative, trying on different guises throughout the region. Whereas he appears mainly as a Protestant pilgrim in Italy, he is a geographer, a commercial and political reporter, a scientific experimenter, a moralising iconoclast, and an epic hero as he moves East. Although too complicated and lengthy to be treated comprehensively here,

his Mediterranean account can be broken down into three significant parts. In the first leg, Lithgow tries to come to terms with his initial disappointment and feelings of alienation in the Mediterranean world. In the second leg, he confronts the Ottoman empire and attempts to explain its success as a political and religious culture in terms that conform to his world view. In the third, he describes Palestine -- not as previous Catholic pilgrims, but as a Protestant suspicious of many of the stories and practices he encounters. In each place, his use of sources and his efforts at originality, his evidence-gathering and first-hand observations, and his numerous personal stories reflect various aspects of what I call his struggle to educate himself.

I. Crossing the New Frontier: Lithgow's Passage to Constantinople

> After my returne from Padua to Venice... I imbarked in a Carmoesalo,[1] being bound to Zara Novo in Dalmatia: Scarcely had we lost the sight of Venice, but we incountred with a deadly storme...[t]he Master had no compasse to direct his course, neither was he an expert in Navigation. (40)

In light of the travels ahead of him, it seems appropriate that Lithgow found himself in a storm immediately after leaving the Serenissima. Sandys also describes the Adriatic as 'a Sea tempestuous and unfaithfull' and, even on the Elizabethan stage, these waters cast hapless sailors and travellers upon uncertain shores.[2] Other pilgrims who embarked from Venice, Protestant and Catholic alike, thought it best to pray before committing themselves to

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[1]Lithgow offers numerous westernizations of Turkish and Arabic words. Here, he refers to the *karamürsel*, a Turkish transport ship. See H. Kahane and A. Tietze, The Lingua Franca in the Levant (Urbana, Illinois, 1958).

[2]Sandys (1615), p. 2. See also Twelfth Night I.ii.

the perilous journey ahead.[3] Although Lithgow regularly found himself in danger during his time in Italy, he soon discovers that his travels through the Mediterranean hold encounters even more challenging. Italy presented him with alien sites and foreign beliefs, over which he exercised intense narrative control. That is to say, he repeatedly reminds his readers of his status as a Protestant pilgrim, often by turning sources and incidents to his own purposes and altering successive editions of his account to augment his own role and further deride Roman Catholicism. Despite its many pitfalls, Italy's dangers were at least easy to map. As he tries to reach Constantinople and Palestine, however, Lithgow must cross a surprisingly unfamiliar 'frontier'[4] country, a region inadequately described and so requiring especial vigilance and close observation. The resulting narrative of his Mediterranean passage reflects his familiarity with what has already been said about these places, but it also suggests that past accounts are inaccurate or outdated, which in turn prompts him to draw attention to his own observations and first-hand experiences. He claims to write with impartiality, but he cannot prevent prejudices from surfacing in his account. In addition, a sense of isolation afflicts him, perhaps prompting the idiosyncratic way he describes various moments during his passage. By turns, he battles with pirates, anatomises a monster, muses on fallen cultures, and recalls deep feelings of loneliness and alienation. The Mediterranean inspires him not only to observe and perform experiments in a world that needs newer, more accurate explanations, but also to experiment with his role as narrator and to create a highly personal account of his

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[3]Moryson recalls how he and his brother Henry (both Protestants) paused to pray for safe travel, along with Moorish and Catholic sailors and merchants, and Orthodox pilgrims, before leaving Venice. See Moryson (1617) i, 210.

[4]In The Mirror of Herodotus (Berkeley, 1988), F. Hartog describes 'frontiers' [*eschata*] as borders 'beyond which stretch great expanses about which nobody has any information' p.138. See also pp. 4-9, 62ff.

passage East.

Before discussing the more unusual aspects of Lithgow's narrative, it is important to look at what he does with the sources available to him.[5] As when writing on Italy, he regularly borrows and reworks what other geographers, historians, and travellers say, variously accepting, challenging, or entirely departing from them. To determine conclusively which guide(s) he used for geographical or historical detail is almost impossible -- because many writers give similar treatments of common topics.[6] Typically, Lithgow relates information obtainable from early geographers such as Pliny and Strabo, from cosmographers such as Botero or Munster, or from more recent travellers, such as Biddulph, Villamont, Nicolay, or Zuallart.[7] That he was familiar with an array of such writings is evident from various references in the text: 'Istria was called Giapidia according to Pliny...' (40),[8] 'by Strabo it [Cephalonia] was named Dulichi...'(57),[9] 'it is sayd by Aeneas Silvius in his Cosmographical treatise of Europe that divers Kings went about to digge through this Istmus [Peloponnesus]'(61).[10] Although it is possible that he turned to a wide range of sources, it

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[5]The most comprehensive discussion of sources used by contemporary British writers in the Mediterranean is Chew (1937).

[6]Rogers (1975) notes similar difficulties in identifying Sandys's sources, pp. xxxiii-xxxvii.

[7]G. Botero, Le Relazioni Universali (Ferrara, 1592) or the English translation by R. Johnson, The travelers breviat (1601) and numerous subsequent editions and enlargements; S. Münster, Cosmographiæ Universalis lib. vi. (Basil, 1550); W. Biddulph, The Travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy bythinia, Thracia, and to the Black Sea [etc.] (1609); Villamont (1605); N. De Nicolay, The Navigations, peregrinations and voyages, make into Turkie, trans. T. Washington (1585); and Zuallart (1587).

[8]Compare Pliny iii, 19; see also Zuallart (1587), p. 68.

[9]Compare Strabo x, 2; Pliny iv,12; see also Zuallart (1587), p. 80.

[10]Compare Pliny iv, 4; Aeneas Silvius, Historia de Europa cap. 22, as quoted in Botero (1616), sig. F2r. See also Zuallart (1587), p. 86.

seems more likely that he relied on one of the popular modern guides, most likely Zuallart's Il devotissimo viaggio (Rome, 1587), which traces a pilgrimage along much the same route as Lithgow's and gives numerous marginal references to Strabo, Pliny, Aeneas Silvius, and others. Other reference works could have supplied similar details --Botero or Münster, among others. But Zuallart's looks to be a likely main source for at least the first leg of Lithgow's itinerary, especially if we compare their reports in the Adriatic of, for instance, Istria's stone quarries, Corfu's invincibility, or Zante's ancient names.[11] It cannot be said whether he carried the work with him or simply used it to help draft his own 1614 edition, where almost all such apparent borrowings first appear. What is clear is that, if he used Zuallart, he did not simply ape his commentary or adopt it exclusively. Of Zante's fortress, for instance, he claims it is 'not unlike the Castle of Milaine' (58). By contrast Zuallart dismisses the building as being 'non di tal struttura ò magnificenza, come é quello di Milano'.[12] Whether both men are responding to a claim made by locals or Lithgow is actually modifying Zuallart's or some other source's pronouncement is arguable, but such moments point to an issue of greater significance in Lithgow's writings. As was the case with his use of Schott's remarks on Rome or Villamont's on Loreto, Lithgow judges whether previous treatments agree with his observations. At each port-of-call, he tests his humanistic and biblical studies and the recent surveys at his disposal, comparing what his education, written evidence, and expectations suggest with what he actually sees and believes.

The resulting commentary reflects the method and process of his self-education. He collates various pieces of evidence to set the record straight -- or at least to adjust it to his

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[11]Compare Lithgow, pp. 41, 52, and 57, with Zuallart (1587), pp. 68, 78, and 84.

[12]Zuallart (1587), p. 82.

own point-of-view. As he sails out of Venice, for instance, he notes that Istria 'By Ptolomeus [recalled by Münster[13]] it is sayd to be of length 100. miles, and forty large, but by mine experience onely 80. long and 20. large' (40-1). Although he does not explain how he calculated these measurements, he nevertheless stresses that he is conducting a first-hand, empirical survey. He records a similar correction in Crete:

> It is sayd by some Historians, that no venemous animall can live in this Ile; but I saw the contrary: For I kild on a Sunday morning hard by the Sea-side, and within two miles of Rethimos, two Serpents and a Viper... Wherefore many build upon false reports, but experience teacheth men the trueth. (79)

With 'experience' as his defense, Lithgow amends the historical and anthropological observations of others, in this case Pliny and Diodorus Siculus.[14] Later, he makes a report of three fountains on the island of Crete (79) and notes the differing taste of the water in each -- an instance of first-hand experimentation of which Bacon would have approved.[15] A report from the island of Serigo further shows to what lengths he sometimes goes in order to verify a story:

> The Greekes of the Ile told me there were wild Asses there, who had a stone in their heads, which was a soveraigne remedy for the Falling sicknesse, and good to make a woman be quickly delivered of her birth. I made afterward deeper enquiry for it, to have either seene or bought it, but for my life I could never attaine to any perfect knowledge thereof. (68)

Lithgow's effort to uncover the truth illustrates how his investigations are sometimes hampered by a lack of evidence. It is worth noting that the second sentence of this passage was added only in 1632. It is uncertain whether he added the point about his efforts to make

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[13]See S. Münster, La Geographia di Claudio Ptolemeo (Venice, 1548), p. 81v.

[14]See T. Browne's discussion of Cretan vipers in Pseudodoxia Epidemica vi, 8.

[15]'But the best demonstration by far is experience, if it go not beyond the actual experiment.' Novum Organum (cap. lxix) in Bacon Works, iv. 70.

a 'deeper inquiry' in order to add a detail he had earlier omitted or to strengthen the mere appearance of first-hand effort on his part. In either case, the care he takes to attribute the unproven story to Greek story-tellers serves to persuade his readers of his rigorous endeavours.

How original and experience-based is his narrative of his Mediterranean crossing, then? Although he generally claims to have conducted his own investigations, there is no doubt that he regularly turns to other sources. In some instances, as has been pointed out by Chew, Lithgow makes straightforward, theme-based borrowings from other contemporary writers, as with his comments when passing into the Morea:

> In all this countrey of Greece I could finde nothing to answer the famous relations, given by auncient Authors, of the excellency of that land, but the name onely; the barbarousnesse of Turkes and Time, having defaced all the Monuments of Antiquity: No shew of honour, no habitation of men in an honest fashion, nor possessours of the Countrey in a Principality. But rather prisoners shut up in prisons or addicted slaves to cruell and tyrannicall Maisters: So deformed is the state of that once worthy Realme, and so miserable is the burthen of that afflicted people....(65)

These sentiments originate in Antony Sherley's description of the island of Paphos:

> [W]ee departed to Cyprus, and Paphos, where wee found nothing to answere the famous relations given by ancient Histor[i]es of the excellency of that Iland, but the name onely, (the barbarousnesse of the Turke, and time, having defaced all the Monuments of Antiquity) no shew of splendour, no habitation of men in a fashion, nor possessors of the ground in a Principality; but rather Slaves to cruell Maisters, or prisoners shut up in divers prisons: so grievous is the burden of that miserable people, and so deformed is the state of that Noble Realme.[16]

From an eloquent (if dubious) contemporary, Lithgow borrows a discussion of degeneracy, expressed in words that reflect sentiments affirmed by Moryson, Sandys, and a host of Mediterranean travellers. Yet this is not a case of simple plagiarism, in that Lithgow lifts

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[16]See A. Sherley, Sir Antony Sherley His Relation of His Travels into Persia.... (London, 1613), p. 6. See also Chew (1937), p. 245.

these lines from a particular moment in Sherley's itinerary --a brief stop on his way to Persia- - and inserts them into the middle of a more general discussion of Greek civilization. Perhaps he found that Sherley's expressions about Patmos summed up his view of the Greek world as a whole. Besides changing the location (from an 'iland' to a 'land'), Lithgow alters the range (from 'no show of splendour' to none of 'honour'), significance (from 'no habitation of fashion' to none of 'honest fashion'), and victims (Sherley's 'slaves' become Lithgow's 'addicted slaves'). He re-forms Sherley's observations into a stronger moral judgement.

It is a typical pattern, which Chew does not note, that Lithgow is rarely content to leave what he borrows unretouched. He must alter such sources, if only slightly, to suit his particular point of view. This habit of altering and personalizing his accounts underscores an important difference between his approach and that of various contemporaries, including George Sandys. As noted in the introduction, arguments concerning Lithgow's reliance on this English predecessor are weakened, if not dismissed, by the fact that Lithgow published his first account a year before Sandys. Further complicating the issue is the fact that both men appear to turn to other sources -- Botero and Zuallart in the Adriatic and Greece, and, nearer Constantinople, Biddulph and Nicolay. Since all such accounts rely on other sources, what needs to be emphasized is how the use of these sources differs from place to place and author to author. To give one example, both men mention the trade in currants out of Zante -- information obtainable from a variety of contemporary guides, including Zuallart.[17] Whereas Sandys focuses mainly on the common themes of the riches brought by the trade and the talents of local farmers in cultivating currants in poor conditions, Lithgow devotes his main

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[17]Compare Sandys (1615), pp. 5-8, Lithgow, pp. 58-9, and Zuallart (1587), p. 81-5. On Sandys's possible use of Zuallart, see Rogers (1975), pp. 108-10.

attention to the deplorable dependence of 'addicted' Englishmen whose 'Liquorous lips' necessitate 'such a female Trafficke.' Currants become a springboard for a discussion of morality (more specifically, shortcomings of English morality): it is a typical Lithgow manoeuver which he repeats in Ireland. More immediately, in the Holy Land, Lithgow's habits of moralising and conducting further investigations stand in stark contrast with what are often the uncritical borrowings of Sandys.[18]

Lithgow's use of other sources does not mean his work lacks original investigations or observations.[19] His account of Crete ('Candy') includes extensive and detailed commentary quite unlike the limited surveys offered by previous European visitors. These remarks, which take up nearly fifteen pages of the 1632 account, include stories of bandit fraternities, herbs that turn teeth the colour of gold, English renegades, drunken friars, and a walk up Mt. Ida.[20] Earlier, while sailing around the Istrian peninsula, he speaks of meeting the 'Scoks', who inhabit the towns of 'Senna, Gradisca, and Novagrad'(42).[21] In recalling his visit among the Uskoks, Lithgow fashions what is perhaps the only first-hand contemporary British survey of this little-known group.[22] For the first but not last time, Lithgow plays the role of an anthropological observer, going beyond the available written record to bring back his own

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[18]Sandys's latest critic agrees that '[t]he presence of other texts in Sandys's book does not simply serve to mediate his perceptions of the eastern Mediterranean...; the other texts are inherent in his subject matter, are his subject matter... [K]nowledge is organized as the accretion of commentaries....' Haynes (1986), p. 40, 43.

[19]Friedman (1972) remarks that Lithgow 'travelled more extensively on the mainland of Greece' than any of his English contemporaries -- p. 115.

[20]See esp. Lithgow, pp. 70-84.

[21]Senj, Graĉac, and Novigrad.

[22]See C.W. Bracewell, The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth Century Adriatic (Cornell, 1992), pp. xii-xiii.

first-hand observations.[23] His ethnographical investigations perhaps reflect the recent revival of interest in Herodotus and, more generally, the growing number of *relazioni* from all over the world.[24]

Lithgow's description of the Uskoks suggests several important issues. Their newcomer status meant they were not included in classical commentaries on 'Sclavonia', so the field was relatively open for appraisals of them. Other more accomplished observers might have recognised the mixed origins of these Slavic, Croatian, and Greek refugees who made their living as raiders, but Lithgow nevertheless manages to give a confident, detailed account of their recent history.[25] The characteristics he focuses on are of interest as well. In addition to their demeanor -- 'robust... courageous and desperate'-- he describes their dress and their weaponry, and tells his readers that 'they are marveilous swift on foote, and dayly annoy by land their neighbouring Turkes with inrodes.'(42) The details he picks out suggest that Lithgow is not relating knowledge at random, but is attempting a strategic survey of the possibilities and dangers afforded by the Uskoks. He focuses in particular upon their prowess in battle and their adoption as mercenaries by different combatants for regional power -- including the Duke of Grasse, who later became Emperor Ferdinand. In his report, he far outdoes Sandys, Shirley, Moryson and other English visitors, and anticipates the interest a political observer such as Blount will show in years ahead. His observations would have gained the approval of Sidney and Essex, who believed in the importance of reports 'as may

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[23]See also his observations in North Africa (esp. pp. 329-32) and discussion of Irish ethnicity in Chapter Three, section I, below.

[24]See Arnaldo Momigliano, 'The Place of Herodotus in the History of Historiography', History 43 (1958), 1-13.

[25]Not mentioned by Lithgow's English contemporaries, the 'Scocchi' appear briefly in Zuallart (1587), p. 69.

bee serviceable for your Country'.[26] They also show his ability to treat certain groups with a mixture of curiosity and sympathetic fondness, for he ends his description by remarking that

> [t]hey are wonderfull kinde to strangers, which to me in no small measure was extended, and that by the better sort..., and onely for the affinity of Scoki and Scoti, although I dare sweare, there is little or none at all betwixt the two Nations. (43)

If his appreciation stems mainly from the way the Uskoks harrass both Venetian and 'Mahometan' merchants --rivals with British traders in the region-- the encounter nevertheless shows Lithgow distinguishing a smaller community in the midst of the war-torn landscape -- 'it was miserable defaced'. It shows he was capable of conducting his own research apart from the textual heritage at his disposal and in the face of uncertainty and danger.[27]

The region's 'defaced' landscape helps account for why so little was known about the Uskoks and why first-hand reports such as Lithgow's are rare. Endemic warfare in the Balkan peninsula from the late fourteenth century onwards made travel and commerce in the region dangerous. Even during the *Pax Ottomana*, piracy along the coast and brigandry on inland trade routes kept out all but the fearless or foolhardy.[28] The diminution of travel by auslanders contributed to the paucity of 'true accounts' and led instead to the multiplication of fantastic and horrific tales of what went on in these regions. The fact that, except for the

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[26]See Devereux, et al. (1633), p. 79. See Sidney on 'warlike considerations', pp. 84-5.

[27]In fact, Lithgow seeks out the uskoks again during his second journey, at the siege of Graĉac (1616), where '800. Scoks issuing out of towne, make bloudy havocke of 3000. of the Venetian army.' (p. 43) According to Lithgow, 'the whole number of these Scoks that are able to carry armes, be not above sixe thousand men'. This figure is not far from recent assessments, see Bracewell (1992), pp. 51-88.

[28]See Bracewell (1992), pp. 1-50, and A. Tenenti, Piracy and the Decline of Venice (London, 1967), pp. 3-15. See also H. İnalcik, The Ottoman Empire in the Classical Age 1300-1600 (London, 1973), pp. 41-52.

mythology and ancient history associated with these lands, little was known about them is borne out by the habit of contemporary travellers of calling most local inhabitants, 'Turks', a term used broadly to encompass nomads, ethnic Turks, Muslims, Slavs recently converted to Islam, and even Christian subjects of the empire.[29] This habit resembles the way Herodotus vaguely grouped together various peoples living beyond the 'frontier' as barbarous Scythians.[30] 'Turk' is a tag that does not begin to comprehend the ethnic complexity of the cultures to be found along the coasts, tucked within the valleys or perched along the mountain slopes of this region.[31] Instead, it suggests the fearful regard in which these people were held.

A mixture of fear and curiosity marks most contemporary encounters between English travellers and inhabitants in the region. When John Sanderson and his companions ran aground in the Morea, he writes that it 'put us all in extraordinary feare' -- not because of lost time or cargo, but because of reports of murderous local inhabitants.[32] Similar sentiments are recorded by Thomas Dallam, an organ-builder whose journal records his trip to the court of Mehmet III in 1599 to deliver an instrument sent by Elizabeth I on behalf of the Levant Company.[33] One of Dallam's anecdotes suggests the fear and ignorance under which many travellers and merchants laboured. Growing restless while under quarantine at Zante, Dallam

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[29]Bracewell (1992) notes that 'Vlach', a word that means shepherd, was also used as an ethnic tag -- p. 308.

[30]See Hartog (1988), pp. 7-9.

[31]See F. Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (London, 1973) -- esp. discussion of mountain dwellers (i, 25-52) and coastal communities (i, 138-47).

[32]See John Sanderson, The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584-1602 (London, 1931), p. 3.

[33]See Dallam's 'Journal' in Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant (London, 1893) pp. 5-98.

vowed one morning not to eat or drink before visiting a monastery perched atop a distant hillside.[34] Setting off with two companions, they passed through town into the countryside without incident; but when they encountered their first rural inhabitant, one of his companions refused to travel further and spent the rest of the day hiding under a bush, waiting doubtfully for his companions' return.

Despite his early morning vow and the protests of his other friend, who feared poisoning or drugging, Dallam eventually requested (with some difficulty) a drink from a passing native. The man offered him a bottle of Rebola wine, then escorted Dallam and his companion on their subsequent visit to the monastery, where the two Elizabethan Protestants witnessed a Catholic Mass (for the first time) and were fêted by local grandees. Returning to his companions, Dallam was berated for his foolhardiness until he told of the wine and the beautiful local women. In the remaining days of his stay, he made several more trips to the monastery -- each time bringing other members of the ship's crew and attempting to improve relations with his hosts, whose language and ethnicity he never ascertained. Dallam's inquisitiveness and bravery are as rare as his companions' fear is common to accounts of the day.[35] Indeed, with pirates, bad weather, robbers, illness, and kidnappers lurking in every conceivable place, wariness was probably the safest response for Mediterranean travellers.[36]

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[34]Zuallart (1587) mentions two famous hillside monasteries in Zante, pp. 82-3.

[35]Moryson expresses fears similar to Sanderson's in Cephalonia, where he and his companions do not venture from shore 'lest the inhabitants of those woodie Mountaines should offer us violence.' (1617) i. 212.

[36]In fact, Dallam later finds this out to his cost, when he is nearly captured along with a group of companions while standing on a quay-side in Rhodes. His saviour is a 'Turk' who had heard his organ playing and wanted to do him a good turn. The others were liberated upon payment of a bribe to the local 'beglerbeg' [governor] and the expedition hurried towards Constantinople, but the incident caused even the open-minded Dallam to comment that '[h]ere yowe maye se the base and covetus condition of these Rude and barbarus doged Tukes, and how litle they do Regard Christians.' See Dallam (1893), pp. 39ff.

The region was a source of wonderful variety and strangeness, but full of uncertainty and danger -- all of which makes Lithgow's observations and interaction with the Uskoks more impressive.

Another of Lithgow's investigations shows him looking beyond available sources and commentary and confronting a situation which other travellers might have avoided or mis-reported under similar circumstances. In this case, he gives a first-hand account of a 'monster' on the island of Lesina. By far his strangest eye-witness encounter, it appears first in his 1614 edition and, unlike many of his anecdotes, remains unretouched in 1623 and 1632. The passage itself is worth citing at length:

> [The governor] reported the story of a marvellous misshapen creature borne in the Iland, asking if I would goe thither to see it: wherewith (when I perfectly understood the matter) I was contented, and... when we came the Captaine called for the father of that Monster, to bring him foorth before us. Which unnaturall Childe being brought, I was amazed in that sight, to behold the deformity of Nature; for below the middle part, there was but one body, and above the middle there was two living soules, each one separated from another with severall members. There heads were both of one bignesse but different in Phisnomy: The belly of the one joyned with the posterior part of the other, and their faces looked both one way, as if the one had carried the other on his backe, and often before our eyes, he that was behind, would lay his hands about the neck of the formost. Their eyes were exceeding bigge, and their hands greater then an Infant of three times their age. The excrements of both creatures issued foorth at one place, and their thighes and legges of a great growth, not semblable to their age, being but sixe and thirty dayes old; and their feete were proportionably made like to the foot of a Cammell, round and cloven in the middest. They received their food with an insatiable desire, and continually mourned with a pitifull noyse; that sorrowful man told us, that when the one slept, the other awaked, which was a strange disagreement in Nature. (47-8)

His investigation and presentation of the particulars of this encounter show at once how he brings scientific principles to his searches, but cannot depart from certain old-fashioned or moralising notions.[37] Firstly, it is noteworthy that, before agreeing to make the side-trip,

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[37]See Bacon's remarks on properly gathering and assembling 'particulars' in Novum Organum (caps. cii-civ), in Works iv, 96-7.

Lithgow recalls his difficulty in grasping what the Lesinians intend to show him, telling us that it took a while before he 'perfectly understood the matter.' He makes sure he has a clear understanding of what he is about to be shown and, rather than relying on hearsay, he investigates the matter himself. Thus he attempts to push back the boundaries beyond which things inexplicable (or rather unexplained) exist. Likewise, he underscores the distances (physical and cognitive) which he has to cross in order to do so.

Although he makes a conscientious attempt to render a first-hand account, there is a level of confusion and tension apparent in the language he uses to describe the twins. At first, he speaks as though they challenge or violate the natural order. 'Nature' in them has produced a 'deformity', their sleeplessness is 'a disagreement in nature', and their mother's death in childbirth serves as both a condition and consequence of their unnaturalness. Here, he parrots the way Boaistuau would have treated such an unfortunate pair.[38] His portrayal of their clubbed feet ('proportionably... of a Cammell') and his parting words ('Leaving this monstruous shapen Monster...') resemble previous treatments of similar 'monsters',[39] but the rest of the passage suggests that he was struggling to come up with a more scientific way of describing them. Despite his difficulty in finding adequate expressions, Lithgow nevertheless tries to provide a detailed, almost clinical, description of how the twins are attached to one another, how they eat, cry, and eliminate, and how their limbs and organs are shaped. Significantly, he cannot decide whether to describe them in the singular or plural. First he speaks of 'a marvellous misshapen creature', 'that Monster', 'unnaturall Childe', and 'one

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[38]P. Boaistuau, Certaine secrete wonders of Nature.... trans. E. Fenton, (1569) [orig. Histoires prodigieuse.... (Paris, 1560)].

[39]Of monsters, Boaistuau writes that 'they do for the most part discover unto us the secret judgemēt and scourge of the ire of God.' (1569), sig. A4v. See also A. Paré, Des Monstres et Prodiges.... (Paris, 1573).

body' then he describes 'two living soules', 'both creatures, and 'their' heads, faces, and eyes. He vacillates between a desire to offer a scientific account and the superstitious preoccupations typical of earlier treatments of 'monsters' or other inhabitants of the region. Although his style of presenting ethnographic or scientific wonders is ground-breaking and shares much in common with principles expressed by Bacon, it is not so very far removed from notions Bacon derides.[40]

Lithgow's manner is also not far removed from that of sixteenth-century cosmographers such as André Thévet. Thévet, in his Cosmographie du Levant (1554), follows a suggestive sequence when recalling his own observations along the Illyrian coast. Firstly, he meets the 'Sclavonians', a group he calls handsome and strong (owing to the climate in which they lived), but speaking a language he describes only as savage.[41] He then goes on to describe the fearsome wolves reported to live in the woods and mountains of their region. He follows this with a chapter entitled 'Des transformacions', which speaks of lycanthropes, or wolf-men, supposed to roam the countryside as well. Although he ultimately rejects the idea that such half men/half beasts exist, it is notable that the three should follow in succession: men who speak a savage tongue, wolves, then the putative wolf-men. As he moves eastward, Thévet finds that the inhabitants, or at least reports of them, resemble men -- or men like himself-- less and less.[42] Instead of dismissing the wolf-man stories out of hand,

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[40]See Bacon's *Idols of the Cave* in Novum Organum (caps. liii-lviii) in Works iv, 59-60.

[41]'Touchant leur langage, certes il est fort sauuage, & difficile à comprẽdre....' Thévet (1554), p. 24. See related commentary in F. Lestringant, 'Les Représentations du Sauvage dans l'Iconographie Relative aux Ouvrages du Cosmographe André Thévet' in Bibliotèque d'humanisme et Renaissance, xl (1978), 583-95.

[42]Campbell (1988), pp. 60-80, makes the same argument with respect to Pliny who saw the world as normal at its centre (Europe) and monstrous at its margins (Asia and Africa).

he uses them to introduce a commentary on the degeneracy of mankind, or more particularly, the degeneracy of men in the region. Whether or not such beasts exist, the reports of the lycanthropes suggest that there are places and circumstances which favour the devolution of man from his right estate.[43] Thévet and other continental commentators describe landscapes where one can expect to find (at best) people who offend European sensibilities or (at worst) monsters who challenge description.[44]

Lithgow clearly moves beyond Thévet's treatment of the stories of half-men/half-beasts in that he fits the Siamese twins (however tendentiously) into humankind. Yet, in spite of the relative 'modernity' of his investigations, he finds not just the twins, but other people and places in the region, difficult to fit into the categories with which he is familiar. Like Thévet, he cannot help but see such individuals as embodying some of the degenerate character of the region at large. By turns, what he witnesses fascinates and depresses him, evoking pity and disgust for what might almost be called a counterfeiting of nature and order. It is this confusion, this blurring of categories -- not to mention the departure from what books and guides have led him to expect -- which helps make the journey so difficult and depressing for him. Does this 'monster' presage a more general degeneracy to be found in the rest of the Mediterranean world? If this is his underlying view, Lithgow never explicitly says so -- if anything he hides such notions under a sea of 'scientific' detail and eye-witness commentary. Nevertheless, a sense of dread and disenchantment filters into his narrative as

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[43]See Thévet (1554), pp. 26-9. See also R. Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy (I.i.i.iv.)

[44]A Venetian official, travelling from the Velebit Channel to the *montagne della Morlacca*, gives a similar account of local 'Vlachs': 'The inhabitants... have an appearance more feral than human. They live on milk and cheese, because livestock is all that they possess, and they are people of the Serbian and heretical faith and are subjects of the Turk. They are coarse and dirty and live together with their animals constantly.' Cited in Bracewell (1992), pp. 30-1.

he continues East. He shares the view that Greece's decline can be explained as the scourge of God for the wickedness and vainglory of its people and society, and that the Greek world was smitten with a spiritually enervating torpor when it fell to the Ottoman empire:

> In a word, they are wholly *degenerate* [italics mine] from their Auncestors in valour, vertue, and learning: Universities they have none, and civill behaviour is quite lost: formerly in derision they tearmed all other Nations Barbarians: A name now most fit for themselves, being the greatest dissembling lyers, inconstant, and uncivill people of all other Christians in the World. (105)[45]

Lithgow maps the successive stages of Greek decline, drawing evidence from his own experience to certify common views about their loss of 'valour, vertue and learning'.

Numerous dramas played on the London stages proverbed the Greeks for degeneracy -- not only for their ignorance, but also for their drunkenness and dishonesty, the last of which faults (among Cretan Greeks) was even noted in Scripture.[46] To bolster these notions, Lithgow describes manifestations he witnesses first-hand. He even defends one of his own drinking sessions --with a group of Orthodox priests in Crete-- as a piece of investigative work by claiming to have drunk with them 'oftentimes against my will.'[47] As he travels through this landscape of decaying civilisation, it is clear that he is acting not only as a

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[45]Sandys (1615), p. 77, describes Greece as '[a] Nation once so excellent, that their Precepts and examples do stille remaine as approoved Canons to direct the mind that endeavoreth vertue... to whom the rest of the world were reputed *Barbarians*. But now their knowledge is converted, as I may say, into affected ignorance... their liberty into contented Slavery, having lost their minds with their Empire... now they delight in ease, in shades, in dancing and drinking: and no further for the most part endeavour their profit, then their bellies compell them.'

[46]'The heathen Poet Epimenides, yea, and the Apostle Paul in his Epistle to Titus, did tearme them [Cretan Greeks] to have beene ever liers, evill beasts, and slow bellies.' Lithgow, p. 81, see also 58 and 106. Compare with Zuallart (1587), p. 89. For other references to the vices of 'Merry Greeks', see Chew (1937), pp. 60-3.

[47]Lithgow recalls a priest called 'Pattarras Matecarras, Pater Libenter, or Father of free will, indeed a right name for so sottish a fellow, for he was so free of his stomacke to receive in strong liquor.' (83)

reporter, but also as a moral commentator.[48] With his contemporaries, he shares the view that God has withdrawn his favour from the region, drawing evidence from the slavish, drunken lifestyles and debased values of the inhabitants, from the dangerous weather and seas, and even from the 'monsters' to be found there. A pattern emerges in which degeneracy follows a decline in fortune and is witnessed by a sympathetic decay of place.[49]

Even the landscape itself seems to have been affected by degeneration, as Lithgow finds when recalling his perilous passage through Arcadia. Far from resembling the reports of ancient poets, the place is 'hilly and barren.' (62) The country is such a desert that he must palliate his thirst and hunger for several days -- reciting 'Songs of Arcadian Sheepheards' instead of eating. It is worth noting in this connection that Lithgow's first-hand observations of Arcadia supersede other reports, including Sandys's hearsay declaration that the region is prosperous and 'fruitfull'.[50] Throughout Greece, he complains about the inaccuracies of written sources and the ignorance of his dragoman guides, who often either do not know where they are or seem unable to tell him the truth. When taken to recognisable sites, Lithgow finds that the relics bring only depression, as at Lacedemonia, where 'the lumpes of ruines and memory onely' (63) remain. Looking out over the once-great city of Thebes in Macedonia, he reflects on the region's decline:

> Whose former glory, who can truely write of; for as the earth, when she is disroabed of her budding and fructifying trees, and of her amiable verdure, which is her onely

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[48]Lithgow speaks of another instance of Greek dishonesty upon his return to England when he discredits several Greek protégées of the Spanish ambassador who try to raise money for a non-existent religious house they claim stands on Mount Moriah. See Lithgow, pp. 244-5.

[49]For similar views on patterns of decline expressed by Bacon, Donne, Jonson, and others, see A. Guibbory, The Map of Time: Seventeenth Century English Literature and Ideas of Pattern in History (Urbana, 1986), p. 1-33.

[50]Compare Lithgow, pp 62-3, and Sandys (1615), p. 9.

grace and garment royall, is like a naked table wherein nothing is painted: even so is Thebes..., as if the spring-tide had bene taken from the yeare: But what shall I say to know the cause of such like things, they are so secret and mysticall; being the most remote objects, to which our understanding may aspire, that we may easily be deceived, by disguised and pretended reasons; whilst we seeke for the true and essentiall causes: for to report things that are done is easie, because the eye and the tongue may dispatch it, but to discover and unfold the causes of things, requireth braine, soule, and the best progresse of nature. (107)

At first, Lithgow seems to suggest that no one has fathomed the fall of the Greeks, but this is not the case. For him, the causes are penetrable, the answers to be found by careful study, tempered by an understanding of the essential weakness of human institutions and the timeless wisdom of God. What is more, he must bring his own idiosyncratic moral faculty to these evaluations -- both to 'unfold the causes of things' and to draw forth the lessons he wants to impart to his British readers. Why? No one can say when his own nation (or rather his sovereign's nation) might suffer a change in fortunes similar to the Greek decline: after all, the currants exported from the region have already induced a slavish, sensual attachment in England.[51] In the Mediterranean world, everything he encounters bears the glaring taint of sin, every site is an indicator of how far man is capable of falling away from God, true religion, and virtue. As Lithgow often wears his religious beliefs on his sleeve, he continually colours his investigations with moralising judgements. The effect of such moralising upon his reportage becomes more pronounced as he comes to Constantinople and to the Holy Land. Before these portions of his itinerary can be discussed, however, it is important to consider another effect of his lonely experiences along the first part of his Mediterranean odyssey -- namely, the way he experiments with a more pronounced role for himself within the narrative.

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[51]'There is no other Nation save this, thus addictd to that miserable Ile.' (59)

Lithgow's attempts to verify or discredit older accounts from the Mediterranean, and his observations of the warlike Uskoks, the Lesinian monster, and moral degeneracy among the Greeks, give a sense of why he may have felt disillusioned or alienated while passing through the region. Its strangeness and desolation, its poverty and dangers, may further explain why he focuses more attention on his own presence in the narrative. As he travels East, he calls himself a 'pilgrim' more frequently and develops a more prominent, varied role for himself --not just as an experimenter or a moralist, but also as a hero and poet akin to the classical figures who formerly travelled through the storm-wracked Mediterranean. His Arcadian account (besides correcting an outdated report) illustrates how he sometimes deals with disappointing surroundings -- here by making a foray into Arcadian poetry. An earlier indication of his tendency to poeticise his journey surfaces just after he leaves Venice, where he describes a conversation with his vessel's 'Dalmatian Maister', who upon hearing of the Scotsman's ambitious itinerary, '[m]y solitary travelling... bewailed, wishing me to desist, and never attempt such a voyage' (43-4). Lithgow rarely misses an opportunity to record the astonishment of others for his 'solitary' attempts. Here, the captain's concern foregrounds the dangers Lithgow faces and allows him an opportunity to defend his reasons for undertaking such a trip -- reasons which evolve between 1614 and 1632.

In his 1614 edition, Lithgow responds to the captain with a lengthy explanation of his desire to win glory and honour on behalf of Scotland (or Britain) and James. He wants to prove 'to my natives, that zeale I bore, in undertaking such dangers (as it were) for that never-conquered Kingdomes sake' and he tells of a sense of 'innated duty, which I did owe unto my dearest nation'.[52] In 1632, he drops this nationalistic passage and focuses instead upon his

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[52]Lithgow (1614), sig. D.

own restless ambitions. He reflects upon the 'ignorance and sloth' which have inhibited others from pursuing 'high and heroyicke designes' (44) and sings the praises of those who are brave enough to imitate his own 'constant resolution' and courage. This alteration repeats a tendency discussed in the introduction and first chapter: namely, that when Lithgow rewrites his account, he revises not only incidents and places along his itinerary, but also his own motives for travelling. He becomes more apt to exalt his own role and to deliver sententious commentary about his undertakings. He assumes a stronger, more distinctive voice as a narrator. Whereas he speaks of the glory of James's kingdom in 1614, he focuses upon himself, his own bravery and singularity, in 1632.[53]

Violent situations and encounters with unsavoury figures offer him opportunities to appear as an actor, rather than a mere observer, in his narrative. He tells, for example, of a sea fight off the coast of St. Maure between his ship and a 'Turkish Galley of Biserta', beginning with the panic which ensued when the pirates were first spotted:

> the amazed Maister demaunded, of every man what was best to doe, some replyed one way, and some another: Insomuch, that the most part of the passengers gave counsell, rather to render, then fight; being confident, their friends would pay their ransome, and so relieve them. But I the wandring Pilgrime, pondering in my pensive breast, my solitary estate, the distance of my Country and friends, could conceive no hope of deliverance. (54-5)

He uses the opening portion of the tale to underscore his isolation and the danger of his situation, but he also reminds his readers that he remains a pilgrim who has already survived the dangerous first leg of his journey. In his typically quick-witted fashion, he summons up an appropriate solution:

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[53]Contrast a recent critic of Sandys: '[H]is trip... as a series of personal experiences is not given a significant form: there is no psychological development, no religious allegory (e.g. of pilgrimage), no deepening of knowledge or poetic impressions. The world Sandys travels through is full of symbolic patterns... but they are not attached to his life or (except occasionally) to his passage through the landscape in which they are involved.' Haynes (1987), p. 46.

> Upon the which troublesome and fearefull appearance of slavery, I absolutely arose, and spoke to the Maister, saying... my counsell is, that you prepare your selfe to fight, and goe encourage your passengers, promise to your Mariners double wages, make ready your two peeces of Ordonance, your Muskets, Powder, Lead and halfe-Pikes: for who knoweth, but the Lord may deliver us from the thraldome of these Infidels. (55)

Whether he found such eloquence at the time, Lithgow's stirring words resemble those of the ill-fated Lemot during a like situation in Robert Daborn's A Christian turn'd Turk (1612):

> My worthy friends, yet what persuasion needs
> To stirre up valour. Where necessity
> And justice of our cause, in basest spirits
> Would strike a fire to kindle cowardize?[54]

Like Lemot, Lithgow succeeds in inspiring captain and crew. His subsequent tale, with its solemn prayers, thundering broadsides, and providential storm, recalls their escape in thrilling detail. The fact that seven of his fellow passengers were killed outright and eleven others mortally wounded conveys a sense of the violence many travellers, including Moryson, Villamont, and Thévet, encountered in the Mediterranean.[55] Moreover, the way Lithgow contrasts his resolution with the cowardice of his companions illustrates his increased presence in the narrative. He is 'the wandering Pilgrime' travelling in 'solitary estate' who must rely on God's grace, but who also uses impressive presence of mind and plays a signal role in directing the course of events. Whatever the truth of the matter -- for there is no way of knowing whether he invented or sensationalised the story[56] -- Lithgow presents himself as

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[54]R. Daborn, A Christian turn'd Turk (1612), sig. B3r-B3v.

[55]See Lithgow, pp. 54-6. He later recounts a sea-chase with Turks near Pathmos (87). Both episodes are worth comparing with Thévet's fight near Ragusa, (1554), pp. 32-4; Villamont's 'Perilleux passage entre les isles d'Agousta & Pelagosa [near Lesina]', (1605), pp. 211-12; and Moryson's reports of pirates in the Adriatic and Mediterranean, (1617) i. 268-69.

[56]On Mediterranean piracy, Strachan (1962) writes that 'in the twelve years from 1607-1619 over 12,000 Christian prisoners of all nationalities [were brought] into Algiers alone.' -- pp. 161-62.

an inspiring hero, who relies on his wits and the protection of Providence to avoid disaster.

His resourcefulness is that of a picaresque narrator, possessed of a strong personality adaptable to shifting circumstances. Although the pirate story is part of his original account, this style of self-presentation is more pronounced in his 1632 edition than in 1614. His personal stories grow more numerous and heroic, suggesting that he wanted to present himself more formally as a hero as his journey progresses. Take the example of a line penned in 1614: '...from Zara I imbarked in a small Frigot, bound for Lesina'.[57] To this, he adds a flowery introduction in 1632:

> When the wandring night was chased from the inferiour Ilands, by the recoursing day, and the Sunne had imparted his brightnesse to our under neighbours, and our dreames ready to possesse the Theater of the fancy, the wearisome creatures of the world declining to their rest; and under shaddow of the pale Lady of the night; even then *from Zara I imbarked in a small Frigot, bound for Lesina.* (45)

Such embellishments lend a sense of romance and suggest that he grew to see himself in the role of a heroic traveller, for whom there is no dawn but a 'rosy-fingered' one. Such elements are already apparent in his first edition, as when he remembers a cold night in Argos:

> Here I had the ground to be a pillow, and the world-wide-fields to be a chamber, the whirling-windy-skies, to bee a roofe to my Winter-blasted lodging, and the humide vapours of cold Nocturna, to accompany the unwished-for-bed of my repose.[58]

Although this poetic depiction of hardship appears in 1614, Lithgow appends several lines in 1632 which further rarefy his circumstances:

> *...the unwished-for-bed of my repose.* What shall I say then, the solid, and sad man, is not troubled with the floods and ebbes of Fortune, the ill imployed power of greatnesse, nor the fluctuary motions of the humerous multitude; or at least, if he be sensible of his owne, or their irregularities, or confusions, yet his thoughts are not written in his face, his countenance is not significant, nor his miseries further seene than in his owne private suffering; whereas the face and disposition of the feeble one,

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[57]Lithgow (1614), sig. Dv.

[58]Lithgow (1614), sig. E3v.

ever resembleth his last thoughts, and upon every touch, or taste of that which is displeasant and followes not the streames of his appetite, his countenance deformeth it selfe, and like the Moone, is in as many changes as his fortune, but the noble resolution must follow Æneas advice in all his adventures;

> Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
> Tendimus in latium, &.
> By diverse wayes, and dangers great we mind,
> To visit Latium, and Latinus kind. (64-5)

That he ends the passage with a quotation from Virgil is no coincidence -- it is clear that by 1632 he insists more strongly on presenting himself as a kind of modern Aeneas. Like the classical hero, Lithgow ponders his troubles with the 'ill imployed power of greatnesse' which forced him to leave his homeland. In the lines immediately preceding this passage, set in the land from which Helen of Troy was snatched, he writes a fairly nasty poem alluding to his own encounter with a 'licentious' Helen, sister of Hamilton of Stonehouse. (63-4) Again, he situates himself and his circumstances in the inheritance of antiquity. Throughout, he writes of constant loneliness and frequent mishaps, but he argues that, like an Aeneas, his stalwartness and the hand of Providence will see him through.[59]

Other suggestions of the exalted view he took of his journey appear later in his account. On the island of Paros (85), he recalls with poetic emphasis the nights he spent in a lonely chapel, because the locals would not offer him accommodation. Later, when his ship founders off the coast of Eolida, he tells how he saved himself by floating on his 'coffino', the trunk containing his 'papers and linen', to the shores of Scios (89-90). The incident offers another glimpse of his habit of altering and improving his tale over time -- especially where he adds in 1632 his rationale for leaping out of the boat with the Coffino:

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[59]None of the aforementioned 'heroic' devices were added in 1623, an absence which suggests he may have had less time to revise this portion of his account during his stay in Charterhouse and which further highlights the gradually evolving view Lithgow took of himself and his role in the narrative.

> That it might have brought my dead body to some creeke, where being found, might have beene by the Greekes buryed; and partly I held it fast also, that saving my life, I might save it too. (90)

Interestingly, he notes that Scios is the site of Homer's sepulchre -- he does not seem to doubt that the site is real. It is a coincidence that further suggests how Lithgow casts himself as a survivor/hero of Odyssean stature. That he should save and be saved by the notes describing his journey as he washes ashore in Scios underscores the kinship he shares with Homer's resourceful hero. Although circumstances do not always lend themselves to heroic treatment, he consistently writes of his adventures as though they point to his higher calling. A Christian with a belief in heavenly authority over all things, he no doubt looked upon his survival as an indication of God's approval. Such a conviction helps explain the conventions of romance and epic, the inflated style, and the addition of so many details and stories of hair-breadth escapes in the 1632 edition of his Totall Discourse.

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If Lithgow, by turns, casts himself as picaro or pilgrim, historian or hero, then how does he avoid losing a sense of himself, a personal identity, in the Mediterranean world? Already we have seen him counterfeit others, borrowing various styles, concerns, and details from fellow travellers like Villamont, Sherley, and Zuallart. Although he reworks and gives his own twists to these accounts, and checks details more thoroughly than many other writers, he still often derives or imitates. It might be asked whether the act of writing sometimes presents a danger to his 'real' identity. Aspects of his 'counterfeiting' are even more pronounced in 1632 where he spends more space inventing a role for himself as a pilgrim and hero struggling against flux and degeneracy. Rather like Sancho Panza in the second part of Don Quixote, Lithgow seems more conscious of himself as a literary figure in his revised

work.

Such issues must be examined carefully, but it is important not to suggest that Lithgow's style lacks qualities of continuity. Among them (as will be discussed in Chapter Three below) Lithgow makes much of his Scottish heritage, frequently comparing sites throughout the Mediterranean with places in Caledonia and never hesitating to berate those, like Camden, who belittle his country.[60] He mourns the wrongs of his Helen (63-64); the quails of Melos remind him of the grouse in Scotland (84); and on Lesbos, he writes a poem (99-102) reviewing his adventures as pilgrim, wanderer, hero, and prophet, but directing special attention to memories of his native land:

> Yet still when I record,
> The pleasant bankes of Clide:
> Where Orchards, Castles, Townes and Woods,
> Are planted by his side:
> And chiefly Lanerke thou,
> Thy Countries Laureat Lampe:
> In which this bruised body now
> Did first receive the stampe. (101)

Ultimately, Lithgow casts himself as a unique traveller. In moments of scientific inspection, highly coloured anecdotes, reflections on degeneration, and even in his borrowings from others, he manages to turn his Mediterranean odyssey into an intensely personal one. His inner self bears the 'stampe' of his home, his country, and his beliefs. These assorted habits of self-representation accompany him as he makes his way to Constantinople and the Holy Land.

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[60]For his digression on Camden, see Lithgow, pp. 95-7.

II. Constantinople: Lithgow's 'prospect of that little World'

> I beheld... the Prospect of that little World, the great City of Constantinople; which indeed yeeldeth such an outward splendor to the amazed beholder, of goodly Churches, stately Towers, gallant Steeples, and other such things, whereof now the World make so great accompt, that the whole earth cannot equall it. (116)

Lithgow's comments on his several months in Constantinople and his subsequent adventures in other Ottoman-held lands reflect a different kind of uncertainty than his expressions of doubt and depression along his journey to the Porte. When moving through war-torn lands dividing east and west, he finds that people and places do not always fit into the categories he expects. As a result, he often feels unsettled and deflated, but he uses these settings to create an active role for himself in the narrative. He blames the Mediterranean's shortcomings on moral turpitude, cowardice, and impoverished Christianity. Such explanations help account for ancient centres of civilisation standing in ruins, but they are not adequate to cover the concomitant rise of Ottoman culture, so radically different in belief and order from the countries through which he has already passed. Critics like Haynes and Chew argue that it was difficult for contemporary Western travellers to cope intellectually with Turkish successes.[61] Unlike the Romans or early pagans, whose governments ultimately failed and whose religions were superseded by Christianity, the Ottoman empire, with its seemingly robust and unified culture, stood in stark contrast to a divided Christian Europe. Constantinople, or rather Ottoman society, required a *raison d'etre*, and Lithgow must explain its apparent successes in terms that accord with his view of the world.

We catch a glimpse of his ultimate perspective on the Ottoman world in the lines

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[61]See Haynes (1986), 65ff, and Chew (1937), pp. 100-49.

above. In recounting his awe at first sight of the imperial capital, he nevertheless characterises its grandeur as superficial. Presenting the semblance of irresistible strength, it suffers from inner weaknesses -- spiritual and temporal. Not surprisingly, he comments on its 'outward splendor' and inserts a moralising line about the world's preoccupation with appearances. His appreciation of the city is tempered by close observation:

> For indeed outwardly it hath the fairest show, and inwardly in the streets being narrow, and most part covered, the filthiest & [most] deformed buildings in the world... the universall tectures, a farre off, yeeld a delectable show... [b]ut being entred within, there is nothing but a stinking deformity, and a loathsome contrived place.... (124-25)

Hearkening back to New Testament descriptions of whited sepulchres and a world groaning under the weight of its sins, Lithgow's dazzling first view -- upon inspection -- reveals deformities akin to those he describes in Greece.[62] He regards Ottoman greatness as essentially shallow and he predicts that its strength and dominion will pass with time. Throughout this portion of his narrative, he looks for ways to orient himself in an otherwise unnerving setting and to distinguish himself and his own culture from what he sees as a 'counterfeit' civilisation. Because Ottoman society's undoing is a foregone conclusion, Lithgow focuses on what he perceives as signs of its weakness: its violent, nomadic heritage, the falseness of Islam, and the Sultan's dependence on fear and force as instruments of power. To support his arguments, he introduces first-hand observations and makes his own idiosyncratic interpretations of the harbingers of the Ottoman world's inevitable decline.

In spite of his overriding disapproval of Ottoman culture, there are various moments where Lithgow applauds certain of the Great Turk's successes and acknowledges the

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[62]See esp. Matthew 23.27, Romans 8.22, and Acts 23.3. See account of Gianfrancesco Morosini, a Venetian visitor in 1585, who also describes the city as grand from a distance, but cramped and filthy at close quarters, in J.C. Davis, Pursuit of Power: Venetian Ambassadors' Reports on Turkey, France, and Spain in the Age of Philip II (New York, 1970), p. 129.

necessity of British relations with the Empire. He shows a qualified appreciation for Ottoman accomplishments, particularly their political and military prowess and their ability to build unity among subject peoples. He praises many of the characteristics admired by writers like Bodin and Machiavelli: absolute monarchy (151), meritocracy (149), and military preparation (150).[63] He even confesses a fondness for 'Sherpet' and 'Coffa', neither of which had yet appeared in Britain.[64] Such moments, though exceptional, show that whereas this Muslim kingdom was sometimes thought to be peopled by devilish 'others', it was nevertheless a potential trading partner and political ally by Lithgow's day. The Prayer Book in 1565 included a line asking God to smite the Turks, but it was penned about the same time that Elizabeth was asking Murad III for help against Philip II, 'the idolater'.[65] Likewise, despite evidence that its foundations were beginning to decay by his day --signs of which Lithgow reports with glee-- the Ottoman empire continued to control trade throughout its dominions, and, Lepanto notwithstanding, swept the Mediterranean with its ships.[66] With Europe's division into perennially-warring religious factions, the Turks were courted by various countries or leagues in order to shift the balance of power in an endless series of political

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[63]Compare J. Bodin, The six Bookes of a Commonweale, tr. R. Knolles (1606) on absolute monarchy (201, 718), meritocracy (44, 259, 360), and military preparation (613). See also Machiavelli's Prince, chapter four.

[64]Lithgow has been credited with making the first remarks about coffee in English (see DNB), however Biddulph is more deserving of this honour, having described it as a drink 'more holesome than toothsome.... (1609) pp. 65-66. Unlike Biddulph, Lithgow professes having developed an addiction to the drink during his time in Egypt (pp. 266-67).

[65]See Strachan (1962), p. 158, and Dallam (1893), p. viii. Sandys gives an account of Achmet's friendly letter to James I, the monarch who once described him in terms of his role in the coming Apocalypse. Sandys (1615), p. 47.

[66]See Lithgow, pp. 124-25. On Ottoman decline, see İnalcik (1973), pp. 41-52.

alliances.[67]

For this reason, Lithgow's account can be looked upon as a barometer of the state of affairs at a particular moment. He not only gives an assessment of features of Turkish political and religious life, drawing from them lessons on good and bad government, but also describes the stratagems of those involved in commerce and politics between Turkey and Britain, evaluating future prospects from a first-hand perspective. In outlining what they do well and what Britain would do well to imitate or at least to understand about them, his work reflects the growing interest in first-hand evaluations of the Ottoman world and presages the more detailed discussions of later writers like Blount.[68] Unlike Blount, however, he ultimately casts these observations in an unfavourable light. His narrative, both in its borrowings from others and its unique contributions, asserts a militant and moralising stance against the rival culture represented by the city: 'A Painted Whoore, the mask of deadly sin,/ Sweet faire without, and stinking foule within'(124).

* * *

To understand the fashioning of Lithgow's assessment, it is important again to consider the issue of his sources. Much has been said about the development of western attitudes and about the numerous writings available to Lithgow and his contemporaries to shape their view of the Turks.[69] Zuallart and Villamont do not provide more than passing

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[67]On such alliances, see D. Vaughan, Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances 1350-1700 (Liverpool, 1954), esp. pp. 196-99, and 239-41.

[68]'I in remembering the Turkish institutions, will only register what I found them, nor censure them by any rule, but that of more, or lesse sufficiency to their ayme, which I suppose [is] the Empires advancement.' Blount (1636), p.61.

[69]Besides Chew (1937), pp. 104-21, the best discussions of Ottoman and European interaction include N. Daniel, Islam and the West (Edinburgh, 1958), esp. pp. 79-108; R.W. Southern, Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1962); R. Schwoebel, The

references to Constantinople, but Lithgow would have encountered numerous other near-contemporary writers who epitomised the accounts of earlier generations of historians and geographers -- from Pliny to Zonaras -- and included more recent observations on Ottoman society. These comprised an assortment of cosmographers, historians, and travellers, including Münster, Sansovino, Nicolay, Knolles, and Biddulph.[70] The most plausible candidate for a comprehensive source ought to be R. Knolles, whose Generall Historie was the most thorough history available in English.[71] As will be acknowledged below, however, Lithgow seems to do no more than paraphrase the great work on occasion, as when he speaks of the Sultan's sex life, but the similarities between the two are otherwise vague and loose. It has been suggested by Friedman that he borrows portions of his commentary from William Biddulph's Travailes (1609).[72] Certainly, Lithgow's descriptions of successive conquests of Constantinople (118-19), the legends surrounding its rise and fall (121), its earthquakes and fires (123-4), and even his characterisation of coffee and sherbet consumption (136) are all written in a language that echoes Biddulph.[73] For example, where Lithgow tells of Greeks who 'suborned Severus the Romane Emperour, to besiege the same' (119), Biddulph describes how 'Pissininus suborned the Emperour to lay siege unto the same'.[74]

Having found a likely source, Friedman has neglected another possible candidate

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Shadow of the Crescent (New York, 1967); D. Metlitzki, The Matter of Araby in Medieval England (New Haven, 1977); and E. Said, Orientalism (London, 1978).

[70]Possible sources include S. Münster ([1550]; Basil, 1552); F. Sansovino, Historia universale dell'origine... Turchi (Venice, 1568); Nicolay (1585); and Biddulph (1609).

[71]R. Knolles, The Generall Historie of the Turkes ([1603)]; 2nd. 1610).

[72]See Friedman (1972), Appendix C, pp. 313-14.

[73]See Biddulph (1609), pp. 19, 23, 25-6, and 65-6.

[74]Biddulph (1609) p. 19.

which I have identified. The 1585 translation of Nicolas de Nicolay's travels also says that 'Bizance suborned the emperor [Severus] to lay siege to the same'.[75] Furthermore, Nicolay makes strikingly similar comments on earthquakes, the city's fall, and other topics treated by Biddulph and Lithgow.[76] Perhaps Lithgow copied Biddulph, who had copied Nicolay, who had copied Münster, Zonaras, and others. Just as easily, Lithgow could have turned straight to Nicolay or even to one or several other cosmographies. What is clear is that the borrowings underscore the pattern common throughout the Totall Discourse -- when Lithgow takes passages from others, he rewrites them, surrounds them with his own comments, or ensconces them between lines of updated observations. Instead of simple plagiarism, he manipulates his sources, reworks them, and adds his own qualifications. This is certainly the case when he mentions the fires and earthquakes noted by Nicolay and Biddulph.[77] As do the others, he refers to Zonaras's account of early holocausts, then notes the number of casualties from recent earthquakes, including one in 1607. But he inserts his own update about 'a number of ruines (as yet) unrepaired' he saw during his own visit -- two years after Biddulph's book was published.

Another example is Lithgow's description of legends surrounding the city's rise and fall. Nicolay explains the coincidence that Constantinople was founded by one Constantine, son of a Helen, and lost by another Constantine, son of another Helen. Biddulph notes this as well, but adds a line about the Muslim prophecy that as a Mahomet captured the city, so

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[75]Nicolay (1585), p. 47v.

[76]See Nicolay (1585), pp. 50r (earthquake story) and 49r (legends surrounding Constantinople's fall). Compare with Lithgow, p. 119.

[77]Of an earthquake in 1509, Lithgow, Nicolay, and Biddulph all write that '13000. persons' were left dead in 'heapes'. See Lithgow, 124, Nicolay (1585), p. 50r and Biddulph (1609), p. 26. The information may come from Münster (1552) iv, 1167.

another Mahomet will lose it. Lithgow includes both these coincidences, but adds a further observation that the patriarch's name at the time of the city's rise was Gregory and likewise at its fall. He then draws a comparison with a similar coincidence: two Philips (one the father of Alexander and the other of Perseus) witnessed the rise and the fall of the Macedonian monarchy.[78] Consistently, Lithgow updates, expands, and otherwise adds his own touches to the record on Constantinople, personalising his account by embroidering upon what others have already recorded.

In searching for Lithgow's contribution to the discourse on the Turks, it is best once again not just to consider the sources he reworks, but also to look for the unique details and anecdotes he contributes, especially those he adds to his 1632 edition. He builds his assertions about Ottoman shortcomings and successes on a mixture of borrowed remarks and first-hand evidence. Take, for instance, his description of the spot where the Turkish conquerors broke through the wall:

> [A]fter divers batteries and assaults, the irreligious Infidels broke downe the walles, and entred the City, which breach was about forty paces long, as by the new colour being built up againe, is easily knowne from the old walles: where then they entered, they made a wonderfull massacre of poore afflicted Christians. (120)

Nicolay uses several of the same phrases to make a brief report of the siege and massacre,[79] but Lithgow goes further, taking time to give a vivid first-hand description of contemporary reminders of the past -- in this case, the colour of the new wall and the size of the breach. As in his recollections of Rome, such eye-witness details help the reader imagine an appropriate 'view' of the site. Here he prompts his audience to a deeper meditation on the events and

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[78]Compare Lithgow, p. 121; Biddulph (1609), p. 23; and Nicolay (1585), p. 49r.

[79]'[A]fter a long siege, battery and divers assaultes, the Infidelles having gotten the walles with a greate hurlement and fury entred into the citie, where at the first entrye they made a marvellous slaughter of the poore assieged.' Nicolay (1585), pp. 48r.

consequences of 1453. His description of the breach and stories of Mehmet's cruelty foreshadow the way he tempers his whole appraisal of 'Stambolda' with a firmly militant and moralising point of view.

Lithgow regards the Turks as instruments of God's wrath, whose culture exists by divine sufferance and will consequently be snuffed out when Christians assemble to put the world to rights. Of the shifty, slavish Greeks, Lithgow suggests their behaviour explains their subjugation; it represents a pattern of ever-growing decay. With the Turks, whom he refers to as cruel, martial, lustful, and profane, their behaviour accounts for their conquest of old empires and their ability to hold subjects in thrall. It also points to their future doom. He shares views expressed by historians and political commentators over the preceding two hundred years, but he makes his argument more pointed and plausible by reporting news gathered more recently. For instance, he tells the story of a basso of Aleppo, an administrative officer appointed by the Sultan, who had himself beheaded to demonstrate his loyalty to the Great Turk (180-81). On the island of Scios, Lithgow tells of another basso who oversaw the reconquest of the island from Florentine mercenaries and ordered the beheading of his 800 prisoners (93-4). Such contemporary examples of the loyalty and fierceness of the empire's administrators focuses attention on the role played by fear and cruelty in propping up the Sultan's authority. It also supports his contention about the precariousness of Ottoman authority.

Detailed evaluations also play a more prominent role in his narrative in 1632 than in 1614. In his first edition, he provides only a cursory portrait of the political climate and of the Sultan in particular. He says of Ahmed, for example, that he is 'more given to venery, then martialitie, which giveth presently a greater advantage to the Persians in their instant

Warres.'[80] His words aptly condense the judgement of Knolles, but it seems at first that he is more interested in making a clever turn of phrase than any deep assessment.[81] With the benefit of a few years further observation, during which Ahmed dies and the Sultanate passes through a series of fratricidal intrigues and bloody successions, Lithgow expands his pithy judgement. He makes a more comprehensive assessment of the outcome of the kingdom's feckless supervision, including the rebellion of the Timariots, the deceitfulness of various Janissaries, and the eventual victory of Murad IV over Osmân II and Mustapha in 1623. He also repeats a pattern familiar from his changing treatment of Italy, adding information he did not or could not have collected during his trip.[82] In doing this, he gives an intelligent interpretation of the consequences of weakness in a ruler, thus providing his 1632 dedicatee, Charles I, with something more up-to-date, thorough, and 'useful' (as he promises in his introduction) for his 'Royall understanding'.

Although Ahmed's rule was given to 'venery', the Turks had nevertheless built a powerful empire over the course of previous generations. Lithgow attributes this success to divine allowance, but describes its practical establishment in terms of religious dogma and martial prowess, as well as the cowardice and disorganisation of many of their enemies.[83] In

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[80]Lithgow (1614), sig. H3.

[81]Knolles (1610) devotes a chapter to the reign of Ahmed, writing that from an adolescence like a 'young Alexander' (1204), his bout with smallpox (1217) led him to abandon martiality and take up venery 'wherein there is some hope, that he will at length burie himself, so as did his father Mahomet before him.' (p. 1297)

[82]See Lithgow, pp. 120-22, 139-40, 149-50. It should be noted that the additions to Knolles's work by Edward Grimeston in 1621 include a survey of these topics, but Lithgow again does not appear to lift his words from this authority. See Knolles (1621), pp. 1297-1366, esp. 1366.

[83]Knolles also says 'not that thou better art or blest,/ More than some others bee;/ But that to plague the world for sinne,/ He [God] hath appointed thee.' Knolles (1610), p. 1204.

an otherwise disparaging account of the origins of the 'Mahometan religion', where he describes the Prophet's first wife as an 'old trot', he attributes Islam's rise to a history of combat and a demand for unswerving devotion among adherents.[84] The Ottoman empire, in turn, still relies on these twin forms of persuasion:

> When the great Signior is abroad with his armie at warres, the Turkes at home within Townes, use great prayers, and fasting for him and them: They ingeniously describe the victories of their Ancestours, and joyfully sing them in rimes and songs; thinking thereby that fashion in recalling the valiant deeds of their predecessours, to be the onely meane to encourage their souldiers to be hardy, resolute and desperate in all their interprises. (146-47)

He tells us that the army marches and camps in silence and modesty, that children are brought up with a knowledge of the 'Alcoran', and that they conquer by dint of numbers, discipline, and munitions. Like Bodin, who also praises the Turkish notion of meritocracy,[85] Lithgow seems to paint a portrait of an admirable organisation -- at least until he comes to the underpinnings of their religious devotion and their view of heaven:

> [W]herein they shall have banquetings, feastings, dancing, and the best melody can be divised; and... shall spend their times with amorous Virgins... the men never exceeding the age of thirty yeares, and the Virgines fifteene, and both shall have their Virginities renewed, as fast, as lost. (140-41)

Despite the success of the Turks in conquering others, Lithgow, always spoiling for controversy, holds that the hopes that underpin their strength are based on fleshly, weak aspirations. They are open to the same criticism as was Ahmed: both wallow in a dream of self-indulgence.[86] As a result, he argues, 'if Christian Princes could concord, and consult

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[84]Lithgow, p. 131. See also W. Bedwell, trans. Mohammedis impostura.... (1615).

[85]'No man [is] noble among Turkes but for his valor or his vertue' Bodin (1606), p. 44; see also 259 and 396.

[86]See Lithgow, pp. 146-51. Blount similarly remarks that '[t]his Resolution is not the child of reason, or honour, but bred by way of religion; for Mahomet knowing he had not to deale with a scholastique and speculative generation, but with a people rude, and sensual, made not his

together, it were an easie thing in one yeare, to subdue the Turkes'(145).[87]

After describing the lusts of the Sultan and his army, Lithgow certifies his arguments by providing a suitable anecdote from his own experiences. Quite unlike anything in the reports of his contemporaries, his story gives more flavour to the narrative and proves at least as instructive as his stabs at political and moral criticism. Furthermore, it suggests that just as the Turks' doom is foreordained by their proclivity to cruelty and lust, so those who visit Constantinople must be careful not to imitate the vices upon which the kingdom was built. He writes of meeting a Monsieur Nerack, master gunner of a French ship, who says 'he would gladly for Conscience and Merits sake, redeeme some poore Christian slave from Turkish Captivity.' (122) Lithgow disagrees with Nerack's Catholic notion of 'Merit', but nevertheless agrees that the inclination to 'redeeme' a Christian is a good one -- particularly because enslavement usually follows one's refusal to 'turn Turk'.[88] From the outset Lithgow writes himself into the scene as the accomplished spiritual warrior whose notion of redemption, unlike that of the old gunner, is above reproach. Once in the slave market, where they find hundreds of men and women on display, the impulse to proceed in the right spirit becomes more fraught with danger:

> When we did visite and search them that we were mindfull to buy, they were strip'd starke naked before our eyes, where the sweetest face, the youngest age, and whitest skin was in greatest value and request.... (122-23)

Paradise to consist in visions, and Hallelujahs; but in delicious Fare, pleasant gardens, and wenches with great eyes, who were ever peculiarly affected in the Levant.' Blount (1636), p. 67. See also Metlitzki (1977), 210-40.

[87]Knolles ends the 1610 edition of the Generall Historie with a section entitled 'A briefe discourse of the greatness of the Turkish Empire', which assesses its susceptibility to sensuality and to combined attack by its neighbours. Morosini similarly argues that ten thousand Christians could destroy thirty thousand Turkish soldiers -- see Davis (1970), p. 134.

[88]See Lithgow, p. 113.

It becomes clear that the setting is perilous: Nerack has led him to a place where the Turks are busy stripping and tempting, bartering in human flesh and appetites. Lithgow automatically puts up his defenses -- at least this might explain why he suggests they buy 'an old man or woman':

> but his minde was contrary set, shewing me that he would buy some virgin, or young widdow, to save their bodies undefloured with Infidels. (122)

Lithgow protests the purity of his intentions by insisting on freeing an old person rather than a young woman. Nerack uses the Turks' lust as a pretext for his charity. The contrast leaves the reader anticipating some conflict, some moral lesson behind the anecdote. The act of stripping, the mention of nudity, youthfulness, and comeliness, all suggest the dangers of looking; as in Loreto, there is a temptation in the story.

When they agree upon freeing a young Dalmatian widow, whose 'pittifull lookes, and sprinkling teares, stroke my soule almost to the death for compassion,' Lithgow leaves the Frenchman to find her a room. Soon fearing the 'dissembling devotion' of the gunner to be little more than 'luxurious lust', he returns to find that the woman has been raped and Nerack is preparing to sell her back to the Turks. On pain of being reported to the French ambassador, Nerack agrees to settle upon a 'reasonable condition' with Lithgow, who in turn

> subscribed her libertie, and hyr'd her in the same Taverne for a yeare, taking nothing from her, for as little had she to give me, except many blessings, and thankefull prayers. (123)

With the Turks standing as silent participants in the exchange, Lithgow presents at once the frightful, if sexually provocative, spectacle of a market of slaves and his own stalwartness and commitment to the principles of charity and chastity in an alien land.[89] Lithgow's Protestant

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[89]Lithgow ends the anecdote remarking that 'This French Gunner was a Papist, and heare you may behold the dregs of his devotion, and what *seven nights leachery* [my italics] cost him, you may cast up the reckoning of 36. Duckets.' (123) Whereas he first tells us that he confronted

notion of redemption -- a free gift -- stands in stark contrast with the Catholic gunner's exaction of a debasing 'payment'. Once more, the Scottish pilgrim resists moral dangers and is able to leave the city with a clean conscience. Having witnessed its cruelty and resisted its temptations, he can offer a first-hand account of one of the Ottoman world's fundamental flaws -- the pervading lust that envelops its leaders and its soldiers, and even infects some of its ill-prepared visitors.

In this anecdote, which first appears in 1632, Lithgow expands his role as champion of Protestant virtue and provides one of the few contemporary British accounts of the slave market.[90] In his only other lengthy personal story from Constantinople, again added in 1632, he sheds light (if obliquely) on a number of other related issues: the Great Turk's ability to maintain power through religious coercion, tensions involved in the development of commerce between Britain and the Turks, and the significance of patronage in the shaping of reports about the Ottoman world. Upon his arrival in Constantinople, Lithgow recalls how he

> went to salute, and doe my duety to the right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Glover, then Lord Ambassadour for our late Gratious Soveraigne King James, of blessed memory, who most generously & courteously entertained me three moneths in his house, to whose kindnesses I was infinitely obliged... certainely I never met with a more compleat Gentleman in all my travells; nor one in whom true worth did more illustrat vertue. (116-17)

Having lived with Glover for three months, and with so many kind things to say about him here, it seems strange that Lithgow should not have mentioned him in 1614 or 1623 -- especially as he serves as the subject of one of Lithgow's most colourful stories, appearing at

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the Frenchman 'the morning after' redeeming the widow, the reader is left to wonder whether the 'reasonable condition' allowed the abuse to continue for six more nights!

[90]Moryson tells of walking with his translator near the slave market, where a Turkish woman offered to buy him -- though at a reduced price because of his emaciated condition. (1617) i, 265.

Peterasso with two Janissaries to demand the head of a corrupt Sanjak, who had poisoned an English consul (60-1).[91] Glover, who served as ambassador from 1606 to 1611, was described as a fierce man in his dealings with other Frankish and Turkish representatives. One pasha called him 'that red boar of an English ambassador.'[92] His strong personality and exalted position would no doubt have delighted the cantankerous, but society-conscious, Lithgow, so we are left to wonder why it takes him nearly twenty years to acknowledge his kindly host. Perhaps the reason can be discerned from other, more specific, remarks Lithgow makes about their acquaintance -- particularly, his account of Glover's dealings with the 'Duke of Moldavia'.

> And by the way I cannot but regrate, the great losse Sir Thomas Glover received by the Duke of Moldavia, who chargeably entertained him two yeares in his house, and furnished him with great moneys, and other necessaries fit for his eminency: This Duke or Prince of Bugdonia was depraved of his Principalities by Achmet, and fled hither to the Christian Ambassadours for reliefe: To whom when all the rest had refus'd acceptance, onely Noble Sir Thomas received him, maintained him, and seriously wrought with the Grand Signior and his Counsell, to have him restored againe to his Lands, but could not prevaile. In the end,... Glovers five yeares time of Ambassodry being expired, and the Duke hearing privately that Sir Paul Pindar was to come in his place, as indeed he came too soone: this Moldavian prince stole earely away in the morning over to Constantinople; and long or midday turnd Turke.... Which, when we heard, the Ambassadour, and we were all amazed and discontented: He was indebted to the Ambassadour above 15.thousand Chickens of Gold, yet or my leaving Galata, I went twice over with Sir Thomas, and... when he [the Duke] saw me, tooke me kindly by the hand, for we had bene two moneths familiar in the Ambassadors house before. (126)

Lithgow's account sets Glover in the best possible light. In 1611, however, things would have appeared considerably more complicated. Lithgow claims that Pindar came as a routine replacement for Glover. But Wood makes no mention of standard five-year appointments

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[91]Glover compelled another Basso to hang a Turkish soldier for stealing oranges from a Christian. See 'Glover to Salisbury -- Jan. 1609' in PRO SP Turkey (97) 6/ fol. 149r.

[92]Quoted in A.C. Wood, A History of the Levant Company (Oxford, 1935), pp. 82-3.

and says that Pindar, a 'shrewd, quiet, businesslike' man, came to smooth over the ruffled feathers of other ambassadors and Turkish administrators to the Porte, who generally found Glover difficult to work with and disapproved of his endorsement of the Moldavian pretender.[93] Glover's support of a suspect claimant of lands under Turkish sway was not a politic undertaking for a representative charged with securing the best possible trading terms for the Levant Company and softening the relations between Sultan and King.[94] As if this were not enough, there were other blots on Glover's escutcheon. Not only did the Moldavian 'Duke' convert to Islam and subsequently take up the sanjakbeg of Pistrina in Albania, but another of Glover's protégées, a friar named Vincenzo Marini, also turned Turk after a series of intrigues which proved a great embarrassment to the ambassador and the Levant Company.[95] At the same time, rumours were spread by ill-wishers in England that Glover was in the pay of the Spanish king, that he was an adulterer, and even that he tried to poison his successor.[96]

With events and voices conspiring to ruin him, Glover returned to England and worked for several years to remove any taint of misconduct from his record of service. During this time, Lithgow published his first, less detailed, account of his initial journey. Either because of Glover's persistent difficulties or because Lithgow's 1614 version often

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[93]Op. cit., p. 53.

[94]CSP Ven (1610-13) gives a concise, but complete account of Glover's troubled last year as ambassador (pp. xxxii-xxxiii). In December 1610, the Venetian Ambassador, Simon Contarini, writes to the Doge that 'the English Ambassador makes much ado to restore the Pretender Bogdan to his throne.' (p. 93) Contarini also reports the Polish king's anger over Glover's involvement in what he considered a sensitive, internal matter (p. 221).

[95]See PRO SP Turkey (97) 6/ fols. 187v-188r (Nov. 1610), 198r-202v (Dec. 1611); and discussion in Rogers (1975), pp. 294-308.

[96]See esp. PRO SP Turkey (97) 7/ fols. 9v-10r (Pindar to Carleton -- May 1612).

pares down his personal descriptions to a minimum, the ambassador's hospitality is left unmentioned. That Glover appears in 1632 suggests Lithgow may have felt a debt of guilt for forgetting his host's hospitality or that he was more willing to mention the ambassador when his reputation had been rehabilitated.[97] Perhaps Glover's reestablished place in society brought hope of favour or patronage for the traveller, for not only does Lithgow add many details of Glover's exploits, but he also ends his depiction with highest praise.

> Nay, I must say one thing more of this Knight, he releeved more slaves from the Galleys, payd their ransomes, and sent them home freely to their Christian stations, and kept a better house, than any Ambassadour did, that ever lay at Constantinople, or ever shall to the worlds end... this much for this worthy and ever renowned Knight, whose prayse and fame I cannot too much celebrate. (126-27)

Glover's work on behalf of Christian slaves is confirmed by Wood and in other contemporary reports.[98] If not suitable for inclusion in 1614, he can later serve as a figure whose nobility and valor in freeing Christian slaves is exemplary. Similarly, his effort to preserve the Moldavian pretender from giving his allegiance (and his soul) to the Great Turk stands as an object lesson of the sort Lithgow regularly parades before his readers, here forming a nice parallel to his own attempts to help the Dalmatian widow.

Aside from these two lengthy anecdotes, Lithgow's depiction of Constantinople lacks impressions of individuals. Except perhaps for Glover, the rest of the characters -- dragoman Turks, the renegade Duke, Nerack, and even the Sultan -- serve only in the background as two-dimensional figures, appearing and disappearing according to the didactic purposes they fulfil in the narrative. It may have been that Lithgow did not meet many (or any) non-

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[97]CSP Dom (1611-18) provides 'snap-shots' of Glover's return to court (p. 168) and his vindication before the king (p.175). Among other honours and duties, he was granted the job of 'collector of fines of ecclesiastical causes' -- Ibid, p. 257. He later took the profits of the office of leather inspections for life -- CSP Dom (1619-23), p. 433.

[98]CSP Dom (1611-18), p. 170. See also Wood (1935), pp. 15, 66ff, 70-2.

Westerners during his stay in Galata, the Frankish neighbourhood of Constantinople, and so could not speak in more depth of individuals and places in the city. Whatever the case, it is clear that after spending three months in Constantinople, he feels empowered to expose the shortcomings of Ottoman civilisation and to exalt those, like Glover, who work to counter its diabolical influence. Having travelled through Ottoman lands, he is able to claim that his report -- built on a mixture of opinionated reading and observation -- gives a 'True History', a 'little Prospect' of that world. It offers a systematic analysis of evidence conducted from a predisposition to a negative point of view. Lithgow largely finds what he expects, what he looks to find, in Constantinople. The evidence is there, often it requires only interpretation through a Protestant filter. He adopts similar, if slightly more exacting, methods of evidence-gathering and reportage when writing of the Holy Land.

III. The Holy Land and Doubt

> At last wee beheld the prospect of Jerusalem, which was not onely a contentment to my weary body, but also beeing ravished with a kinde of unwonted rejoycing, the teares gushed from my eyes for too much joy. (208)

Throughout his first journey, Lithgow tells of meetings with various pilgrims: libidinous gentlemen riding to Loreto, Turks *en route* to Mecca, and Catholic and Orthodox Christians bound for the Holy Land. In each encounter, his attitude towards the devotees is tempered with scorn, which leads us to question whether he attaches any special significance to the sites he is to visit in Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine. Should the reader expect the same sarcasm as he comes to places of religious significance not just for Catholics, but for all Christians? Although Lithgow calls himself a pilgrim throughout his travels and he shares

with fellow travellers a sense of curiosity which prompts him onward, he clearly does not regard his journey to Jerusalem as a final destination -- his plan is to continue to Egypt and the North African desert. He treats the Biblical sites he visits as part of a broader itinerary. During his time in Palestine, he never uses the expression 'Holy Land' and, in keeping with his Protestant background and his fear of appearing superstitious, he is wary of showing special devotion, much less venerating sacred places, while there.

As mentioned in Chapter One, his approach reflects a change in focus -- call it modern, Protestant, or secular -- which meant travel no longer necessarily aimed at a terminus, a pilgrimage site, or the completion of some promised goal. Instead his appetite for new curiosities and territories continues without apparent limit, in a fashion similar to that distinguished as 'modern' by Johannes Fabian in a critique of later journeys:

> Religious travel had been <u>to</u> the centers of religion, or <u>to</u> the souls to be saved; now, secular travel was <u>from</u> the centers of learning and power to places where man was to find nothing but himself.[99]

Of course, Lithgow never speaks of looking for himself, but his travels do represent part of his developing self-awareness, his pursuit and interpretation of knowledge through the 'science of the world'. In Palestine, his effort to acquire and present a suitable knowledge of God's creation (and, as Protestants would point out, thereby to glorify God) involves foremost a spirited attack on idolatry and superstition. Lithgow emphasises the importance of establishing a reliable, eye-witness account of the region, particularly as its sites, part of the document of his faith, have fallen under the dubious guardianship of Catholic trustees and Turkish overseers. His narrative suggests that Jerusalem holds spiritual dangers as sinister as those in Rome or Loreto because it is there that Protestant travellers come closest to imitating

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[99]J. Fabian, <u>Time and the Other....</u> (New York, 1983), p. 6.

the devotional habits they revile in Catholic sojourners. The anxieties Lithgow feels as a result of his close association with Jerusalem's Franciscan caretakers and the general tension in his narrative between faith and evidence, devotion and experimentation, make this perhaps the most compelling episode of his first journey.

His desire to establish a credible narrative becomes more clear as he draws closer to Palestine and begins to use parenthetical expressions more frequently in recounting the tales of his travelling companions. Passing the isle of Nixa he tells us that 'a Greekish passenger shewed me the place, where (as he sayd) Ariadne was deceived of Theseus.' (157-58) Elsewhere Lithgow expresses doubts about tales told by 'merry Greeks', but the practice of interrupting his narrative with bracketed disclaimers and notations of a reporter's nationality or religion becomes more common once he enters Lebanon and Canaan. Drawing closer to places of significance for all Christians, he must try to distinguish what he calls 'true Histor[y]' from hearsay or legend. Unlike earlier English visitors, such as John Locke (1553), whose account of the Holy Land consists of a Latin certificate granted by the Franciscans listing the 'sites' he has seen,[100] Lithgow must make his own eye-witness report. And unlike the rest of his Mediterranean account, Lithgow's Palestine narrative suggests that he borrowed little from others -- except his initial remarks, which bear the stamp of the Bible and Josephus, and one or two observations from Biddulph.[101] Aside from these few items, the account includes more first-hand narration than any other part of his first journey -- except Crete. It reads as a continuous story and follows the typical sequence of pilgrimage visits,

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[100]Reproduced in R. Hakluyt, The Principall Navigations.... (1600) ii, 107. See also Haynes (1986), p. 105.

[101]Lithgow's account bears little resemblance to the most standard work used by Sandys and Moryson -- C. van Adrichem, A Briefe Description of Hierusalem and of the Suburbs thereof .... (1595) -- or to the sources Adrichem cites (pp. 109-12).

but it is distinguished by the scrutiny Lithgow brings to bear upon each tale (or site) he comes across. Because he carries a burden of responsibility for those who share his brand of devotion, he tries to distinguish what he has seen and can verify from what he has merely been told.

As is evident from the opening quotation of this section, however, Lithgow abandons all discussion of doubt and superstition when he first catches sight of Jerusalem. His first glimpse of the city is an overwhelming moment where physical exhaustion and spiritual fervour overtake him. Happy and moving as this arrival is for any Christian traveller, it is also one of great danger for a Protestant. Lithgow, in his exhaustion and pious enthusiasm, fears finding himself swept up in the idolatrous worship of those who accompany him. Thus he explains that while his fellow travellers, Armenian Christians, 'began to sing in their owne fashion', he sang 'the 103 Psalm' to himself -- perhaps recalling a setting he learned at Lanark Grammar School. Another staunch Protestant, Henry Timberlake, also falls down and prays when he first sees Jerusalem and likewise distinguishes his own devotion from that of fellow travellers.[102] Moryson describes a similar moment, which he qualifies in terms intended to leave no doubt about his Protestant mindset: 'howsoever I gave all divine worship to God, and thought none to be given to the places.'[103]

In spite his hunger and religious excitement, Lithgow follows this gesture of worship with a lengthy assault on the idolatry of the Franciscans who come to greet him, beginning with an extraordinary display of bad manners towards his Catholic hosts. Compelled by Turkish authorities to spend the night outside the city, Lithgow receives food from the

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[102]H. Timberlake, A True and Strange Discourse of the Travailes of two English Pilgrimes (London, 1603), pp.6-8.

[103]Moryson (1617) i, 217.

Greyfriars through a breach in the wall. The guards, having witnessed this exchange, demand a bribe from the 'Guardiano', or head of the order. Lithgow first expresses his debt to the Greyfriars, who save him from the Turkish gatekeepers, but later mocks them for endangering themselves and paying a fine on his behalf. The morning after his arrival, as he and other pilgrims are welcomed with candles and songs, the washing of feet, and ceremonial kissing, Lithgow tells his hosts that he is 'no Popish Catholicke'. As a consequence, he reports, they 'sore repented them of their Labour'(210) -- a charge which suggests they would have otherwise left him the day before at the mercy of the Turks. Like Timberlake, who describes himself as victim and unwilling benefiary at the hands of the Franciscans,[104] Lithgow adopts and maintains an attitude of suspicion and resentment towards his hosts. He further justifies his posture by arguing that the friars charge him extortionate prices elsewhere in the city.

Throughout his stay with the Greyfriars, he tells of instances where he gets the better of them and of foolish rites they perform. In recalling the friars' re-enactment of Christ's Palm Sunday entrance into Jerusalem, his account borrows expressions from Biddulph's description of the same ritual. Both report the 'Apish imitation' with almost shocking contempt: 'There was an Asse brought to the Guardiano, whereupon hee mounted (being as it were, the greater Asse, riding upon the lesser) and came riding to Jerusalem' (218).[105] Again, Lithgow goes further than his predecessor -- for unlike Biddulph he offers what he claims is an eyewitness account of the parade.[106] He recalls that when the entourage reached the gate

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[104]Timberlake tried to enter Jerusalem apart from the protection of the Franciscans and was promptly jailed by the Turks. He describes the Guardian ironically as 'defender of all Christian Pilgrimes and the principall procurer of mine imprisonment because I did not offer my selfe under his protection.' (1603), p. 6.

[105]Biddulph uses the phrases 'an apish imitation' and 'the great one rideth on the litle one' in his account. Biddulph (1609), p 134.

[106]'I... neither saw this, no[r] heard of it untill it was done.' Biddulph (1609), pp. 134-35.

of Syon, the Turkish garrison decided to beat the Guardiano 'most cruelly', which prompted him and a few other Protestant witnesses to 'laugh in our sleeves to behold their foolish Procession, so substantially rewarded.'[107] The bruised and bloodied Guardiano, after acknowledging their right to do as they please, entreats Lithgow and a few German Protestants 'to abstain from scandalling and mocking our rites and ordinary Customes.'

Lithgow then says

> we condescended, and promised to give no occasion of offence, seeing our outward carriage in going along with them to see their customes, tended no way to hurt the inward disposition of our soules. (219)

By painting himself in such a mischievous and ungracious light, he almost lends his Catholic hosts a kind of dignity. The intensity of his scorn and the possibility that he even fabricates his presence in such a story suggest an overriding concern with establishing himself as a steadfastly Protestant witness. To assure his readers of his unimpeachable status, he goes out of his way to treat those with whom he disagrees with ostentatious scorn.

Sandys, who was also a visitor at the Franciscan monastery and spectator at various rituals the year before Lithgow's arrival, makes much more gracious remarks about the same Guardian and the other friars.[108] Likewise, though his later poetic output is strongly Protestant, Sandys speaks less guardedly about his participation in the rites and rituals of Catholic pilgrims in Jerusalem.[109] Sandys, son of an archbishop of York and himself a

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[107]Lithgow, p. 219. Compare Biddulph (1609): 'That Turke was to be commended, who (when the Friers followed their *Guardian* in such sort riding on an Asse) seeing a simple Christian woman strip her selfe... and spread her garments in the way; tooke a cudgel and all to belaboured her therewith, saying, thou foole, art thou so mad to thinke that this is Christ?' (p. 134)

[108]'The Pater-guardian with due complement entertained us: a reverend old man of a voluble tongue, and winning behaviour.' Sandys (1615), p. 159.

[109]See Sandys (1615) at the Holy Sepulchre: 'He is void of sence that sees, beleeves, and is not then confounded with his passions.' (p. 164)

Protestant poet, visited Jerusalem just before Lithgow and makes more modest protestations about his own faith. He also records an incident which occurred a few years before his own trip, when six English Protestant guests of the Franciscans died in suspicious circumstances.[110] Perhaps the unquestionable religious pedigree of his father and family, unwillingness to speak ill of his hosts because of the fate of earlier English visitors, or even a certain affinity with fellow Christians engaged in acts of devotion at Christ's tomb led him to adopt a more polite attitude towards the Franciscans. Sandys's attitude towards Catholics and their stewardship of the sites around Jerusalem lacks vitriol; his manner foreshadows the moderate view famously expressed by Sir Thomas Browne.[111]

By contrast, Lithgow utterly belittles the Catholic caretakers of Jerusalem, with an attitude in keeping with that of Browne's detractor, Alexander Ross, who argued that fraternising with 'Papists' was 'a countenancing and confirming of their Idolatry... a scandall to the weaker brethren...[which] argues notorious dissimulation and hypocrisye.'[112] Because he allows his 'outward carriage' to resemble that of Catholic sojourners, Lithgow finds it essential to protect and protest his 'inward disposition', stressing the difference between his view of Christian belief and piety and that of the friars. He seeks both to instruct readers who entertain ideas of following in his footsteps and to remove any suspicions surrounding his own motives and beliefs, especially as might have arisen because he remained in the company of Catholics throughout this leg of his journey. His most effective tool for

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[110]See Sandys (1615), p. 186.

[111]'At a solemn procession I have wept abundantly, while my consorts, blind with opposition and prejudice, have fallen into an excess of scorn and laughter.' T. Browne, Religio Medici i, 3.

[112]A. Ross, Medicus Medicatus.... (1645), p. 3.

reassuring his readers is sarcasm. He justifies this antagonism by colouring his account with accusations of superstition, extortion, and simony among the Franciscans. When Sandys stands in the company of other worshippers in the Holy Sepulchre, he remarks that 'it is a frozen zeale that will not be warmed with the sight thereof' and in his fervour he writes a hymn.[113] Lithgow's only poem in Palestine, written after his own visit to the same shrine, is a study in derision, ending with eight lines which bitterly mock 'Franciscan Friers... / Whose hearts, like Hell, doe gape for greed of Gold,/ To have Religion, with... conscience sold.' (256)

His convictions about his hosts' greed, his suspicion of their story-telling, and his fear of being mistaken for a Catholic sympathiser help explain why he introduces his description of Jerusalem's 'holy' sites with numerous qualifiers:

> I thought best to prefixe the description thereof, by the severall dayes as I saw them, not much condemning, neither absolutely qualifying them, but [I] shall (as it were) neutrally nominate, and recapitulate these places, as I was informed by the Padre Guardiano, Gaudentius, Saybantus... [a]nd especially the information of John Baptista, the Trenchman....' (217)

Lithgow's reservations about the reports given by the caretakers are emphasised by his insistance on naming them: from the guardian (a figure Sandys compliments) to the monastery's resident translator. Any errours in his tale he seeks to lay at the feet of Catholic or Turkish informers. Although he promises to 'neutrally nominate' what he has been told, he goes on to distinguish those relics and sites he believes to be genuine from those he doubts, relying on his suspicion of superstition, his watchful eyes, and his common sense by

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[113]Sandys (1615), p. 167. Contrast Haynes (1987) remark that 'Sandys' attitude is radically informed by the Protestant objections to idolatry, superstition, and to confusing spiritual with material matters.' (p. 107)

turns.[114] It is part of his overriding concern with verifying evidence and with setting apart what he can reasonably call 'true Histor[y]' from falsehood.[115] The resulting narrative reveals a mixture of discernment and prejudice. When the 'Padre Viccario' shows him the house of 'Annas' [Ananias] and a tree to which Christ was supposed to have been tied, Lithgow tells us it is a story 'I wil not beleeve, for that Tree groweth yet, being an Olive Tree.' (220) By providing a variety of concrete details -- the tree's location, its species, and its apparent age -- Lithgow presents a useful guide for any contemporary who might otherwise have been hoodwinked by the tale. Sandys recalls the same tree, but does not dispute the story.[116] Likewise, when taken to the 'house of Dives', the rich glutton of the gospel story, Lithgow expresses his doubts by calling it

> ...a Parable, and not a History: And although it were a History, who can demonstrate the particular place, Jerusalem having beene so often transformed by alterations. (221-22)

Such an observation might seem obvious, but it is not always the case among near-contemporary visitors that distinctions are made between characters from parables and those from history. Both houses were visited by Timberlake, the otherwise staunch Protestant, who reports them without expressing any suspicion.[117] Compared with Timberlake's and (at times) Sandys's accounts, Lithgow's reflects a stronger spirit of historicism -- far different from Locke's approach sixty years before -- with which an educated traveller could pursue his journey. Later, when shown a napkin said to have been used to wipe sweat from Christ's

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[114]Moryson (1617) makes it clear that he only reports what friars told him -- 'as neere as I can to their owne words.' (i, 217)

[115]Biddulph likewise divides what he witnesses in the Holy Land into 'apparent truths', 'manifest untruths', and 'things doubtfull'. (1609), pp. 123ff.

[116]Sandys (1615), p. 185.

[117]See Timberlake (1603), pp. 9, 14.

face by Veronica, Lithgow notes that 'it is also sayd to be in a Towne in Spaine, and another of them at Palermo in Sicilia: wherefore I beleeve the one as well as the rest' (223).[118] Repeatedly, Lithgow betrays a scepticism, practical and almost Baconian in its methodical dissection of the claims, sources, and evidence upon which belief is based. Having seen similar napkins -- as he saw several houses of the Virgin Mary -- he can prevent his readers from being taken in by such tales.[119] It is travel, his 'science of the world', that makes this sort of comparison possible.

A few pages later, while walking by the shore of the Dead Sea, he gives an account which, though it accepts the notion that the bitter waters cover the site of Sodom and Gomorrah, sounds remarkably advanced in its scientific approach.[120]

> Divers Authors have reported, that nothing will sinke into it, of any reasonable weight, as dead men, or Carkasses of Beasts: but by experience I approve the contrary: [f]or it beareth nothing at all; yea, not the weight of a Feather, nor the pile of withered Grasse, but it will sinke therein, with the which my hands made sundry trials; and dare approove it to be of trueth, in spight of the leying world, and all doting varieties of auncient Relations. (228)

The image of Lithgow casting handfuls of feathers and grass into the sea is marvellously reminiscent of Bacon stuffing a chicken with snow. Instead of relying on what he has been told, either in books or by his guides, he tests the waters. Although his condemnation of 'auncient Relations' calls to mind cosmographers (like Solinus or Strabo) or even the biblical story of Elisha and the axe (actually to do with the river Jordan), the indictment also falls

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[118]See also Timberlake (1603), p. 9, and Biddulph (1609), p. 138. Timberlake reports the story uncritically; Biddulph records that it is to be found in Spain, but leaves out the reference to Palermo.

[119]Lithgow is especially sarcastic when he finds other houses of the Blessed Virgin -- pp. 194 and 221.

[120]See Browne's Pseudodoxia Epidemica vii, 15: 'Of the Lake Asphaltites'.

upon Sandys's Relation, which reports as true the very story Lithgow disproves.[121] The difference between Lithgow and Sandys here is that where Sandys relies on the investigations of others (Vespasian in particular) and is therefore less discerning about their numerous errors, Lithgow is less willing to accept old tales, insisting instead on evidence and observation.[122] His narrative condemns second-hand knowledge as inadequate: his emphasis on first-hand experience supersedes Sandys's humanistic approach and foreshadows the way other later investigations will proceed.

With speculations ranging from the geography of Eden and oceanic erosion in Lebanon to buildings and trees of dubious authenticity and the chemical composition of the 'sea of Sodom', Lithgow's narrative owes much to the growth of scientific inquiry -- but in these and other investigations, he delves into issues of religion in much more depth than Bacon would have thought fit.[123] In this sense, his observations betray a tension between evidence and faith. As groundbreaking as is his approach to Jerusalem, it still shows signs of being fashioned by a writer who believed in Providence and whose discernment of truth and legend varies from time to time. On occasion, Lithgow is susceptible to stories of miracles or the blandishments of relic sellers. For instance, when shown a church built around a cave 'wherein (they say) the virgin Mary was hid, when Herod persecuted the Babes life' (246), he inserts his customary disclaimer 'they say'; nevertheless we read later that he buys some of

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[121]'So extreame salt that whatsoever is throwne thereinto not easily sinketh.' Sandys (1615), p. 142. Haynes argues that Sandys shows discernment in choosing among such stories (1986), p. 104, but this lapse by the Dead Sea (as was his Arcadian report) is but one of several.

[122]Sandys attributes much of his information on Jerusalem to Adrichem -- see (1615), p. 154. It remains, however, that he generally 'believed implicitly everything he was told [in the Holy Land,]... taking in uncritically all the apocryphal legends.' Penrose (1942), p. 164.

[123]See Bacon's remarks on the 'corruption of philosophy by superstition' in Novum Organum (cap lxv) in Works iv, 65.

its dust, which is

> white as Snow, and hath this miraculous operation, that a little of it drunke in any Liquor, to a woman, that after her Child-birth is barren of Milke, shall forthwith give abundance. (247)

He even brings a phial of the powder to Queen Anne upon his return to England. It might be asked why Lithgow should treat this dust as different from superstitions he derides. A likely reason is that he views its 'miraculous operation' as a natural property, not inhering in some supernatural investment. For him, the dust does not invite idolatrous worship; instead it serves a singular medical purpose.

In general, Lithgow is quite scrupulous in his treatment of issues of faith, evidence, and superstition because of the eternal consequences they can carry; and it is in this spirit that he sees accurate reportage and verification as part of an evangelical mission, part of the moral justification for his travels. When relics or potions divert attention away from the central tenets of faith or foster derision and unbelief in others, he pours out his anger. Apish imitation and unreasonable credence are indefensible when the stakes are so high. He makes this point in reporting another Greyfriar practice, that of embalming a wooden representation of the dead Christ. In recounting the scornful Turkish response to this rite, he indicates that what separates the Turks' derision from his own -- for they share a common disdain of images -- is the gulf of faith:

> Truely hereupon... if the Romane Jesuites, Dominicans and Franciscans... had onely behaved themselves as their pollitícke charge required, and dismissed from the Paganisme eyes, onely their idolatrous images, veneration of Pictures, Crosses and the like externall superstitious Rites: These Infidels I say, had long agoe (without any insight of Religion) bene converted to the Christian Faith. (241)

For Lithgow, the 'externall' rites practised by Catholics are to blame for alienating the Turks from the Christian fold. There is no room in his account for the kind of toleration of heresy

(or hearsay) shown by Sandys or Timberlake. Similar to the notions that misled 'Romane Novice Travellers' in Italy, superstitious practices in Jerusalem which misrepresent the fundamental beliefs of the true church are 'damnable and intolerable' for the derision and disbelief they engender.

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Regaling his readers with numerous stories of Catholic foolishness and the inadequacies of previous accounts, Lithgow appears in Palestine much as we found him in Italy: an opinionated Protestant consciously scripting a role that distinguishes him from his contemporaries -- Catholic or otherwise. Although his journey brings him through adventures not unlike those of the travellers he seeks to correct or discredit, his treatment of Jerusalem (as well as the rest of the Mediterranean) remains distinctive, especially in the first-hand details he includes. Before leaving his description of the Holy Land and his account of his first journey in general, two personal stories deserve attention for what they further reveal about the care Lithgow takes to avoid accusations of superstition or idolatry. The first of these, describing his attempt to bathe in the Jordan, suggests Lithgow's way of turning suspicious behaviour into an entertaining and self-deprecating anecdote. After stripping off his Turkish clothes and washing in the river, he returns (still naked, except for a turban) to rejoin his companions, whom he finds have been set upon by spear-wielding Arabs (also naked and presumably beturbanned). The rest of the story follows in almost picaresque fashion. First, he finds himself chased by a guide, who mistakes him for an Arab. Then, to elude the guide's sword, he runs 'stark naked above a quarter of a mile amongst thistles and pointed grasse' and dashes back amongst the pilgrims. Finally, the Guardiano, recognising him, 'pulled off his gray gown, and threw it to me, whereby I might hide the secrets of

nature.' (231) At the end of this encounter, Lithgow makes light of his near disaster and his various states of dress:

> By which meanes, (in the space of an houre) I was cloathed three manner of wayes: First, like a Turke, Secondly, like a wild Arabian: And thirdly, like a grey Frier, which was a barbarous, a savage, and a religious habit. (231)

Lithgow's story begs several questions: Why was he bathing in the Jordan? Why does he report his nearly-fatal experience in almost joking terms?

Considering that he and his companions came under armed guard, Lithgow must have known that the area was dangerous. His decision to bathe in such circumstances suggests that he held the river in special esteem. After all, it was the place where Naaman was sent to rid himself of leprosy and where John baptised Jesus and multitudes of others, thus establishing an essential Christian sacrament. According to Timberlake, it was customary for the Franciscan guardian to offer a 'letter pattent' certifying those who had bathed in the Jordan.[124] Thus, although Jordan is a river of deep significance to all Christians, its Catholic stewardship would make it a suspect site for Protestant visitors. Lithgow has insisted on treating other places in Palestine as having no especial sanctity or efficacy. By presenting his anecdote in such outrageous terms, he tries to move his actions beyond the criticism of suspicious readers, who might disapprove of behaviour that could be construed as superstitious or idolatrous. Likewise, in this almost comic moment, Lithgow reveals that it is sometimes difficult for others to identify him as a Frank, much less to distinguish whether he is Protestant or Catholic. He makes light of this adventure, but it shows how much his travels have changed his outward 'habit', if not his inner spirit.[125]

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[124]Timberlake (1603), p. 24.

[125]For illustrations of Lithgow in various Mediterranean 'habits', see Figs. A and B.



Fig. B -- Lithgow in the Libyan desert, ca. 1615.
(From the 1906 edition, after p. 328.)

The problems surrounding identification and the issue of superstition also colour the second and final Jerusalem story, his return to the church of the Holy Sepulchre and his dealings there with a tattooist. What is more, there are remarkably different details given in his 1614 and 1632 versions of the tale. In 1614, Lithgow writes that:

> [i]n the last night of my staying at Jerusalem, which was at the holy grave, I remembring that bounden duty, & loving zeale, which I owe to my native Prince; whom I in all humility (next and immediate to Christ Jesus) acknowledge, to be supreame head, and Governour of the true Christian and Catholicke Church; by the remembrance of this obligation I say, I caused one Elias... to engrave on the flesh of my right arme, The never conquered Crowne of Scotland, and the now inconquerable Crowne of England, joyned also to it, with this inscription, painefully carved in letters, within the circle of the Crowne, Vivat Jacobus Rex.[126]

Initially, Lithgow describes his tattooed arm as a limb solely adorned with a set of crowns rendered as a tribute to and protestation of his loyalty to James, Britain, and the Reformed Church. That he recalls this earthly loyalty at such a sacred Christian site is a gesture surely designed to flatter the king. His ostentatious description of the motivation behind this gesture is also notable when compared with the version of events given in 1632:

> Earley on the morrow there came a fellow to us, one Elias Areacheros, a Christian inhabitour at Bethleem, and purveier for the Friers; who did ingrave on our severall armes upon Christs Sepulcher the name of Jesus, and the Holy Crosse; beeing our owne option and desire... But I, decyphered, and subjoyned below mine, the four incorporate Crownes of King James, with this Inscription... Vivat Jacobus Rex. (253)

Lithgow allows two visible signs of his devotion -- physical, if private, marks of identity -- to be 'engraved' on his body, but he only mentions the second set in his later version. In 1614, he makes no mention of the cross, which his fellow travellers (mostly Catholic pilgrims) had tattooed on their arms as well. Perhaps in his first edition he feared that his Protestant readers would disapprove of the fact that he received the cross tattoo at the tomb of Christ while in the company of Catholic pilgrims. His reticence is understandable, for often this tattooing

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[126]Lithgow (1614), sig. R3v.

accompanied the ceremony of purchasing the position of Knight of the Sepulchre, an offer Lithgow earlier says he declined because it involved swearing allegiance to the Pope and the King of Spain.[127]

In 1614, Lithgow presents his first tattoo as an alternative to the normal oathtaking ceremony, owning that he receives it to affirm loyalty to his own king. His effort to distance himself from Catholic pilgrims and his fear of the charge of idolatry or even treason makes sense of his initial description -- particularly his vociferous protestations about James VI/I, which he cuts back in 1632, and his decision not to speak of the cross. Perhaps by 1632, after James's death and after his devotion has been tried by tortures which left other certifying marks on his arms and body, he feels comfortable speaking about the equivocal second tattoo.[128] Or perhaps he does so simply because witnesses in England have since seen his mangled arms and therefore know about both. There is more to be said about the consequences of this episode below in Chapter Four, but here it suggests how strongly he felt the need to declare some allegiances but to hide others when writing of his time in Jerusalem.

Both of these stories underscore Lithgow's obsession with presenting himself as an unimpeachable Protestant witness, undeterred by Catholicism or false devotion and able to distinguish between truth and superstition. They also presage the colourful encounters he

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[127]See Lithgow, p. 242. Biddulph also remarks that 'no good English subject will accept that order of Knighthood, for at the receiving thereof, they sweare to be true to the Pope, and to the King of Spaine.' (1609), p. 119. Sandys writes that 'Knights of the Sepulcher... bare five crosses gules, in forme of that which is at this day called the Jerusalem crosse; representing thereby the five wounds that violated the body of our Saviour. None were to be admitted if ... not of the Catholicke religion... [b]ut now they will except against none that bring money.' Sandys (1615), pp. 159, 202.

[128]Certeau comments that '[t]he probability of an eyewitness is not enough. It is necessary for the body to be written by the other, engraved, pierced, or more precisely, transverberated [transverbéré].... [I]nscription on the body --tattooing and torture-- constitutes a proof....' Certeau (1986), p. 162.

experiences later in the desert and on his second and third journeys. He tells of these next adventures in the same curious array of narratorial guises he adopts throughout the Mediterranean. In spite of its debts to others, the whole account of his Mediterranean trip shows Lithgow attempting personal interactions, amateur experiments, and observations distinct from many of those related by his contemporaries. He creates numerous roles for himself; by turns he is a reformed pilgrim, an adventurer/hero, a scientist, an antiquarian, and a moralist. His narative gives glimpses of issues which surface in later encounters: the ethnographic interests which influence his writings in Ireland, the scientific preoccupations which dominate the whole of his second journey, and (more especially) the suggestions of fictionality which pervade the writing of his troubles in Spain. The journey of a self-styled hero and pilgrim, Lithgow's Mediterranean crossing involves experimenting with who he wants to be. It is all part of his 'science of the world', his education by experience.

Chapter Three -- Lithgow's Description of Ireland: Poor Husbandry of Land and People

In his 1623 and 1632 editions, Lithgow explains that he included Ireland in his last itinerary because, having already visited all of the Christian world except Ireland, parts of Spain, and Ethiopia, 'a necessary good (the necessity of knowledge)' inspired his further curiosity. This explanation, however, does not adequately account for the motivation behind his depiction nor the particular characteristics of Ireland and the Irish which he chooses to emphasize. In 1623 Lithgow writes that, although his travel notes were confiscated in Malaga and 'matchevillian' times prevent him from including a full description of his recent adventures, he intends to present a description of the 'manners and customes' of the Irish along with a 'relation of my miserable cruelties sustained in Malaga [which] beyond Seas I purpose shortly to publish in print.'[1] The fact that Lithgow returned to prison soon after his 1623 edition came into circulation helps explain why the overseas account was never published. Instead, Lithgow's complete description of Irish 'manners and customes' appears only in 1632, and, much like the successive editions of his first journey, must have been influenced by his later reflections upon his treatment at the hands of the Spanish Inquisitors and his betrayal by pro-Spanish English courtiers. His ill-usage by Catholics and Catholic sympathisers ought to be remembered when considering Lithgow's comments on the Irish, their land, and their customs. Widespread concern with the Catholic movement in Ireland, coupled with the fact that Lithgow put together his narrative after his torture and imprisonments, make it understandable that he should both underscore evidence of

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[1]Lithgow (1623), p. 185.

Spanish Catholic influences in the island and berate other bad influences -- among them, English Catholics and greedy colonial opportunists who interfere with the Protestant settlement of the island.

Beyond the trauma of his time in prison, there are other factors which influence his description. Ireland had been and continued to be colonised aggressively during the time of Lithgow's visit -- especially in Ulster following Tyrone's flight in 1607. As such, it was the subject of an enormous amount of political correspondence and popular commentary. Because of its 'primitive' condition, Ireland was compared with North America, another land praised for its rich soil, untapped resources, and fecund waters. The 'meer' Irish, who were often to be found wearing few clothes and living in rustic circumstances, were sometimes likened to the Native Americans recorded by Smith and Harriot. This theme has received much recent attention, and comparative study continues to provide insights into the colonial endeavours in both America and Ireland.[2] Besides acting as the western frontier of an emerging 'Britain', Ireland was looked upon as serving other purposes. It was a school for politicians, soldiers, and statesmen where loyal subjects could hone their skills before returning to duties in England, or where dangerous, unpopular, or incompetent servants could be left to languish in exile.[3] Lithgow contributes notably to seventeenth-century assessments of Ireland's political landscape, its colonisation, and its inhabitants. As this chapter will argue, he seems to be of several minds in

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[2]See K.R. Andrews, et al, The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America: 1480-1650 (Detroit, 1979), and B. Bradshaw, et al, Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660 (Cambridge, 1993).

[3]Perhaps the best work on English involvement in Ireland remains D.B. Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish (Cornell, 1966).

his account: at times he is disgusted, frightened, or scornful towards the Irish, at other moments he is sympathetic to them and indignant about their exploitation.

Much recent criticism concerned with contemporary English writings on Ireland argues that such descriptions are in fact metaphorical representations of England or of English anxieties.[4] Such discussions invoke not only acts of literary portrayal and appropriation, but political determinism and physicial violence, thus linking the writings of Churchyard, Spenser, and Moryson with the policies of Gilbert, Gray, and Mountjoy. By some it has been argued that 'the determination of an English self depends upon the subjection of an Irish other.'[5] If we accept that the works of Spenser, Barnaby Rich, or John Davies define aspects of nationhood, political institutions, or the self in relationship to an Irish other, that they assess Englishness by setting it in contrast with Irishness or by recommending various solutions to problems emanating from Ireland, then the views of a writer like Lithgow are worth considering for the way they differ from those commonly described as prevalent. In the first place, Lithgow is a Scotsman, not an Englishman; and, despite instances where he speaks of the common interests of both countries, he stresses distinctions between the two nations at various moments in his text, especially in his survey of Ireland. His loyalty to James VI/I notwithstanding, Lithgow gives an ambivalent assessment of the colonial endeavour. He wavers between loyalty to the interests of

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[4]Or, in the words of more recent editors, 'identities depend upon difference for their articulation'. In A. Hadfield and J. McVeagh, eds., Strangers to that Land: British Perceptions of Ireland from the Reformation to the Famine (Gerrards Cross, 1994), p. 8.

[5]Bradshaw, et al (1993), p. 9.

the crown and colonists, who included thousands of Scottish settlers,[6] and disgust at the habits of colonial opportunists whose abuses he records in detail. When he discusses the religious 'ignorance' or wilfulness of the Catholic Irish, whose resistance he sees both in terms of temporal and eternal consequences, he blames their ignorance not only on internal resisters and Spanish-backed schemers, but also on migrant recusants, charlatans, and misfits who bring noxious influences from England. He does not hesitate to call the Irish slothful, barbaric, or ignorant, but he tempers the comparisons he draws between them and other 'savage' people with a measure of sympathy for their plight.

Lithgow shares numerous ideas in common with contemporary English writers and his remarks present us with an example of emerging notions of united 'British' interests in Ireland, but there is nevertheless a tension between Lithgow as King James's patented traveller and purveyor of detailed information on the colonial endeavour and Lithgow as a Scottish-Calvinist pilgrim and somewhat sympathetic observer of a subjected and 'backwards' people. When considering his six-month sojourn, it is important to examine how far Lithgow associates Ireland's problems with native customs, habits, and beliefs or with pressures exerted from without. Does Lithgow, as a Scotsman, differ substantially from English visitors in his assessment of Ireland and the Irish; or do their observations share a common theme? Is his viewpoint mainly British (that is, conscious of the newly united crowns), Protestant, or colonialist in substance and outlook? As is often the case with Lithgow, his views are not easily

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[6]Around 14,000 Scottish settlers came to Ulster during the Jacobean plantation, according to K.S. Bottigheimer in his essay, 'Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Westward Enterprise 1536-1660' in Andrews, et al (1979), p. 56. See also N.P. Canny's essay, 'The Permissive Frontier', in op. cit., pp. 22ff.

categorised under one heading: he remains essentially one whose concerns and values shift with changing climates, experiences, and his own moods. When examined closely, Lithgow's assessment conforms with much that his English contemporaries say, but differs enough to provide modern readers with a means for rethinking wholesale categorizations of seventeenth-century 'British' attitudes towards Ireland. This chapter considers these several issues in connection with three matters Lithgow discusses in his Irish survey: farming practices, female bodies, and religious reformation. Before discussing each of them in turn, it is important to consider more generally Ireland's place in the popular English imagination and some of Lithgow's initial remarks.

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That Ireland and Spain should be treated in the same chapter of Lithgow's Totall Discourse seems more than fortuitous -- for the two countries were also closely linked in popular tradition. James and his predecessors were strongly aware of the possibility of Spanish-motivated invasion: 'He who would England win/ Must with Ireland begin' ran a sixteenth-century proverb.[7] John Davies and Fynes Moryson made much of the connections and conspiracies between the two. In A Discoverie of the State of Ireland..., (1612), Davies considers the obstacles and shortcomings which plagued England's attempt to conquer Ireland from the time of Henry II up to his own day.[8] As James VI/I's Solicitor -- and later Attorney -- General in Ireland, he focuses mainly on the 'pernicious effects' impeding its conquest during Elizabeth's

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[7]Quoted in J.J. Silke, Kinsale: the Spanish Intervention in Ireland at the End of the Elizabethan Wars (Liverpool, 1970), p. 65.

[8]J. Davies, A Discoverie of the State of Ireland.... ([1612]; 1613).

reign.[9] Among these, he cites 'the faint prosecution of the Warre against *Tyrone*; the practices of Priestes and Jesuites, & the expectation of the ayds frō Spaine' as having prevented Ireland's complete conquest and endangered the Crown.[10] Davies's fears were not unreasonable: the Spanish Council of State had recommended involvement to Philip III in 1600:

> while one result of Spanish aid to Ireland will be to preserve our holy religion in that country, the King of Spain will, on the other hand, at very little expense gain the same effect as the queen does through her aid to the Dutch rebels. This is a project to merit closest attention.[11]

Three years later, Philip made a direct effort, albeit a disastrous one, to foment rebellion, when he sent three thousand Spaniards to Kinsale, County Cork, to help the rebellion under Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone. O'Neill first came out in open revolt in 1595, championing 'Christ's Catholic Religion' and calling for aid from Spain and the Pope.[12] He was soundly beaten at Kinsale by Mountjoy, submitted in 1603, and later fled to the continent, but the fear of Irish rebellion 'fomented by Priestes and Jesuites'[13] persisted among English occupiers. Indeed, tracts advocating a Spanish-led revolt, including one written by O'Neill's cousin, were being circulated

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[9]See Davies (1613), pp. 97-108 and 255ff. Because of his position, Davies was able to use legal records in Dublin Castle to research his Discoverie. He reached the conclusion that the best way to civilize the Irish was to enfranchise them.

[10]Davies (1613), p. 97.

[11]Translated in J.J. Silke, Ireland and Europe 1559-1607 (Dundalk, 1966), p. 4.

[12]See J. Ranelagh, A Short History of Ireland (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 47-53.

[13]As the leaders are described in 'A Proclamation touching the earles of Tyrone and Tyrconnell' (1607), fol. 1.

on the continent while Lithgow toured the island.[14]

Judging from the tenor of his previous writings, Lithgow would seem an ideal apologist for strict measures against Roman Catholicism in Ireland and a fiercely loyal subject of the King, for whom he could provide a useful gauge of the state of religious and political obedience within the country. In fact, he tells us he travelled with 'Royall favour', having 'obtayned his Majesties Letters and Seales of safe Conduct, and Regall recommendation.' (372) The company these letters entitled him to keep seems to have influenced some of his remarks and perhaps even his initial outlook on the Irish political and religious scene. This is evident in his account of his arrival in Dublin in August 1619, where he meets the Lord Deputy, 'Sir Oliver St. Johns', and speaks fondly of him and of 'Lord Cichester', St. John's predecessor, to whom he directs a few lines of bad encomiastic verse. In addition to receiving gracious greetings from St. John, he finds himself introduced to

> many of the English nobility and Knight hood there: who through the whole Countrey where ever I came intertayned mee kindly, sending Guides with mee from place to place; yea, and sometimes safe-guards also. (372)

From the outset, Lithgow specifies that he travels and finds entertainment and protection chiefly, perhaps singularly, in the company of an élite he describes as 'English'. This distinction suggests Lithgow felt a sense of separation from his hosts. It is important to emphasize that the English themselves were a stratified society within Ireland: Anglo-Irish and colonists, Old English and New English often moved in separate circles. Some traced their ancestry to the earliest Norman settlers, others to successive colonial endeavours. Some professed loyalty to the

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[14]Noted in R. Gillespie's 'Continuity and Change: Ulster in the Seventeenth Century' in C. Brady, et al, Ulster: An Illustrated History (London, 1989), p. 106.

Crown, but held to the Catholicism of their forefathers and sent their sons to continental seminaries, while others came with Protestant missionary aims.[15] Lithgow never explicitly distinguishes between old and new families among the Englishmen he meets in Ireland, but he stresses his own distinctness from these fellow subjects of James VI/I and suggests that they varied in their character and loyalty to the crown.

Despite the initial distinctions he draws between himself and his hosts, Lithgow also speaks of similarities. If it is true that English magistrates 'believed that in dealing with the native Irish population they were absolved from all normal ethical restraints,'[16] then some of Lithgow's harsh assessments suggest he agreed with certain English colonial policies. In this he would have followed the example of his host, St. John, and of Chichester. Before taking up their posts in Ireland, both men (sons of the minor gentry) attended Oxford, fought first in France and the Low Countries, and then against O'Neill. Both sought preferment in England and both pursued the arts of war to win notice. St. John, whom Bacon described as 'a man ordained by God to do great good to that kingdom', persecuted recusants harshly, banished all monks and friars educated in Europe, and advocated the shipping of thousands of native Irish to enlist abroad.[17] Chichester was more extreme, even advocating starvation as a practical means of gaining Irish loyalty. Of the war against Tyrone, he wrote in March 1602 that

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[15]For the best brief treatment of this complex issue, see A. Clarke, 'Colonial Identity in early Seventeenth-Century Ireland' in D. O'Corràn and T. Moody, eds. Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence (Belfast, 1978), pp. 57ff.

[16]Bottigheimer draws this conclusion from reports of Humphrey Gilbert's ferocity in the 1580s. See Andrews, et al (1979), p. 52.

[17]Letters and Life of Francis Bacon...., ed. James Spedding (1861-1874), vi. 207.

> Starvation... is the only thing which will cut the throat of the grand traitor; and this is well begun. When they are down, it must be good laws, severe punishment, abolishing their ceremonies and customs in religion... that must bridle them, and keep them in perpetual obedience.[18]

Lithgow no doubt encountered the views of these two battle-scarred soldiers as he sat at St. John's table, but he expresses disapproval and dismay at the practical consequences of their policies. Early in his account, he writes passionately of the hardships which contributed to the ignorance and suffering of the 'meer' Irish:

> Indeed of all things (besides their ignorance) I onely lamented their heavie bondage under three kind of Masters; the Land-lord for his Rent, the Minister for his Tythes, and the Romish Priest for his Fees.... [W]hat a slavish servitude doe these silly wretches indure, the most part of whom in all their lives, have never third part food, Natures clothing, nor a secure shelter for the Winter cold. The miserable sight whereof, and their sad sounding groanes, have often drawne a sorrowful remorse from my humane compassion. (375)

In these lines, Lithgow criticises, however implicitly, the consequences of English rule. The exaction of taxes and rents was long conducted by native landlords, but the issue reemerged as a criticism of Anglo-Irish society after the establishment of plantations in Ulster and Munster.[19] In 1617, David Rothe, titular bishop of Wexford, raised complaints against English lawyers for turning out 'poor illiterates' and Chichester for driving 'from their well-established and ancient possessions harmless poor natives encumbered with many children and with no powerful

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[18]Letter from Chichester to Cecil, in CSP Ireland (1601-03), p. 335-36.

[19]On pre-colonial problems, see Davies (1613), pp. 175-76. See also Davies's observations on the affairs of the undertakers, dated May 1606, in CSP Ireland (1603-06), pp. 472-73, and the report on negligence and corruption in plantation grants by the Lord Deputy to the Privy Council, dated May 1621, in CSP Ireland (1615-25), pp. 325-26. On corrupt grants and rents, see B. Fitzpatrick, Seventeenth Century Ireland: The Wars of Religion (Totowa, N.J., 1989), pp. 13-35.

friends.'[20] Lithgow criticises not only the duties and fees exacted by outlawed Catholic priests, but also the tithing system corrupted by ministers of the newly-established church.[21] Issues surrounding the failures of the Protestant church in Ireland will be discussed below, but it is important to emphasize here that the troubles Lithgow initially identifies result from both interior and exterior forces: the starvation he witnesses is as much a consequence of the scorched earth policies employed by successive lords deputy as of local clan warfare, as much a product of colonial greed and corrupt ministers as of Irish customs and Catholic traditions.

Whatever the causes of Ireland's difficulties, the effects are obvious to Lithgow in his initial 'general surveigh':

> I found the goodnesse of the Soyle, more then answerable to mine expectation, the defect only remayning (not speaking of our Collonies) in the people, and from them, in the bosome of two gracelesse sisters, Ignorance and Sluggishnesse. (373)

Lithgow's description of Ireland's fertility evokes advertisements circulated among prospective colonists and resembles accounts by Englishmen such as Davies, Rich, or Moryson. In addition to his interest in soil and cultivation, Lithgow stresses the distinction between 'our Collonies' and the island's other inhabitants. He uses a curiously ambiguous pronoun, however, which does

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[20]from Rothe's Analecta Sacra, Nova, et Mira (Cologne, 1617), iii, art. 19, translated in R. Bagwell, Ireland Under the Stuarts and During the Interregnum, (Holland Press, 1909-16) i, 160-1.

[21]Chichester, writing in March 1615, defends himself for not compelling tithe payments among poor Ulster residents by stressing the corruption of ministers, who 'intending their own profit most among the [meer] Irish... farmed their tithe-milk to certain kerne, bailiffs errant, and such like extortionate people, who took the same rudely, to the extreme displeasure of the poor people whose daily food and blood it is, and with like envy to the ministers of the Gospel and their profession.' see CSP Ireland (1615-25), p. 23-4.

not make clear whether he intends to describe 'British' colonists or to distinguish Scottish settlers from the English. There is no doubt elsewhere that Lithgow is particularly concerned with Scottish interests. In either event, the personification of ignorance and sluggishness echoes complaints levelled by a variety of English observers. The issues of idleness, sloth, and degeneracy, familiar from Lithgow's discussion of the Mediterranean, appear in the remarks of visitors such as Moryson, whose acquaintance with Ireland spanned a longer period and involved official interaction. When Moryson returned to England from his own extensive travels, he took up the post of chief secretary to the Lord Deputy, Lord Mountjoy, in 1600 and held the position until the latter's death in 1606. In characterising his observations on the Irish, Moryson's latest commentators remark that only the Turks receive worse treatment at his hands[22] -- when one stops to consider that the Turks jeered at Moryson during his brother's burial, this lends some sense of perspective to the assessment.

Moryson's use of the terms 'sloth' and 'ignorance' in describing the Irish are manifold. Whether it is their lack of industry as hunters and fishermen, farmers, or miners, he identifies sloth as inhibiting their every endeavour.[23] He even cites the damp climate as contributing to a

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[22]Hadfield and McVeagh (1994), p. 54.

[23]'Ireland hath great plenty of Birds and Fowles, but by reason of their naturall sloth, they had little delight or skill in Birding or Fowling.' Moryson (1617), iii, 160. Of fishermen, he remarks that they are 'possessed with the naturall fault of slothfulnesse, ...scarsely the fear of authoritie, can in many places make them come out of their houses, and put to sea.' (iii, 161) Of quarrying and mining, he remarks that it would be profitable 'if this publike good were not hindred by the inhabitants barbarousnes, making them apt to seditions, and so unwilling to inrich their Prince & Country; and by their slothfulnesse, which is so singular, as they hold it baseness to labour; and by their poverty, not able to bear the charge of such workes, besides, that the wiser sort think their poverty best for the publike good, making them peaceable, as nothing sooner makes them kick against

'loosenes' of the body which in turn discourages work.[24] Although he attributes this idleness to age-old habits, contrary weather, boggy landscape, and endemic brigandry, he also unwittingly admits that the tendency is further encouraged by external forces:

> I observed that the best sorts of flowers and fruits are much rarer in Ireland then in England, which notwithstanding is more to be attributed to the inhabitants then to the air. For Ireland being oft troubled with Rebellions, and the Rebels not only being idle themselves, but in natural malice destroying the labours of other men, and cutting up the very trees or fruit for the same cause, or else to burn them. For these reasons the inhabitants take less pleasure to till their grounds, or plant trees, content to live for the day, in continual fear of like mischiefs.[25]

It was certainly the case that warfare, cattle raids, and punitive reprisals fostered by the clans contributed to the tendency Moryson describes. Yet, a few pages later, when he praises his master's policies and the latent potential of the country,[26] Moryson fails to consider Mountjoy's complicity in the devastation of the people and countryside. Gilbert, Lee, and Sidney had also exploited the tactical advantages of starvation, massacre, and ransacking as suitable strategies for terrorising and overcoming a foe. The threat of devastation by English armies discouraged many of the 'meer' Irish from cultivating their soil. As potent a problem, colonial immigration itself led to an oversupply of workers for the land under cultivation, which in turn meant that both indigenous and immigrant populations found themselves at a loss for employment. A year after

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authoritie then riches.' (iii, 160)

[24]Op. cit., iii, 159.

[25]Ibid.

[26]'I freely profess that Ireland in generall would yeeld abundance of all things to civill and industrious inhabitants. And when it lay wasted by the late Rebellion, I did see it after the coming of the Lord Mountjoy daily more and more to flourish, and in short time after the Rebellion appeared, like the new Spring, to put on the wonted beauty.' Op. cit., iii, 161.

Lithgow's visit, Lord Falkland would observe that 'idle, young and active persons' began to appear 'where the late plantations have been made' who 'being improvided of means to live, were become discontented and eager after alteration and rebellion.'[27] Thus what Moryson attempts to paint as a singularly indigenous set of problems was exacerbated by a variety of external influences.

In a similar spirit to Moryson, Lithgow briefly discusses Irish sloth, then turns to the subject of Irish ignorance. He tells how even the well-to-do believed that Jerusalem and Christ's sepulchre were to be found in Ireland and that the Holy Land 'was contiguat with Saint Patrickes purgatory.' In his exposé, he saves special attention for the source of these beliefs:

> And lastly, these onely titular Christians, are so ignorant in their superstitious profession of Popery, that neither they, nor the greatest part of their Priests know, or understand, what the mistery of the Masse is, which they dayly see, and the other celebrat, nor what the name of Jesus is, either in his divine, or humane nature: Aske him of his Religion? he replyeth, what his father, his great grand-father were, that will he be also. (374-75)

Adopting what sounds almost like the voice of a catechising Calvinist, Lithgow paints a dire portrait of the lack of basic Christian knowledge among the Irish. Lithgow chiefly attributes the source of Irish Catholic loyalties to a reverence for their ancestors. It is a theme that will surface later , especially when he describes other Irish practices, especially tillage. In the case of farming practices, what some describe as Irish 'ignorance' often turns out to be stubborn resistance, which the colonial authority, in turn, cites as a justification for strict measures and inhumane treatment. As will be discussed below, Lithgow's observations on the stubbornness/ignorance

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[27]Letter of October 1622, in CSP Ireland (1615-25), p. 394.

debate reflect differences in point of view that battle for predominance from his day to our own.[28]

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Before he goes on to discuss the motivations and consequences of Irish tillage and a variety of other native practices, Lithgow makes a unique, and rather pointed, ethnological assessment of the Irish, comparing them with different 'primitive' groups he has encountered. It was another commonplace of the day to treat the Irish as having descended from the Scythians, a nomadic people who swept across Europe from the Black Sea region and were thought to have sent settlers from Spain into the British Isles.[29] Long used by English writers as a way of marginalising the Irish as barbarous,[30] this link with the Scythians, renowned for their fierceness in battle and prowess in strategy, was a subject of pride for indigenous writers.[31] Lithgow, too, mentions the Scythians, but he focuses greater attention on similarites between the Irish and other contemporary nomads:

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[28]J. Murray, in 'The Church of Ireland: a critical bibliography, 1536-1992', writes that the failure of Protestantism in most of Ireland is still explained by Catholic historians as based on conservatism and an unwillingness to deny ancestry, while Protestant historians credit ignorance and superstition with having preserved the old religion. In IHS 28, 112 (Nov. 1993), 345-52.

[29]'[T]he Gangavi, a Scithean people, comming into Spain, and from thence into Ireland'. See Moryson (1617), iii, 156; see also p. 163.

[30]Giraldus Cambrensis, Campion, Hanmer, Stanihurst, Moryson, and especially Spenser allude to an original settler named Gathelus, a Greek lord whose father was Scythian. In his View, Spenser explains many Irish customs and idiosyncrasies in terms of these origins. See A. Hadfield, 'Briton and Scythian: Tudor representations of Irish origins' in IHS 28, 112 (Nov. 1993), 390-408.

[31]This view is put forward by G. Keating (1570?-1644?) in The History of Ireland. First written in Gaelic and highly critical of many of Lithgow's contemporaries, Keating's work devotes several pages to the Scythian issue -- see English edition, 4 vols. (1902-14), esp. i. 138ff. and 228-231.

> But now to come to my punctuall Discourse of Ireland; true it is, to make a fit comparison, the Barbarian Moore, the Moorish Spainiard, the Turke, and the Irish-man, are the least industrious, and most sluggish livers under the Sunne, for the vulgar Irish I protest, live more miserably in their brutish fashion, then the undaunted, or untamed Arabian, the Divelish-idolatrous Turcoman, or the Moone-worshipping Caramines: showing thereby a greater necessity they have to live, then any pleasure they have, or can have in their living. (374)

Although he expresses a clear element of sympathy for the Irish as he acknowledges the difficulties they faced simply in existing, Lithgow compares them with a group of barely recognisable nomads from the Libyan desert -- tribesmen unknown to all but a handful of European explorers. These comparisons call into question Anthony Pagden's observation that 'observers of anything culturally unfamiliar... had to be able to classify before they could properly see' and that 'they had no alternative but to appeal to a system which was already in use.'[32] Lithgow spends much of his Irish account drawing comparisons, but rather than turning to the familiar, he often looks to the even more outrageous and obscure. Take for example his description of 'A foolish and superstitious errour' among the Irish, that of worshipping the moon:

> They also at the sight of each new Moone, (I speake it credibly) bequeath their Cattell to her protection, obnixiously imploring the pale Lady of the night, that shee will leave their Bestiall in as good plight, as shee found them: And if sicke, scabbed, or sore, they solicitat her mayden-fac'd Majesty to restore them to their health, in which absurdity, they far surmount the silly Sabuncks, and Garolinean Moores of Lybia.... (375)

It is not surprising that Lithgow should decry superstitious practices, especially instances where the moon is credited with reverence that ought to be directed towards the Christian deity. What

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[32]See A. Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man: the American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 2ff. S.T. Cavanagh, in 'The Fatal Destiny of that Land: Elizabethan Views of Ireland', relates the English interest in the history of the Irish people to their inability to find 'acceptable categories' for them. In Bradshaw, et al (1979), p. 128.

is remarkable is the set of references he collects -- comparisons between the Irish and nomads even less familiar to his readers, who must ask whether he is appealing to past experience because he can find no more apt way to describe the Irish or because he wants to show off his unmatched experience of life in far-flung parts of the world -- especially among the Libyan tribes.[33] Another possibility is that Lithgow compares the Irish with groups other than the Scythians because the Scots were also thought by some to share similar origins. Perhaps Lithgow is attempting to divert attention from comparisons his English contemporaries might have drawn.

Whatever the reason for the comparisons, Lithgow's invocation of the Caramines, Sabuncks, and Moors makes the Irish seem less approachable, less identifiable than Pagden's system recognises. His assessment plays directly into the hands of those who wished to treat the Irish as aliens in their own land or to use their 'otherness' as a justification for abusing them.[34] Although his remarks in the early part of his account are not wholly negative toward the Irish people, this is clearly the prevaling sentiment. From this initial set of ethnological comparisons, he moves into a discussion of a complex of related issues, including his observations of Irish tillage and Irish women. Although his first impressions suggest that the Irish resemble North-African savages, his treatment becomes more subtle and complicated, reflecting both an effort to treat them as alien and an attempt to understand the motives behind their actions.

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[33]For his travels among the Libyan tribes, see Lithgow, pp. 328-31.

[34]'The meere Irish were not onely accompted *Aliens*, but *Enemies*; and altogether out of the protection of the Law; so it was no capitall offence to kill them; and this is manifest by many records.' Davies (1613), p. 108.

I. A View of Horse-Tail Ploughs

As when travelling through the Mediterranean and Spain, Lithgow calls attention to the Irish landscape, then draws comparisons between the land and its people. Where ruins, storms, and desolation reflect the degeneracy of the Greek world, the climate of Ireland matches the miserable condition of its people. He tells us there are 'moe Rivers, Lakes, Brookes, Strands, Quagmires, Bogs, and Marishes, in this Countrey, then in all Christendome besides' (373) and he speaks of 'quite spoyl[ing] sixe horses' (374) during his six months of criss-crossing the water-logged island.[35] The mere fact that one who usually prided himself on walking everywhere was reduced to travelling on horseback suggests that the roads must indeed have been treacherous.[36] Lithgow also describes living conditions among the Irish, the constant dampness and cramped quarters in which they live:

> Their several Roomes of Palatiat divisions... are all inclosed in one, and that one (perhaps) in the midst of a Mire; where, when in foule weather, scarcely can they finde a drye part, whereupon to Repose, their cloud-baptized heads. (374)

Domestic life is wet; domestic arrangements are chaotic. Ireland is a land of 'cloudy and

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[35]'The Land of Ireland is uneven, mountanous, soft, watry, woody, and open to windes and flouds of raine, and so fenny as it hath Bogges upon the very tops of Mountaines, not bearing man or beast, but dangerous to passe, and such bogs are frequent over all Ireland.' Moryson (1617), iii, 159.

[36] An anonymous set of contemporary 'Notes for the Reformation of Ireland' suggested the construction of roads one hundred yards wide and safe houses at river crossings to cope with soggy landscapes and highway bandits. See Cal. Carew MSS (1603-24), p. 446-47.

fountayne-bred perils' and 'a floting Laborinth' and Lithgow must move once again as a kind of self-styled knight through perilous, maze-like countryside and among unhealthy and perplexing homesteads.

Other aspects of the landscape and people draw his attention and prompt noteworthy observations, especially as he makes his way northwards. One of the most striking and bizarre of these has to do with the tillage practices he encounters in the newly-subjugated reaches of Ulster. His remarks draw attention to one of the strangest customs to persist among the Irish into the mid-century, and highlight aspects of the clash between the English administration and 'progressive' farming on the one hand and native practice and custom on the other:

> I remember I saw in Irelands North-parts, two remarkable sights: The one was their manner of Tillage, Ploughes drawne by Horse-tayles, wanting garnishing, they are only fastned, with straw, or wooden Ropes to their bare Rumps, marching all side for side, three or foure in a Ranke, and as many men hanging by the ends of that untoward Labour. It is as bad a Husbandry I say, as ever I found among the wildest Savages alive; for the Caramins, who understand not the civill forme of Agriculture; yet they delve, hollow, and turne over the ground, with manuall and Wooden instruments: but they the Irish have thousands of both Kingdomes daily labouring beside them; yet they can not learne, because they wil not learne, to use garnishing, so obstinate they are in their barbarous consuetude, unless punishment and penalties were inflicted; and yet most of them are content to pay twenty shillings a yeare, before they wil change their Custome. (377-78)

The image of the horse-tail plough must have struck his readers as both comical and horrific. Lithgow presents the details in short, broken phrases, which lend a sense of indignation to the rhythm of his words. The scene reminds him again of the 'Caramins' and, this time, the Irish come up wanting in comparison -- they are even less recognisable than North African nomads. Not only does the practice seem inefficient, primitive and 'barbarous', but with the opportunity to cultivate the ground according to the more advanced habits of the new settlers from 'both Kingdomes', the technique comes across as ridiculous and indicative of a deep-seated

stubbornness and backwardness.

On closer inspection, Lithgow's appraisal makes it clear that the matter goes beyond racial identification, the simple mechanics of good husbandry, or the humane treatment of horses. He stresses that the real issue has to do with the Irish insistence on following custom, despite threats of fines or punishments. His remarks confirm Barnaby Rich's observation in A New Description of Ireland (1610):

> [A]s I have said elswher, they wil not take any presidents from the English, and long it was before they coulde bee brought to imitate our English manner, in divers pointes of husbandry, but especially in the ploughing of their land; in the performing whereof, they used the labour of five severall persons to every plough, and their Teem of Cattle, which commonly consisted of five or six horses, were placed all in front, having neither cordes, chaines, nor lines, wherby to draw, but every horse by his owne taile; and this was the manner of ploughing when I knew *Ireland* first, and is used still at this day in manie places of the Countrey. Demand of them, whie they should be so much addicted to their owne durtie demeanures, & that they should not conforme themselves to those civill courses which they see are to bee perfourmed with less paine, and more profit; they can satisfy us with no other reason but custom, Thus did our Ancestors.[37]

Unlike those who viewed this resistance solely as a sign of brutality and ignorance, Lithgow and Rich see the possibility of politically-charged resistance behind such behaviour.[38] Indeed, Davies also looks upon their tenacious devotion to such customs as a harbinger of rebellion:

> [T]he people which doth use them, must of necessitie bee Rebelles to all good Government, destroy the commonwealth wherein they live, and bring Barbarism and desolation upon the richest and most fruitfull Land of the world.[39]

Whether in the wearing of glibs or mantles or the drawing of tail-tied ploughs, there was

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[37]B. Rich, A New Description of Ireland: Wherein is described the disposition of the Irish whereunto they are inclined.... (1610), p. 26-7.

[38]See also Moryson (1617), pp. 163-64.

[39]Davies (1613), p. 165.

reluctance in Ireland to acquiese to the process of forced anglicization. Much as he found that they said they would worship as their fathers had done, Lithgow discovers deeper reasons behind Irish resistance to abandoning their age-old methods of tillage. For their part, Irish resisters insisted that the tail-plough allowed them to farm stony and hilly land more easily than a harnessed plough -- an argument accepted by Cornwallis, but dismissed by Chichester.[40] Whether their complaint was valid or not, the Irish resisted even when threatened with fines, and their behaviour suggests that the cultural and perhaps even the economic consequences of change were too costly for them.

Despite the tendency of some officials to scoff at such matters or belittle the practitioners, the Crown responsed gravely to the issue. The king and his Irish lieutenants saw the problem less as a matter of sensible farming than as a persistent custom which interfered with the process by which the Irish were to be made obedient members of an enlarged kingdom. 'Tail-pulling' was included in a 1606 list of practices outlawed by Act of Council. Among a series of propositions touching 'His Majesty's Royal Person and Government', drafted in November 1611 and forwarded to St. John, there appears '[a]n Act for the abolishing of barbarous and rude customs: as howling and crying at the burial of the dead, drawing their plow-cattle only fastened by the tails, and blowing their milch cattle to make them give milk &c.'[41] Such repetition might seem a case of executive micromanagement; but many agents of the colonising power felt the

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[40]Chichester answered protesters against the fine that '[i]f the people amend not that custom, I wish the fine may be increased or at least continued.' CSP Ireland (1611-14), p. 417-18. Cornwallis's letter to Lord Northampton argues that the fine is of questionable fairness -- p. 432.

[41]CSP Ireland (1611-14), p. 192-3.

matter deserved careful attention. As Davies prescribes in his Discoverie, the best method of securing Irish loyalty was to cause them 'to conform themselves to the maner of England in all their behaviour and outward formes.'[42] Interestingly, communications between James and St. John describe not just the methods used to combat such practices, but also the difficulties faced in implementing official policies. In a letter to St. John sent just after Lithgow's visit, the King complains of embezzlement among those given licence to collect fines on the Crown's behalf. After listing several offenders, including an alehouse licenser who added seven shillings to the cost of hostelry certificates, James pays special attention to a complaint against one who reduced the 'tail-pulling' fine:

> the fine of 10 shillings for the barbarous custom used in the northern parts for ploughing with horses by the tails, was intended to put an end to it with in a few years: but now he finds that the agents employed under his [the King's] patentee have contracted to reduce the fine to be taken of every plough to two shillings and sixpence, *and so by lessing the punishment opened the way for that rude and hateful custom to spread itself....*[43]

James's report is eye-catching for it suggests that there could have been collusion between low-level administrators and the 'meer' Irish or at least a lack of resolve in abolishing such practices. It is curious that James should receive a report that such an untoward and impractical custom was on the rise, and that it was being more-or-less subsidised by the reduction of fines. Readers might ask whether these inefficient agricultural practices were allowed out of sympathy or were encouraged by settlers who looked to profit by the failure of poor Irish competitors, a possibility suggested by the example of William Uvedall, who lost the right to collect tail-plough fines a

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[42]Davies (1613), p. 271. See also Rich (1610), cap. 9: 'That a conquest should draw after it Lawe, Language, and Habit'.

[43]Letter to St. John, May 1620, in CSP Ireland (1615-1625), pp. 282-3.

year after receiving his patent.[44] Although it is not certain that he lost his patent for such a reason, colonists like Uvedall stood to profit from land failures or inefficient practices among native farmers.

Whether Lithgow first noticed these habits on his own, heard them mentioned at table with St. John in Ulster, or learned of them from the remarks of Rich or others, his treatment affirms the opinions of other observers and official reports. Although he does not offer a solution, he nevertheless documents and confirms the view of the government that tail-pulling persisted in Ulster and represented the stubborn resistance of natives to British influence. First likening them to wild and barbarous Libyan nomads so that they seem a people wholly alien and lacking discipline, he then explores their practises more subtly: they are obstinate, but obstinate in adhering to the customs by which they protect their identity. Whether or not they considered the economic results, the Irish seem quite as aware of the consequences of adopting new habits as the officials who tried to make them conform. No wonder so many contemporary visitors speak of encountering 'stubborn' Irishmen throughout the country.

II. The Irish Woman Revealed

Lithgow's second description of a bizarre habit in Ulster follows in a similar vein -- at once mocking its outrageousness while acknowledging its social and political dimensions. Here, however, he speaks not of horses, but of women:

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[44]See CSP Ireland (1615-25), pp. 399-400, 572.

The other as goodly sight I saw, was women travayling the way, or toyling at home, carry their Infants about their neckes, and laying the dugges over their shoulders, would give sucke to the Babes behinde their backes, without taking them in their armes: Such kind of breasts, me thinketh were very fit, to be made money bags for East or West-Indian Merchants, being more then halfe a yard long, and as wel wrought, as any Tanner, in the like charge, could ever mollifie such Leather. (378)

As his explanation for his initial departure from Scotland and several observations during his travels have already indicated, Lithgow rarely has a positive thing to say about women -- except about an African slave in Malaga, who kept him alive during his imprisonment.[45] His remarks on Irish breasts are as arresting as any he makes in his entire narrative. If one looks beyond the apparent crassness of his description and ignores (for a moment) personal influences upon his mindset -- his ill-fated affair with Helen Hamilton in particular -- his words are suggestive of other contemporary views of Irish women.[46] They suggest a deep preoccupation with cultural difference and with the place of women in the tense process of cultural assimilation and exchange developing between Ireland and Britain.

Most contemporary accounts on Ireland had little good to say about women, but there were exceptional moments, most notably in the writings of Harrington and Derrick, who recorded acts of bravery and loyalty among Irish wives.[47] Yet certainly in Derrick's, and even in

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[45]See Chapter Four and Appendix B below.

[46]For discussions on Irish women, see M. MacCurtain and M. O'Dowd, eds, Women in Early Modern Ireland (Edinburgh, 1991), and A.R. Jones and P. Stallybrass, 'Dismantling Irena: The Sexualizing of Ireland in Early Modern England' in A. Parker, et al, Nationalisms and Sexualities (London, 1992), pp. 157-175.

[47]'Neyther ys the Cowntry without rare examples of fidelyty in servants, of love and chastyte in matrons, howsoever some pens have taxed the one with trechery, the other with incontynency:... and myselfe have seen a worthy Lady thear that defended her husband from his furious enemy (who loved her perhaps more than hee hated him) and in

Harrington's more sanguine, account, positive statements are set against prevailing negative sentiments and conventional wisdom. Repeatedly, Irish women are the butt of jokes, obscene observations, and sermonizing on the part of English observers, who often pay particular attention to those who were unclothed. To explain this preoccupation with Irish nakedness, some recent critics have compared attitudes to and writings on Ireland with reports from the New World, a likening made more easy by the fact that both were often found naked or clothed in garb that was unfamiliar to visitors.[48] Contemporary discussion of Native Americans made it easy to compare them with the 'meer' Irish and to consolidate the two into the category of 'savages' in a western wilderness, but this is certainly not the first nor primary way the Irish were viewed. Nor should the analysis of writings on the Irish be overly influenced by the tenor of writings from the New World -- after all, the English colonial endeavor in Ireland antedated the North American enterprise by several hundred years. Moreover, whereas the observation of nakedness among the Indians often evoked wonder and portrayals of nude Americans were often idealised or 'Eden-ised', nudity generally provoked disgust, horror, and even violence towards the Irish -- as in Lithgow's remarks and others noted below.[49] Perhaps it is more useful, at least in this space, to

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defence of her husband was wowned and left for dead, yet now lyves not only an honor to her nation but evn to her sex.' J. Harrington, A Short View of the State of Ireland (1605) in Anecdota Bodleiana (Oxford, 1879), pp. 9-11. For J. Derricke's description of the beauty and loyalty of young Irish women, see The Image of Irelande (1581), sigs. B4v-C1r.

[48]See esp. Andrews, et al (1979) and D.B. Quinn, Ireland & America: their Early Associations, 1500-1640 (Liverpool, 1991).

[49]See T. Hariot, A Briefe and true report of the New Found land of Virginia (1590) and P. Hulton, America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White (Chapel Hill, 1984). DeBry's engravings for Hariot's work clean up and classicise White's original

pay closer attention to Irish nakedness and its effect upon the imagination of contemporary writers apart from discussions of the New World. In describing them as they do, are writers like Lithgow trying to make Irish women seem less than womanly, less than human? What do their writings on Irish nudity 'uncover' about their own preoccupations?

To begin with, observations of Irish nudity (and of Irish women's breasts specifically) were not limited to English or Scottish visitors. Laurent Vital, travelling in the entourage of the future emperor Charles V, found himself driven by a storm onto the shore of Kinsale, the site of O'Neill's undoing one hundred years later. His observations of local customs and habits include comments about Ireland's women:

> Most of the young women and girls have bare chests as far down as their waists; you can see and grab a girl's or woman's bosom as often as you can your own hand.... I saw breasts of all kinds, all different ages.[50]

These lines suggest as much about the observer as the observed. For a young nobleman, blown off course to a land of half-dressed women, Ireland seemed a place of unique sexual opportunity: 'If we had stayed there longer, we could have got to know their ways [leur maniere de faire] a bit better.'[51] The 'ways' with which the Burgundian grandee wanted to familiarize himself remain unstated, but the reader can use his imagination to fill in the narrative's gaps. Similarly, there is more than first appears in the writings of late Tudor and early Stuart visitors from Britain. Take,

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illustrations of the Indians. See Fig. C.

[50]From L. Vital, Premier Voyage de Charles-Quint en Espagne (Brussels, 1881), as translated in A. Mączak, Travels in Early Modern Europe, trans. U. Phillips (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 243-4.

[51]Op. cit., p. 244.

Their manner of careynge ther Chil- X.
dern and a tyere of the cheiffe Ladyes of the
towne of Dasamonquepeuc.



Fig. C -- Native American women in Virginia, etching by DeBry, after a painting by White. (from Hulton (1984), p. 116 -- orig. Hariot (1590), sig. B2.)

for instance, the oft-quoted observations of Moryson on the Irish method of grinding grain:

> At Corck I have seene with these eyes, young maides starke naked grinding of Corne with certaine stones to make cakes thereof, and striking of into the tub of meale such reliques thereof as stuck upon their belly, thighes, and more unseemely parts.[52]

His remarks of their unhygienic milling practices closely match those published seven years earlier by Rich:

> my selfe have seene a woman sitting with a Mustarde Quearne betweene her bare thighes, grinding of Oatmeale, I thinke a man would have little list to eate of the bread.[53]

Preoccupations with cleanliness aside, Moryson and Rich share a loathing of nudity verging on the neurotic. At once voyeuristic and horrified, their words merit close scrutiny. Why are British visitors so preoccupied by the undress of the Irish and what motivates the crassness of their observations? In the case of Lithgow, why does he describe the breasts he sees in such unseemly terms? Clearly each writer portrays these women as different, as somehow inadequate or less than human in terms of English ideals of beauty. They serve to represent the insanitary, the immoral, or the unwholesome.

Literary treatments of nudity in Ireland suggest numerous preoccupations and fears which accompanied the colonial endeavour. In dramas such as Jonson's Irish Masque, the rough manners and awkward protestations of loyalty to the King made by the 'Irish' masquers are resolved when they drop their mantels -- an action which reveals not what is feared (their

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[52]Moryson (1617), iii, 161. '[They] goe naked in very Winter time, onely having their privy parts covered with a ragge of linnen, and their bodies with a loose mantell, so as it would turne a mans stomacke to see an old woman in the morning before breakfast.' (180)

[53]Rich (1610), p. 40.

nakedness), but the civility they have newly acquired (represented by courtly masquing attire under their cloaks.)[54] Clearly, the English looked upon clothing the Irish as a means of civilising them. In general, other contemporary accounts of women and nudity suggest similar preoccupations and fears. In this connection, it is useful to consider other remarks by Rich, who spoke at greater length about Irish women than most of his contemporaries. What emerges in his writings is a habit of treating them as representatives, or embodiments, of a tendency towards bad faith, indolence, and degeneracy attributable to Ireland and the Irish in general. A copious writer, Rich makes his most extended attack on Irish women in his New Description.[55] Among his assaults, he directs his attention to impoverished women who worked in Irish alehouses and who were linked by contemporary reports with prostitution, theft, and insurrection.[56] Rather than

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[54]At the lines 'Your slough let fall/ and come forth new-borne creatures all' (Irish Masque, ll. 181-2), the stage directions instruct that 'the masquers let fall their mantles; and discover their masquing apparell'. In Jonson Works, vii, pp. 404-05. See also remarks on subversion and nakedness underneath the mantle in Moryson (1617), iii, 164.

[55]A soldier in the Low Countries in the 1560s, Rich campaigned in Ireland from 1573, kept a careful journal (according to Thomas Churchyard, another writer on Ireland), and published a wide variety of works: military tracts in the 1570s and pamphlets warning about Spain and several romances in the 1580s. His publications dealing with Ireland include Greenes News both from Heaven and Hell (1595), A Short Survey (1609), A New Description (1610), A True and Kind Excuse (1612), and The Irish Hubbub (1617). See also E.M. Hinton, 'Rych's Anothomy of Ireland (1615) with an account of the author', PMLA, 55 (1940), 73-101, (afterwards 'Rich (1615)').

[56]In 1616 a petition was lodged with the corporation of Dublin against those 'who harbour multitudes of wicked harlots under colour of tapping ale and beer'. See J.T. Gilbert and Lady Gilbert, eds, Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin (Dublin, 1889), iii, 69. Rich calls them 'the riffe-raffe, the most filthy Queanes, that are knowne to bee in the Countrey, (I meane those Huswives that do use selling of drinke in Dubline, or elsewhere) commonly called Taverne-keepers, but indeed filthy and beastly Alehousekeepers....' Rich (1610), p. 11.

primarily condemning them for prostitution, he makes special reference to their steadfast observation of Catholic feasts and fasts, making this their most heinous crime and marking them out as subversives and facilitators of rebellion. Later he speaks of their other vices, exposing and vilifying them in the language of perverted motherhood:

> [T]heir life and living [is] to be detested and abhorred... [which] marcheth in equall manner with Theft, with murder, with Treason, with drunkennes, with whoredome, and with all manner of Sodometry but the cause of all thinges must needes tell whose childe the effect is.[57]

These women give birth, in effect, to all manner of sin and rebellion -- so his reasoning goes.

This attack is only the beginning, however, as Rich turns from city alehouses to country farms and discusses Irish nudity. Again, local nakedness reveals more about Rich's own preoccupations than about the women themselves:

> If I should set downe the sluttish and uncleanly observations of the...Women,... in the remote places of the Countrey, I might set downe such unreverent and loathsome matter, as were unfit for every queasie stomacke to understand of. I will not speake of those affaires belonging to Child-bearing women, that are no lesse uncivill then uncleanly... nor of the beastly Physicke they have used to apply to a Cow, when she will not give down hir Milke...[or] how unhansomely the women do... grinde their Oat-meale. [T]hey do show themselves to be most sluttish and filthy.[58]

For Rich, the matter here is not so much their dress as what it 'uncovers': namely, incivility, uncleanliness, and lasciviousness. Irish women are closely linked to the unsavory eating habits, poor husbandry, illegitimacy, and superstition to be found throughout the countryside. When he

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[57]Op. cit., p. 11-2.

[58]Op. cit., p. 24-5. Moryson explains this 'beastly physicke' for his readers: '[W]hen these cowes thus madly denie their milke, the women wash their hands in cowes dung, and so gently stroke their dugges; yea, put their hands into the cowes taile, and with their mouthes blow into their tailes, that with this maner (as it were) of inchantment, they may draw milk from them.' Moryson (1617), iii, 163-4.

requires an illustration to indicate a fault in the Irish character, Rich summons the example of a woman and exposes her shortcomings and vices. In the process, he heaps scorn upon the Irish generally and offers warnings to visitors and settlers against developing relationships among them.

In The Irish Hubbub (1617), he tells an anecdote about the keening of an Irish woman at her husband's execution. When offered comfort over his death, she replies that 'if his linnen had bin cleanly about him, his hanging would never have greeved me.'[59] At once Rich impugns the devotion of the wife, portrays the Irish attitude to death as foolish and uncomprehending, and mocks the ancient habit of keening -- all through the agency of a 'meer' Irishwoman. He also mocks and vilifies Irish sexual habits. In fact, he makes a great deal of the way that their dress (or undress) betokens a 'loose' lifestyle: 'by the outward showes in their Attyre, a man woulde thinke, they had sent their Consciences unto the Stewes.'[60] According to Rich, it is when they have disrobed that they also expose hidden danger and treachery. Take, for instance, chapter eight of his New Description, 'Of the vulgar sort of the Irish, what account they make of an Oath', where an anecdote about a pair of lovers in bed exposes the character and substance of Irish duplicity:

> Methinkes this Doctrine of Equivocation and Mental reservation, was very acceptable to the yong married wife, who in her Husbands absence being solicited by an amorous friend, she consented unto him, upon condition, that hee should not meddle with her lippes, neither to kisse, not so much as to touch them; Hir lover demanded the reason, she answered; That at my marriage day, this mouth of mine made inviolable promise to my husbande of continencie; and therefore what my mouth hath Religiously vowed, shall

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[59]Rich (1617), p. 5. See also comments on filthy Irish linen in Lithgow, p. 373.

[60]Rich (1610), p. 35.

> Ceremoniously be kept: content thy selfe therefore with the other parts of my bodie, for my lippes are onely vowed unto my Husband, and for him I will reserve them. I think of my conscience, this Woman was as firme in the promise she made to her husband, as a number of Papists in their Oaths they do make to the king.[61]

Rich's anecdote about female inconstancy is a commonplace, but its particular orientation to Irish women and the way they give fair measure of what is to be expected of all citizens is significant. A tale of sexual incontinence becomes a metaphor for Irish rebellion. Offering 'lip service' to the king and other temporal masters, they willingly show themselves unfaithful (like the anecdotal woman) when undressed.[62]

Not only are they willfully disloyal, but they are utterly immodest. In fact this tendency seems to affect all the women in Ireland: not only the 'meer' Irishwomen who work in the alehouses, but Anglo-Irish ladies and even the most recent colonial arrivals.

> [M]odesty... hath ever beene the reputed Ornament of women; but to speake truth of our Gentlewomen of Ireland: that be of Irish birth, they have little practise.... And it is holden for a servile kinde of baseness amongst the Irish, for a gentleman or a gentlewoman, to be seen in any manner of faculty, Idlenesse onely excepted. And this conceipt of theirs, is another occasion of ignorance, which as it engendreth many vaine and lascivious thoughts, so it draweth after it, wicked and dishonest deeds.[63]

Rich presents idleness as a type of cultivated behaviour among Anglo-Irish women. The same issue and the accompanying vice of drunkenness are also discussed by Moryson.[64] In such

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[61]Op. cit., p.31.

[62]Similarly: 'I omit... their promiscuous generation of children; their neglect of lawfull matrimony; thir uncleannesse in Apparrell, Diet, & Lodging; and thir contempt of all thinges necessary for the Civill Life of man.' Davies (1613), p. 181.

[63]Rich (1610), pp. 35-6.

[64]'And since I have in part seene, and often heard from others experience, that some Gentlewomen were so free in this excesse, as they would kneeling upon the knee, and otherwise garausse health after health with men; not to speake of the wives of Irish lords,

circumstances, women appear as collusive figures who foster a degenerate climate.[65] It is a formula Rich repeats over and over in his work: in every destructive, rebellious, or morally enervating activity, Irish women participate as abettors, as direct products, or as agents of degeneracy.[66]

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Lest it seem we have left Lithgow and his own remarks, it is important to recall that whereas the main focus of each of the other accounts is on womenly attitudes and habits as contributors to or indicators of lawlessness, faithlessness, and rebellion, Lithgow's work pays attention almost exclusively to women's bodies and their method of nursing their children.[67] In returning to Lithgow, we return to the breasts of the Irish women. And what seems at first a purely physical characterisation, embellished with a coarse aside, reveals more on closer

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or to referre it to the due place, who often drink tell they be drunken, or at least till they void urine in full assemblies of men, I cannot (though unwilling) but note the Irish women more specially with this fault, which I have observed in no other part to be a womans vice, but onely in Bohemia.' Moryson (1617), iii, 162.

[65]See also Rich's Anothomy (1615): 'as the synne of Adam begane at eve, so the brybery, the extortyon, the corruptyon of many a man, begyns at hys wyf... women of thes dysposytyons, hath done great hurte to the servyce of the Prynce in Irelande.' (p. 88)

[66]From what his work says of Irish women's immodesty and sinful inclinations, it is no wonder that Rich should have been compelled to write A true and Kinde Excuse... of that Booke... a New Description of Ireland (1612), because 'a woman beganne to picke quarrelles both at me and my booke... [so that] I was brought into a generall obloquie throughout the whole citie of Dublyne, but especially amongst the citizens wives' (sig. C1).

[67]Lithgow's only other notable discussion of a woman in Ireland is his report of a curious dinner at the home of a bishop in Donegal (perhaps George Montgomery, bishop of Raphoe), who was offended when Lithgow addressed his wife as 'mistress'. See Lithgow, p. 374.

consideration. From the writings of his contemporaries and from reports of other administrators in Ireland, several reasonable explanations present themselves for the focus and character of his remarks. Lithgow comes from a culture where breasts are not exposed -- except at the occasional court masque -- and nursing is conducted privately. Breasts were more likely to be treated as icons, not functional forms. Against these cultural norms, we find his remarks arrayed: the breasts he describes are grotesque and functional, wholly divorced from idealised representations. Differences between what Lithgow imagines breasts ought to be like and reality may help explain his crassness, but there is a further possibility. By describing the nursing habits and ungainly bodies of Irish women in terms that seem somehow unnatural, or that make their breasts sound unsuitable for the proper rearing of children, Lithgow contributes (wittingly or unwittingly) to the effort to discourage Irish fosterage and wet-nursing, as well as intermarriage, among new settlers in Ulster. Fosterage, or the rearing of a child by another family, was common in Ireland and was usually entered for financial profit or political strategy. A child might remain in fosterage from birth to marriage, during which time a strong alliance could be cemented by the families involved. Davies cites illegal fosterage as one of the main reasons the Anglo-Irish adopted Irish habits, language, and customs, and claims that it remained a source of 'the common misery of this kingdome' in his day.[68] The view was common. Lodowyck Bryskett warns that, in child-rearing, care must be taken 'specially of the nurses, in whose bosoms their children are ever held, and in whose faces their eyes are alwayes fixed; because

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[68]Davies (1613) p. 181, see also 178-79.

they note and observe most what they say or do, having lesse regard to others.'[69] From the breasts comes sustenance; at the breasts of a nurse come the first words and beliefs of the young. Language, habit, dress, and convictions are all taught to infants by those who raise them.

By Lithgow's day, the Crown had removed prohibitions on intermarriage, fosterage, and wet-nursing which had stood in place for over two hundred and fifty years, but there was disagreement among James's councillors as to whether the new policy was wise. In the century before Lithgow's visit, the Kilkenny statutes[70] were reasserted by Henry VIII and Elizabeth I and were regarded by Elizabethan administrators as beneficial to the reformation because they discouraged alliances between Catholic Irish and the Anglo-Irish families.[71] By the middle of James's reign, when some, but not all, observers believed that Ireland's conquest was fully effected, the king began to relax these prohibitions on intermarriage and fosterage:

> Forasmuch as the cause of the saide difference and of making the said lawes and statutes doeth now cease, in that all the natives and inhabitants of this kingdome without difference and distinction are taken into his Maiesties gratious protection... by giving them free libertie to commerce and match together,... they may grow into one Nation, whereby there may be an utter oblivion and extinguishment of all former differences.[72]

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[69]Bryskett, A Discourse of Civill Life (1606), p. 56.

[70]The Irish Reformation Parliament in 1536 passed laws reaffirming English order, habit and language (essentially the Statutes of Kilkenny of 1366 revisited). They prohibited Gaelic langage and dress, as well as Gaelic poets and harps, and declared intermarriage between Irish and English forbidden, sometimes treasonable. See Ranelagh (1983), p. 50, and The Statutes of Ireland.... (Dublin, 1621), pp. 58-9.

[71]Richard Beacon described the acts against 'marying and fostering' as 'good and profitable lawes for the better effecting of a reformation of manners' in Solon his Folly (Oxford, 1594), pp. 57-8.

[72]The Statutes of Ireland.... (1621), p. 428. See also Privy Council to Chichester in CSP Ireland (1615-21), p. 27, on movement to repeal acts against marriage and fosterage.

Although his edict was surely designed to win the affection of his newly enfranchised Irish subjects, it is questionable whether James wanted colonial settlers to take full advantage of this new freedom. Perhaps he was merely recognising marriage patterns that had gone on illegally for years and could be policed only with great difficulty. Whatever the case, many of his advisers and administrators continued to regard mixing with the Irish as dangerous to the colonising and civilising of the island.

That wet-nursing, fosterage, and intermarriage were still viewed with suspicion in Lithgow's day is clear from the reports of various writers.[73] Rich in his Anothomy (1615) writes

> the very same that brake the necke of the Quenes servyces then and may be as prejudycyall to hys Matis proceadynges now: is the combynatyon betwen the Englyshe & the Iryshe thys knyttynge of frendshype betwen them, by maryage, by gossypynge by fosterynge, not of the inferyor sorte, but of the myghty ones....[74]

Having before them the examples of various Anglo-Irish turncoats -- especially the infamous O'Neill, who was fostered in England, but returned to Ireland to fight against the Queen -- it is no wonder that crown servants in Ireland hesitated to endorse James's policy. Fears about the influence of wet-nurses upon language, habits, and manners in the country are most famously discussed in Spenser's View of the Present State of Ireland. Although the work did not appear in

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[73]'The fostering of children with Irish Nourses, is a mayne inconvenience both in respect of religion, manners, and languadge; for thereby they grow wholly up into theire customes....' from E.S. A Survey of the Present Estate of Ireland (1615), f.11v -- cited in notes to 'View of the Present State' in Spenser Works x, 350. '[W]ee are so linked and combined with them, what by marryeng, what by fostering, and what by one meanes or other, that we must not see them quaile, that we must not see them confounded, but their hurts will be to our own detriments.... Rich (1610), p. 100. Rich lists intermarriage as one of three reasons why Elizabeth did not succeed in subduing Ireland.

[74]Rich (1615), p. 94.

print until after Spenser's death, its dialogue catalogues fears that must have coloured discussions of Ireland among courtiers, soldiers, and settlers alike from the 1580's until well beyond its publication in 1633. The case against wet-nursing is put forward by Irenius, who describes its contribution to degeneracy among the Anglo-Irish:

> I suppose that the Chief Cause of bringinge in the Irishe language amongest them was speciallye theire fosteringe and marryinge with the Irishe The which are two most daungerous infeccions for firste the Childe that suckethe the milke of the nurse muste of necessitye learne his firste speache of her, the which beinge the firste that is enured to his tounge is ever after moste pleasinge unto him... they moreover drawe into themselves togeather with their sucke even the nature and disposicion of theire nurses....[75]

Spenser was one of many who discussed the problems resulting from sending English children out to Irish nurses: at the bosom come speech, 'nature and disposicion'.[76] Wet-nurses could be the first to infect English children with the malaise of degeneracy. It was commonly held that this had been the fate of many of the Anglo-Irish families who settled throughout the country.[77] Over generations, 'little by little'[78], through intermarriage and fostering, they adopted the degenerate behaviour and demeanor of the Irish.[79] It is no wonder that an anonymous writer

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[75]'A View of the Present State....' [38v-39r] in Spenser Works, x, 119.

[76]Spenser alludes to bad nurses again in the Faerie Queen (V.v.53). Later he describes how the earth nursed her offspring (with wine) and brought forth bloodshed and death. (see FQ V.vii.11.)

[77]W. Herbert makes the argument in Croftus, sive de Hibernia Liber, ed W.E. Buckley, Roxburgh Club, (1887), p. 39 -- cited in Spenser Works x, 310.

[78]'Many of the English-Irish have by little and little been infectd with the Irish filthiness.' Moryson (1617), iii, 161. '[T]he English colonies did embrace and use [fosterage], after they had rejected the Civill and Honorable Lawes and Customes of England.' Davies (1613), pp. 181-82.

[79]'In [Connaught] is the barony Atterith, belonging to the barons of the English family Birmingham, of old very warlike, but their posterity have degenerated to the Irish

notes problems interfering with the English conquest of Ireland in the order: 'nursing, marriage, clothing, arming, galloglasse, kerne.'[80] The list reads almost like a progression: from nursing to open rebellion. Like poor sailors sipping from Circe's cup, so fared many of the English who intermingled with the Irish.[81]

Lithgow himself saw the practical effects of life in Ireland upon the 'Gentry'. He finds that although many were 'brought up in London' and had learned to become 'a greate deale more civill, then those brought up at home, after their owne rude and accustomable manner', they nevertheless showed every indication of potential disloyalty:

> And this I observed, in my traversing the whole Kingdome, I never saw one, or other, neither could move any of that selfe Nation, to pledge or present his Majesties health. (376)

Even among those fostered in England, Ireland could have pernicious effects. All inhabitants, 'meer' Irish, Anglo-Irish, and colonists shared the threat of degeneracy, a symptom of which was this tendency towards rebellion.[82] In a climate familiar with examples of degeneracy and even

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barbarism'. And a few lines later: 'Monaghan [in Ulster] was inhabited by the English family Fitzurse, and these are become degenerate and barbarous, and in the sense of that name are in the Irish tongue called MacMahon, that is, the Sons of Bears.' Moryson (1617), iii, 158.

[80]From 'Notes for the Reformation of Ireland' in Cal. Carew MSS (1603-24), p. 449.

[81]So observed Davies (1613), pp. 179-83, building on R. Stanihurst's remark in The Description of Ireland (in Holinshed's Chronicles, 1586) that 'the verie English of birth, conuersant with the sauage sort of people become degenerat, and as though they had tasted of Circes poisoned cup, are quite altered.' (Rpt. in Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, (London, 1808) vi, pp. 68-9.)

[82]In contemporary drama, Irish warlikeness and rebellion were the stuff of dramatic stereotype, as when Gillamor, King of Ireland, promises the services of his men to Mordred: 'They be [ready]: and all with ardent mindes to Mars,/ They cry for warres, and longing for the allarme/ Even now they wish t'encounter with their foes.' in T. Hughes,

with desertion to the Irish during battle, it was no wonder that the effects of intermarriage were under the scrutiny of administrators and nervous colonists.[83] Lithgow must have known of the polemical efforts to keep colonists from fosterage and intermarriage with the Irish. From his stay with St. John and in the writings of his contemporaries, he must have found the danger mentioned. In such a political and intellectual climate, it makes sense that he should portray Irish women as somehow unnatural or menacing. He represents their breasts as leathery ('wel-wrought') and unattractive ('more then halfe a yeard long') and likens them to goods to be bought or sold. The comparison with money bags is notable for its invocation of the West Indies: such a juxtaposition of the New World and Ireland carries the implicit suggestion that Irish women were no more fit to raise children than North American savages, illustrations of whom showed that they carried their babies on their backs in similar fashion to the Irish women Lithgow describes.[84] Admittedly, Lithgow never says as much, but elements of such sentiments -- here and when he compares the Irish to Lybian nomads -- pervade his observations.[85] Irish

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'The Misfortunes of Arthur' in Certaine Devices and Shewes presented to her Majestie by the Gentlemen of Grayes Inne.... (London, 1587), II, iv.

[83]'The English soldiers in Ireland... were notorious for acts of pillage, mutiny, desertion [to the ranks of O'Neill's forces], and general insubordination, and it was with difficulty and sometimes only after liberal portions of alcohol that they were persuaded to face the enemy.' Canny in Andrews, et al (1979), pp. 23-24.

[84]'[They] would give sucke to the Babes behinde their backes, without taking them in their armes'. (378) Compare Fig. C above.

[85]A writer like Stanihurst argues the unsuitability of Irish women along more gentle lines, faulting them for their 'harsh and brode kind of pronunciation, with uttering their words so peevishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And if they could be weened from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English.' Stanihurst ([1586]; 1808), vi. 4. Despite its relative mildness, the criticism calls to mind concerns with language and degeneracy, and hints at the

women present a threat to Scottish and English settlers and to the united interests of an emerging 'Britain', which needed to ensure the loyalty of the island's inhabitants -- old and new, native and colonial. Ulster, the most Gaelic of Ireland's provinces, was indeed a place where the English and Scottish settlers had much to fear: it was filled with 'meer' Irish rebels who had served O'Neill, Catholic Anglo-Irish, and pro-Spanish sympathisers.[86] For Lithgow to denigrate the bodies of the women in Ulster seems appropriate in a colonial climate that viewed those -- like the wilfully disobedient farmers -- who nursed at their breasts as essentially crafty, rebellious, and degenerate. Well aware of contemporary notions of nurture and sustenance, Lithgow suggests his disapproval of Irish women as suitable wet-nurses. His shocking commentary and idiosyncratic style undoubtably reflect the belief of his contemporaries that the new colonists in Ulster should avoid Irish wet-nurses and wives -- how else were they to avoid the slope towards degeneracy and rebellion down which so many others had slipped?

III. A View of Irish Reformation

> [A]t their dayly meetings (experience taught mee) there was never a more repining people against our Prince and Church as they be: for in this presumption a twofold cause arriseth, want of zeale, and Church discipline in our part, and the officious nine penny Masse on their part: yea, all, and each of them, so exacted and compounded with at higher or lower rates, as the officers in this nature please. (377)

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shortcomings of Irish wetnurses.

[86]On pamphlets aimed at spawning rebellion in Ulster, see R. Gillespie's 'Continuity and Change: Ulster in the Seventeenth Century' in Brady, et al (1989), pp. 78, 106.

Lithgow's remarks on Irish tillage and Irish women provoke important questions about his view of the country and its people. By and large, his observations are insightful, but they reflect sentiments expressed by numerous English writers. A matter that receives far more distinctive treatment in his account is that of the church in Ireland. His preoccupation with problems of church and churchmen and with the need for good ministers is understandable for, as Ellis suggests, 'the parish church was the focus of social and political, as well as religious life in the local community.'[87] But Lithgow does not always pursue the standard complaints put forward by other writers, particularly when he assigns blame for Ireland's spiritual malaise. In general, he divides abuses of religion into two types: those associated with native Catholicism and those imported to the region. The 'imported' dangers include not only threats brought by continentally-trained Catholic seminarians and British recusants, but also the more sinister problems posed by opportunistic and corrupt Protestants and pseudo-Protestants who abuse the local people and the colonial system. His description of interior and exterior forces at work upon the soul[s] of Ireland provides insights into the colonial endeavour and the life of the Irish church. He saves his strongest condemnation for religious abuses, whether in the form of recusancy or false Protestantism, imported from Britain -- especially from England. His discussion of these imported abuses adds to our understanding of the role played by Scottish Protestants in the colonisation and the establishment of reformed religion within Ireland.

As he considers the 'ignorance' behind Irish Catholicism more closely, Lithgow begins to treat it as a kind of guerilla warfare waged against newcomers and the reformed church. At first

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[87]S. Ellis, Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community, and the Conflict of Cultures, 1470-1603 (London, 1985), p. 213.

he echoes the views of many administrators and colonists,[88] painting a portrait of insidious resistance and describing in detail the 'intollerable abuses of protections in that Kingdome: The one of Theeves and Woodcarnes, the other of Priests and Papists' (376). Lithgow has already decried the charges imposed by greedy priests; now he tells of a diabolical arrangement they share with the 'kerns', whose behaviour

> is prejudiciall to all Christian civillnesse tranquill government, and a great discouragment for our collonizd plantators there, belonging to both soyles of this Iland, being dayly molested, and nightly incombered with these blood-sucking Rebells. (376)

The term 'kerne', used here to denote a bandit, was first used to describe Irish foot soldiers. Here its use suggests how banditry came to be part of a guerilla campaign against the anglicizing process. The picture Lithgow paints of the unholy alliance of priest and kern against settlers from 'both kingdoms' is chilling:

> And notwithstanding of their [the kernes] barbarous crueltie, ever executed at all advantages, with slaughter and murder upon the Scots and English dwellers there; yet they have and find at their owne wills Symonaicall protections, for lesser or longer times; ever as the confused disposers, have their law-sold hands, filled with the bloody bribes of slaughtered lives, high-way, and house-robbed people.... [The kernes are] but the Hounds of their hunting Priests, against what faction soever, their malicious malignity is intended: Partly for intertaynement, partly for particular splenes, and lastly, for a general disturbance of the Countrey, for the Priests greater security and stay. (376-7)

His remarks present a relationship built upon a foundation of hatred and greed, and designed to keep the country in mayhem with illegal priests using the pulpit to stir the Irish against new settlers -- Scottish and English.

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[88]For comments on the aptness of the Irish clergy to participate in the corruption of juries, the arrangement of strategic marriages, the buying of protection for livestock or grain, and other forms of extortion, see B. Rich, Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell ([1593]; 1911), p. 58.

Lithgow does not say whether he attributes this anti-British/anti-Protestant organisation to local or international efforts. A few years earlier, Chichester told the lords of the council that 'seminary priests and Jesuits, waiting for doubtful changes and chances of time, are still ready to work upon the ill-affected multitude, incensing them to entrap and oppress the ministers.'[89] Rich sees this particular problem as the work of Rome.[90] Initially, at least, Lithgow portrays the movement as an indigenous effort fomented by local thugs, whose chief motivation is financial and who draw strength from the people's unwillingness to shed the Catholic traditions of their forefathers. It is unclear whether Lithgow believes the movement is limited to the 'meer' Irish or includes Anglo-Irish and more recent recusant immigrants as well. Certainly recusancy contributed to the staying power of Catholicism during the early Stuart period as administrators unsuccessfully tried to enforce uniformity throughout the country.[91] The Lord Deputy also complained of a steady stream of 'priests, Jesuits, and friars' who slipped into Ireland and brought talk of 'wars and innovation'.[92] In any event, the problem, as Lithgow sees it, results in

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[89]CSP Ireland (1615-25), pp. 23-4.

[90]'[T]he Pope hath so well provided for the place, that the whole country dooth swarme with Jesuits, Seminaries, and massing priests, yea and Fryers, that have recourse into Dublyne it selfe, and these doo keepe such a continuall and daylie buzing in the poore peoples eares, that they are not onely ledde from all duety and obedience of theyr Prince, but also drawne from God by superstitious Idolatrie, and so brought head long by heapes into hell.' Rich (1593), p. 57.

[91]In The Irish Hubbub, Rich treats recusancy as one of the chief problems facing Ireland: 'I might speake of some other vices, the rather exceeding amongst the Irish, by the ill example of the English... that are more hurtfull then all the rest and those be Recusants.' Rich (1617), p. 51.

[92]Lord Deputy Chichester to Winwood, June 1615, in CSP Ireland (1615-25), p. 69. See also p. 234.

disloyalty to the king and disorder throughout the countryside -- 'they cannot, nor never did, become true subjects to our King, nor faithfull friends to their Countrey'; and the solution he proposes could have come from the mouth of Chichester -- 'Unlesse by extremity of Justice, the one still hanged before the other, the remanent by the gallowes may examplifie amendment, contrarywise that Land shall never be quiet.' (376)

Despite his attention to Roman Catholicism's dangers, Lithgow argues that Ireland's religious problems are not limited to those posed by recusants, Jesuit seminarians, and local priests. In fact, he saves his greatest condemnation for those who profess to be Protestants, but show themselves even more diabolical and disruptive by practicing a pretended faith:

> [D]issembling impudents intrude themselves in this high calling of God, who are not truely, neither worthily thereunto called; the ground here arrising either from a carnall or careless presumption, otherwise from needy greed, and lacke of bodily maintenance. (378)

He attributes many of Ireland's religious problems to false Protestants. Moreover, it is unclear how many of them are native Irish time-servers and how many are immigrant opportunists from England or Scotland. Certainly there were numerous Irish Catholics who insinuated themselves into the reformed church, most famously Eoghan O'Hart and, nearer Lithgow's day, Miler Magrath of Cashel. O'Hart served as the bishop of Achonry, was recognised by the established church, but also appeared as a representative at the Council of Trent in 1562. Magrath, the Catholic archbishop of Cashel, was appointed to oversee numerous dioceses under the aegis of the reformed church, including Achonry and Killala in 1607.[93] Lithgow recounts his own

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[93]See Mary O'Dowd, Power, Politics and Land: Early Modern Sligo 1568-1688 (Belfast, 1991), pp. 107ff. The poor state of Achonry and Killala was revealed in 1615 when a visitation showed just six clergy in the two dioceses, and only five reading ministers, who

encounter with the dying 'Viccar of Calin' who, upon finding no more need of his two-hundred pound-a-year salary, renounced Protestantism, then

> sen[t] straight for a Romish Priest, and received the Papall Sacrament: Confessing freely in my audience, that hee had beene a Romane Catholick all his life, dissembling onely with his Religion, for the better maintaining of his wife and children. (380-81)

Judging from his habit of including himself in stories he may have only heard, it is doubtful whether Lithgow witnessed such a scene. Nevertheless, recusancy and false Protestantism plagued attempts to bring religious uniformity to Ireland and Lithgow's assertion is borne out by the testimony of others, including Lord Deputy Falkland, who would later complain of numerous desertions by dissimulating clergymen.[94] Many who had joined the church because of hopes of advantage revealed their true colours as rumours spread of a wedding between Charles and the Spanish Infanta.

Even more irksome, dangerous, and lamentable to Lithgow than local pretenders, however, were those nominally Protestant opportunists who came from 'Britain' to make their fortunes in Ireland:

> Such is now the corruption of time, that I know here even Mechanick men admitted in the place of Pastors: yea, and rude bred Souldiers whose education was at the Musket mouth, are become there... unlearned Church-men: Nay; besides them professed; indeed professed Schollers: whose warbling mouthes ingorged with spoonefuls of bruised Latine, seldome or never expressed, unlesse the force of quaffing, spew it forth from their empty sculles: Such I say, interclude their doctrine, betweene the thatch and the Church-wall tops; and yet their smallest stipends shall amount to one, two three, or foure hundred pounds a yeare. (378-9)

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were not fully trained preachers. The two dioceses were used by Magrath to support those thrown out of other sees. See also M. Perceval-Maxwell, The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I (London, 1973), pp. 255-73.

[94]See Falkland to Secretary Conway, January 1624, in CSP Ireland (1615-25), p. 458.

In this portion of his account, declaimed like a tirade from a Presbyterian pulpit, Lithgow attributes at least some of the difficulties faced by the Church of Ireland to soldiers and ill-educated charlatans who received compensation in the form of local benefices.[95] It was certainly the case that poorly qualified immigrants from England and Scotland found employment as preachers throughout Ireland; and, as the parishes were often thinly populated or at least stretched out over long, dangerous terrain, the gospel was rarely preached or, when it was, often to thin audiences. Thus Lithgow continues:

> Whereupon you may demand mee, how spend they, or how deserve they this? I answer, their deserts are nought, and the fruite thereof as naughtily spent: for Sermons and Prayers they never have any, neither never preached any, nor can preach. And although some could, as perhaps they seeming would, they shall have no Auditour (as they say) but bare walles. (379)[96]

In these two passages, Lithgow neatly encapsulates a significant problem confronting those attempting reformation in Ireland. He deplores both the desperate needs of the Irish Protestant movement for manpower and the 'symonaicall' motivation which brought incompetent or

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[95]Recalling Moryson's observation that many of the English settlers in Ireland were 'pirates, bankrots, pore, or men of disordered life', Canny argues that 'the single most important factor' inhibiting the success of the colonial enterprise was 'the inability of organizers to maintain control over those to whom had been entrusted the task of colonization.' In Andrews, et al, (1979), pp. 21, 17.

[96]Sir Francis Slingesby writes in November 1617 that '[i]n the country there are many places where there are no ministers to serve divine service, and so they cannot justly be inculpated for not coming to church. [I]n many places the churches are not repaired.' Recusancy is also a problem in that 'the ministers where divine service is exercised are slow in making their presentments... the bailiffs are slow in attaching the prosecuted or perhaps are rewarded for not serving them.' See Cal. Carew MSS (1603-24), pp. 343-44.

unscrupulous men into such offices.[97] Irish benefices were poor and attenuated in comparison with their English counterparts and so lacked qualified incumbents throughout the period.[98] Thus these Irish parishes often fell either to the underqualified or the unprincipled well into the time of the later Stuarts.[99] Even when bishops and commissions empowered by James sought to fill the sees with better clergymen, it often remained the case that 'the only way of providing ministers with an adequate income was to license pluralism on a substantial scale by uniting two or three benefices.'[100] As a result, unmonitored charlatans like Macgrath could reward faithful minions (or 'exile' incompetent ones) with lands across the countryside. Women, grooms, and openly Catholic priests were known to have received benefices in the dispensation of Protestant parishes.[101]

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[97]S.G. Ellis in an article entitled 'Economic Problems of the Church: Why the Reformation failed in Ireland' JEH 41, 2 (Apr. 1990), pp. 239-64, makes detailed use of the records of the Valor Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticarum in Hibernia to show that the Church of Ireland was too poor and 'simply lacked an effective presence' (248) to make Reformation happen: 'Valor figures suggest that the number of Church of Ireland livings which were suitable for resident preachers may by 1603 have been little more than a hundred.' (256)

[98]'Visitations of 1615 and 1622 suggest that, in 1615, the Church had around 800 clergy to serve 2492 parishes; and even in 1622 there were still only 380 preachers, more than a third of them in Ulster.' Op. cit, pp. 256-7.

[99]'Broadly, where benefices were sufficiently rich to attract the services of well-qualified or graduate clergy, and where parishes were comparatively small -- as in most of England -- more effective instruments of conversion and control could be brought to bear.' Op. cit., p. 248.

[100]Op. cit., p. 256.

[101]Davi[e]s to Cecil, February 1604: '[M]any gentlemen, and some women and some priests and Iesuits, have the greatest benefit of our benefices'... 'serving men and horseboys' are given 'two or three benefices apiece', in CSP Ireland (1603-6), p. 143. For details of Macgrath and his patronage system, see O'Dowd (1991), pp. 107ff.

James VI/I recognised the twin problems of low numbers and poor training among the clergy.[102] He wrote instructions to his Irish lords justices in December 1615, declaring that

> as the principal foundation of all good success in all our actions rests upon the true service of God, they must above all things else endeavour to reduce that people from their errors in religion, for which end they are to continue the repairing and building of churches throughout that kingdom, and not only to supply the spiritual livings as they shall become void with apt and able persons, being men of good report and credit..., but to persuade all others who have... any such livings to do the like, eschewing all manner of corruption in the bestowing of the same.[103]

His concern with Irish religious problems led to the establishment of several commissions, including one created to inquire into the 'State Ecclesiastical and Temporal of Ireland'.[104]

Writing to St. John in February 1620, James lays out a number of his own proposals:

> [B]ecause we understand that the simple natives of that our kingdom ...are kept in darkness, and apt and ready thereby to be misled into error, superstition, and disobedience by the Popish priests, who abuse their simplicity and ignorance, which proceedeth from want of ministers who could speak their own language, whom they may understand... [the king] directs that some competent number of towardly young men already fitted with the knowledge of the Irish tongue be placed in the University, and maintained for two or three years till they have learned the grounds of religion, and be able to catechise the simple natives, and deliver unto them so much as themselves have learned.[105]

James looked to solve the problems posed by external pressures -- popish priests, backed by Spanish money, as well as recusants, and unscrupulous or incompetent colonial ministers -- by

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[102]Davies praises James's policy: 'the first King of England that did ever supply those sees [Derry, Rapho, Clogher -- all in Ulster] with Byshops....' See Davies (1613), p. 255.

[103]CSP Ireland (1615-25), p. 102.

[104]Created after Lithgow's return but before publication of his account of Ireland (March 1622), this commission probed such questions as 'How those parishes are served and churches supplied with ministers, and how the cures are discharged... What means the ministers have, and from whom received, and of what condition the incumbents are for learning, life, and good conversation....' Op. cit., pp. 346-47.

[105]Op. cit., pp. 276-7.

internal reformation -- the training of native Irishmen as Protestant clergymen at the recently founded college in Dublin.[106] The lack of auditors bemoaned by Lithgow was to be partly resolved by outfitting the Gaelic Irish with a translation of the gospel. Such a proposal must have elicited a tense response in light of warnings by crown servants that the conquest of a people should include a conquest of language and habit. Moreover, the testimony of visitors like Lithgow, who found that many professing Irish Protestants were committed to the religion only insofar as it provided a means for advancement or at least for eluding troubles, suggests a bleak forecast for the effort James proposed.

In another humorous, but provocative, discussion of the Irish Catholic movement, entitled A Catholic Conference.... (London, 1612), Rich anticipates both the solution proposed by James and its inherent shortcomings.[107] Penned as a dialogue between a 'popish' priest, 'Syr' Tady MacMareall, and a young Irish Protestant student at Trinity College, Patricke Plaine, Rich's short work sets the two figures in a hot debate over the fate of religion in Ireland. The work begins with Patricke meeting Sir Tady, who is dressed in the apparel of a soldier. Sir Tady explains that he is preparing to fight as a Catholic priest against the uniformity laws imposed by England and adds that

> there bee many hundreds in Ireland besides my selfe, that are glad to disguise themseves [sic] from the rygour of those laws that have beene lately contryved and pronounced

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[106]In October 1618, the Earl of Thomond made a similar recommendation to the Lords of the Council on behalf of Munster, expressing the need for readers and interpreters of English and Irish. See Op. cit., pp. 216-17.

[107]B. Rich, A Catholic Conference betweene Syr Tady MacMareall a popish priest of Waterforde, and Patricke Plaine a young student in Trinity Colledge by Dublin in Ireland (London, 1612).

against us.[108]

Much like Lithgow's 'Viccar of Calin' upon his deathbed, Sir Tady is a dissembler who reveals himself with vigorous defiance: artifice and deception are fit weapons in religous combat. Moreover, Tady tells us, no Irish jury would 'indite' Catholics brought before it and any who were convicted would 'glory', 'rejoyce' and otherwise 'triumph' if they should find themselves sent to prison.[109] In their first few exchanges, Patricke seems to live up to his surname when he answers the popish priest with verses of scripture -- as one would expect a young product of the fledgling college to do -- eliciting the exasperated remark from Syr Tady: 'You are so full of Scripture Patricke, that there is no dealing with you.'[110] It soon emerges, too, that Patricke also believes in violent reprisals as a solution to the problem of Catholic resistance, a nuisance he sees more as a political than a religious matter:

> If all our priestes in Ireland that doe teach that doctrine to the poore silly people of that country were drawne hanged & quartered... the kings maiesty would be both better beloved, and more dutifully served in Ireland then nowe he is.[111]

Such sentiments, common currency in discussions of Irish problems, suggest the very dangerous life characters such as Patricke and Tady could expect to live. And indeed Rich's work relies heavily on the rhetoric of violence and danger to explain the actions of Catholics, the consequences rebels could expect, and the responses required by the faithful to resist the sway of Catholicism. As an description of a land given over to bloodshed and deception, Rich's work --

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[108]Op. cit., p. 1r.

[109]Op. cit., pp. 1v-2r.

[110]Op. cit., p. 12r.

[111]Op. cit., p. 4r.

albeit clearly a polemic in favour of James's policy of religious uniformity -- ends on a doleful and ambiguous note. The last lines are worth reading in full, for they present the dangerous uncertainty of Patricke's position:

> Tady: [B]e not obstinate, but be rul'd by me... for thy benefit.
>
> Pat.: What is it Sir Tady, to forsake my religion & to turn papist.
>
> Tady: A papist as you cal it, but in truth a true christian, & recōciled childe to the Catholicke Church, thou shalt thereby shewe thyselfe to be a naturall Hibernian, where now thou remainest a stayne to thy country..... I will tell thee Patricke, and I will tell thee truely, thou wert better to be reputed a traitor to the King, then to be accounted as thou art, thus open mouthed against the Pope, the one perhaps may finde some fewe enemies to prosecute him, but the other shall find every man readie to persecute him.
>
> Pat.: Sir Tady when I meane to turne traytor to the King I will followe your counsayle, I will turne Papist.
>
> Tady: And untill thou dost show thyselfe to be a professed papist indeede, thou shalt find little friendshippe in Ireland. And so farewell.[112]

Not only does the future promise danger for Patricke if he remains a Protestant -- an affiliation he characterises chiefly in terms of loyalty to King James -- but it is not even certain that his loyalty will remain steadfast. His last two lines can be read either as an avowal of his beliefs or as anticipating a change in his position: when I feel differently, I will do as you suggest. In his introduction, Rich warns that 'the very thoughts that are hatched up in idlenes, are of all other most dangerous.'[113] From this, it follows that if Patricke is left idle, or becomes so as a minister

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[112]Op. cit., pp. 26r-v.

[113]Op. cit., sig. A2r.

in the Church of Ireland, the danger of degeneracy would follow: one starts as a young enthusiast, slips into idleness or bows to fear, sees the ease of the other way, and abandons the Protestant faith. Elsewhere Rich records a number of preachers trained in the Protestant religion, who eventually fall into the same pattern of degeneracy suggested here and described by Lithgow -- the pattern which threatens all who move to Ireland:

> Some othere there be that now and then will get up into a Pulpit, and there they will spend an houre, chyding against the Pope in the course of their speaking, and they are no sooner come down but they will defie God himselfe halfe a yeere after, in the manner of theyr lyving, and this example of theyr ungodly behaviour, is no little corrasive to weake consciences, that do beholde their wickednes.[114]

With threats and dangers besetting them and treachery within their own ranks, it is no wonder many Protestants (especially in the South) of Irish and English ancestry turned to the 'friendshippe' of the Catholic church. Nor is it odd that Rich advocated vigilance as the strongest deterrent to such disaster.

* * *

Together with Catholic priests, false or unscrupulous Protestants of Irish and British ancestry were guilty of an array of vices which Lithgow details in his own idiosyncratic way:

> As concerning their cariage, in spending such sacrilegious fees, the course is thus. The Alehouse is their Church, the Irish Priests their Consorts, their Auditors be fill and fetch more, their Text Spanish Sacke, their Prayers carrousing, their singing of Psalmes the whiffing of Tobacco, their last blessing Aqua vitae, and all their doctrine, sound drunkenesse. (379)

The image of the drunken priest was a commonplace throughout reformed Europe, but the image of the drunken Protestant minister is more surprising -- at least coming from a Presbyterian like

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[114]Rich (1593), p. 57.

Lithgow.[115] He accuses these wayward Protestant preachers of lounging in the infamous alehouses -- where Rich claims slatternly women fomented rebellion -- and becoming more and more like the unreformed Irish. Even more troubling, however, such ministers are guilty of consorting with priests, a form of cooperation even more insidious than that between the priests and bandits:

> the Minister affrayed of the Priests Wood-Carnes, and the Priests as fearefull of the Ministers apprehending, or denoting them; contracting thereby a Gibeonized covenant, yea, and for more [mere?] submissions sake, hee will give way to the Priest to mumble Masse in his Church, where hee in all his life made never Prayer nor Sermon. (379)

His allusion to a 'Gibeonized covenant' suggests that the ineffectual Protestant ministers he decries were mostly immigrants. Like the Israelites who entered Canaan and made peace with the sinful Gibeonites, these ministers neglected a heavenly order to extirpate Roman Catholicism in the island.[116] Worse than collusion, they were guilty of snubbing their noses at a divine commandment to bring about the reformation of Ireland. The comparison of the Irish with a deceitful and destructive Canaanite tribe, and the suggestion that British Protestants in Ireland were supposed to imitate a pattern of conquest entrusted by Jehovah to the 'chosen people' is worth closer evaluation. In light of Lithgow's general preoccupation with divine directives, it stands to reason that collusion and neglect by false Protestants are crimes that far outweigh any setback posed by temporal corruption in the island. In Lithgow's estimation, such ministers were playing fast and loose with the souls of their parishioners. The problem compels him to spit with

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[115]On contemporary drunkeness among the clergy in Ireland, see E. MacLysaght, Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century (Cork, 1950), p. 73ff.

[116]See Joshua 9.1-27 and 10.1-14 for the story of the Israelites and the Gibeonites.

contempt:

> Loe there are some of the abuses of our late weake, and stragling Ecclesiasticks there, and the soule-sunke sorrow of godlesse Epicures and Hypocrites. (379)

To say their weakness developed 'late' suggests that Ireland had a degenerating effect on the morals of recent immigrants -- at least this is what Lithgow claims to have observed:

> To all which, and much more have I beene an occular Testator, and sometimes a constrayned consociat to their companeonry; yet not so much inforced, as desirous to know the behaviour and conversation of such mercenary Jebusites. (379)

Like one of the spies Joshua sent into Jericho, Lithgow stresses that his information about clerical abuses results from travelling in the company of the corrupt. Here, he invokes yet another Canaanite name, the Jebusites, a tribe Israel was commanded to wipe out during their divinely-countenanced conquest, but with whom they intermarried and from whom they adopted the worship of the infamous Baal.[117] If it is true that he spent his time almost exclusively with an 'English' elite, then his condemnation of corruption in the clergy and laity is all the more striking for it suggests the Anglo-Irish took on the role of the 'Jebusites'.

The shameful practices and dim prospects of idle Protestants leave Lithgow deflated and disgusted. They also prompt him to offer a last wish on behalf of the Irish people.

> Great God amend it, for it is great pitty to behold it, and if it continue so still, as when I saw them last; O, farre better it were! that these ill bestowed Tythes, and Church-wall Rents, were distributed to the poore, and needy, than to suffocate the swine-fed bellies of such idle and prophane Parasits. (379-80)

This moment of sympathy shows that Lithgow ultimately feels a strong concern for the lives and

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[117] 'And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day... And they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons, and served their gods.' Judges 1.21 and 3.6.

the souls of the Irish, a concern sufficient to make him reject various elements of English policy (tythes and rents) and many of the clergy sent over to participate in the work of spiritual conquest -- especially the venal ministers whose behaviour interferes with reformation. Perhaps the Irish problem requires a Scottish answer. A last 'generall abuse' he mentions might well be passed over without much attention, but for a curious quirk which makes it of interest in the compilation of Lithgow's spiritual biography and which sheds light on the issue of Scottish influences on the development of Protestantism in Ireland. In the midst of noting a few final ways priests and ministers defraud their parishioners, Lithgow includes a significant example:

> I observed that whensoever any Irish dye, the friend of the defunct (besides other fees) paying twenty shillings to the English Curat, shall get the corpes (sic) of the disceased to be buryed within the Church, yea often, even under the Pulpit foote: And for lucre interred in Gods sanctuary when dead, who when alive would never approach, nor enter the gates of Sion; to worshipe the Lord, nor conforme themselves to true Religion. (380)

Lithgow adds that the family of the disreputable 'Viccar of Calin' paid to see that he was buried this way. Of particular interest is the way he describes the run-of-the-mill corrupt curate as 'English', as if to say this abuse is peculiar to English clergymen in Ireland. Again, there is a sense of separation Lithgow highlights which sets the English apart and makes them seem less committed to the reformation of Ireland. What makes this passage more noteworthy is the fact that a preacher from Lithgow's local church in Lanark, William Birnie, published a pamphlet condemning burials in churches when Lithgow was still living in Lanark.[118] Birnie's sermon

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[118]W. Birnie, The Blame of Kirk Buriall tending to Perswade Cemiteriall Civilitie ([Edinburgh, 1606] London, 1833).

pursues a subject dear to the hearts of Scottish reformers from the time of Knox.[119] Thus, Lithgow's remarks suggest how certain Protestant beliefs were transported from Scotland to Ireland. Michael Perceval-Maxwell argues that 'it was the Scots who contributed most of the vitality and conviction to the Protestant effort' in Ireland, especially in Ulster.[120] His argument is supported by the number of Scottish Protestant leaders involved in the effort to convert Ireland -- including George Montgomery, Andrew Knox, and James Spottiswood.[121] Although Lithgow himself only remained in Ireland for six months, Lowland colonists brought similar convictions from their homes in Lanark and elsewhere and attempted to impose them on Ireland, despite the resistance of native people and the relaxed standards of certain English occupiers.[122] He ends his passage on church burial with the observation that 'such and the like abuses, and evill examples of lewd lives, have beene the greatest hinderance of that Lands conversion' (380).[123] It is

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[119]'[W]e think it neather seamlie that the Churche appointed to Preaching and ministratioun of the Sacramentis shalbe maid a place of Buriall.' from Buke of Discipline in J.Knox, Works (1846-48) ii, 249.

[120]Perceval-Maxwell (1973), p. 255.

[121]See op. cit., pp. 255-273, for a description of efforts by Scottish bishops to bring educated preachers to Irish parishes.

[122]This is not to say that all or most of the English preachers who came to Ireland were corrupt, or that all the Scots who emigrated into Ireland were Protestants. While Montgomery, Knox, and Spottiswood worked to reform the country, men like Robert Blair and Sir George Hamilton entered Ireland to practice Roman Catholicism. See Bottigheimer's article in Andrews, et al (1979), p. 58. Recusancy in Munster, fostered by English Catholics emigrating to Ireland, increased significantly in the early seventeenth century, in similar fashion to the number of Puritans (and 'debtors, malefactors, and discontents') who also entered. See M. MacCarthy-Morrogh, The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583-1641 (Oxford, 1986), pp. 190-208.

[123]Lithgow's alliteration nicely matches that of Birnie, who speaks of the 'poyson of... penny-rife papistry' and calls kirk burial 'a shameful superstition' and 'a perverse

noteworthy that he uses the superlative ('greatest hindrance') in direct connection to the 'evill example' of an 'English curate'. This moment makes it clear that, for Lithgow, the merits and success of the colonial endeavour were ultimately to be reckoned in religious terms; the most striking criticisms were to be made using language familiar to Presbyterian preachers and to those familiar with the Old Testament account of the conquest of Canaan.

As bad as things are in Ireland, Lithgow hopes that God's directives will prevail; and, in his summary of the prospects for the island, he acknowledges the contributions of righteous ministers from both Scotland and England:

> Infinite moe examples of this [bad] kind could I recite, and the like resemblances of some being alive; but I respectively suspend (wishing a reformation of such deformation) and so concludeth this Clergicall corruption there. Yet I would not have the Reader to thinke that I condemne all our Clergie there, no God forbid, for I know there are many sound and Religious Preachers of both Kingdomes among them, who make conscience of their calling, and live as Lanthorns to uncapable ignorants....' (381)

He looks with hopefulness for the success of a chosen priesthood culled from both kingdoms -- men chosen to participate in a higher calling, the divinely countenanced conquest of souls of which writers like Thomas Blenerhasset speak :

> Art thou a Minister of Gods word? make speed, the harvest is great but the laborers be fewe: thou shalt there see the poore ignorant untaught people worship stones and sticks: thou by carrying millions to heaven, maiest be made an Archangell, and have whiles thou doost live for worldly respects, what not.[124]

This summons was echoed in the writings of many contemporaries. Andrew Knox, from the bishopric of Ulster, told the Archbishop of Canterbury about Ireland's great need of reapers for

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profanation' Birnie (1833), sigs. C4v and F4r.

[124]T. Blennerhasset, A Direction for the Plantation in Ulster (London, 1610), sig. D1r.

the harvest.[125] Such appeals typically blend messages of eternal and temporal opportunities, discussing reformation in the language of colonial possibility:

> [A]t the least three hundred thousand soules, besides Children (which are no lesse in number) may come unto the true knowledge of God.... So the kings majestie shall be disburthened of a very great charge out of the Exchequer, the Country safely secured unto the Crowne, and we his Majesties subjects inriched by our endeavours, which God of his unspeakable mercy grant....'[126]

Much as Magellan and Columbus recorded that land, gold, and souls were ripe for the picking in the New World, so writers told of the joint harvest of souls and political stability that were to come from the colonisation of Ireland. For his part, Lithgow distinguishes which of these results is the most important: '[I]t is a grievous thing to see incapable men, to jugle with the high mysteries of mans salvation.'(381) These, it should be noted, are nearly his last words on Ireland.

It has been argued that the Scottish presence in Ireland was a case of 'the excess population of one kingdom being used by the monarchy to secure the doubtful loyalty of another'.[127] Such a statement does not adequately consider how many of the new Scottish settlers were unwilling to observe without criticism the religious abuses practised by the Irish or the English -- or even their own Catholic immigrant countrymen. Lithgow's account reads like that of an orthodox Protestant. He is at once a subject of James and a Scotsman devoted to his own view of the faith. His strict loyalty to his temporal master is qualified by a vigorous,

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[125]Letter of July 1611, in CSP Ireland (1611-14), pp. 80-2. See also Chichester to Salsibury, October 1611, p. 149.

[126]Blennerhasset (1610), sig. D1r.

[127]See Bottigheimer's article in Andrews, et al (1979), p. 57.

reformed faith. He is not afraid to lambast Catholics -- Irish, continental, or English -- nor does he scruple to condemn sham Protestants, many of whom come from England. His desire for the establishment of Protestantism likens the subjection of Ireland to that of Canaan by the Israelites. It is a vision of a divinely-countenanced conquest, one which anticipates Cromwell by twenty-odd years.

The fact that Lithgow spent only six months in Ireland ought to prompt critics to pay more attention to what he has to say. In so short a time, he clearly relied on the ideas and opinions of others, but he also brings a freshness that observers like Rich could only posit as a rhetorical device.[128] Rich's careful self-representation as an unsullied witness carries the implicit warning that reports by those who spent years in Ireland ought to face close scrutiny. Indeed, Rich frequently discredits the commentaries of other long time residents.[129] Due care must be taken to try to assess how 'unsullied' the views of Rich and Moryson are. Lithgow, with his mixture of temporal and spiritual notes and observations, provides a useful lens for focusing on at least one kind of visitor to Ireland. His sarcastic treatment of insincere and destructive 'Jebusites' and his endorsement of vigorous efforts to convert Ireland help set the context for his initial remarks on Spain and his description of Malaga and the Inquisition -- the misadventures which bring his 'Travailes' to a crisis point.

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[128]'I have lived in Ireland of a poore pay, the full recompense of 47 years, spent in my Prince and Countreyes service, I have not begged nor purchased any mans lands, rents, or revennewes; I have not heaped to my selfe, eyther Offices or Church-livinges: yet something I have noted of the Countrey by observation.' Rich (1610), sig. A4v.

[129]Rich also states that previous commentaries, those of Giraldus Cambrensis, Campion, and Stanihurst particularly, are tainted by popery. Op. cit., p. 2.

Chapter Four -- Lithgow and Spain: Inquisition and Agon

Sad soule mixe truth, with grave and prompe discourse...:
Lord weigh my words, with wisdome, give me grace
In all this Worke, to give thy glory place. (391)

[T]urning a terrible action into a story is a way to distance oneself from it, at worst a form of self-deception, at best a way to pardon the self.[1]

As suggested in previous chapters, Lithgow's experiences during his last journey greatly influence the writing of the entire Totall Discourse. In its amended stories of superstition in Loreto and Rome, exaggerated tales of personal heroism and corrected pilgrimage itineraries in the Near East, and even covert observations of Catholic strongholds in Ireland, Lithgow's 1632 account bears the marks of his torture in Malaga. The whole of his re-written narrative seems to anticipate the description of these last 'travailes'. Out of his four months of travelling and nearly six months of imprisonment in Spain, Lithgow creates a dark portrait of the country and of his encounters with its civil and religious authorities.[2] Although his entire Spanish itinerary merits examination, the most significant portion describes his experiences at the hands of the governor of Malaga and the Inquisition.[3] This chapter explores several features of his Spanish account, treating them under two headings:

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[1]N. Z. Davis, Fiction in the Archives (Stanford, 1987), p. 114.

[2]The best general introductions in English to early modern Spain are J.H. Elliott, Imperial Spain ([1963]; Harmondsworth, 1970); J. Lynch, Spain Under the Hapsburgs, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964-69), esp. vol. 2; and A.D. Wright, Catholicism and Spanish Society under the Reign of Philip II, 1555-1598, and Philip III, 1598-1621 (Lewiston, NY, 1991).

[3]On the Spanish Inquisition, see H. C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, 4 vols. (New York, 1907), esp. vol. 3; H. Kamen, Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1985); W. Monter, Frontiers of Heresy: the Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Islands to Sicily (Cambridge, 1990); and A. Alcalá, ed., The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind (New York, 1987).

firstly, Lithgow's general attitude towards Spain, and secondly, his presentation of the crucial episode in Malaga. The first heading draws attention to the development of Lithgow's views by comparing his own initial remarks -- some of which appeared in 1623, others which were added only in 1632 -- with those of several contemporary writers, who object to Spanish travel specifically or to travel in general. Rather than admitting his imprisonment to be a disaster he helped bring upon himself, he writes of it as a divinely countenanced ordeal which redeems his journeys and sanctifies his 'science of the world'. This is not to say that he claims to have set out with this goal or recognises this aspect of his journey initially. It is only after his imprisonment in Malaga, and indeed years after being jailed in England because of his outspokenness about the incident, that Lithgow presents a version which endows the fateful experience with a spiritual purpose. This attitude affects the way he writes about Spain, and consequently, the way he rewrites his entire narrative.

Whereas in 1623, the Malaga episode fills only a page and a half in an abridged account of his Spanish itinerary, in 1632, it covers over twenty-five pages. Under its second heading, then, the chapter considers the formal presentation of his Spanish imprisonment, or the way he constructs the 1632 account of his 'living martyrdom'. At least two features of its composition deserve close attention: his use of religious imagery and his use of detailed descriptions and transcriptions-- from impressions of colours, textures, and physical sensations to the recollection of dialogues, arguments, dates, and characters -- to reconstruct his ordeal and to outfit him in the role of a persecuted hero. These features appear elsewhere the Totall Discourse as well, particularly those passages added in 1632, but nowhere else are they employed in such concentration or to such effect. Here they show Lithgow at his best as the creator of a powerfully persuasive political and religious 'fiction'.

To use the term 'fiction' is not to argue that Lithgow invents what transpired during his imprisonment -- though this is an idea taken up by one critic and it must be considered below. Although parts of his narrative do reflect the influence of overtly fictional models (mainly Nashe), the 'fictionality' in Lithgow's account is similar to the kind described by Natalie Zemon Davis in Fiction in the Archives. Davis argues that inquisitorial reports by French pardoners reflect the writers' need to employ a certain 'shaping in order to bring verisimilitude or moral truth' to the tales described by witnesses.[4] Similarly, Foucault writes about tales fashioned by religious interrogators (inquisitors and scriveners), who must impose an order on the 'confessions' of the accused to make their testimony fit into acceptable narrative formulae.[5] The case is different with Lithgow: he turns the tables on normal Inquisitorial procedure. Rather than presenting a Spanish Catholic scrivener's account, Lithgow writes as one who escapes his interrogators and leaves his own first-hand version of the dialogue/discourse in which he was forced to participate. Again, he undertakes this task as one set apart to play a role in a triumphant providential drama. He organises and assembles the details of his account to present his readers with the plausible, sanctified fiction of his living martyrdom, his survival as a tried and proven Protestant traveller.

I. Lithgow's Survey and Contemporary Attitudes

As suggested above, Spain represented the only major nation in Western Europe Lithgow had not yet visited. It is appropriate that he should be stopped by its civil and

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[4]Davis (1987), p. 4.

[5]See M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison, trans. A. Lane ([1977]; Harmondsworth, 1991), esp. pp. 11-33.

religious authorities, especially as so many habits he ridicules and encounters he finds dangerous during other journeys stand as essential components of the country. Many of the Irish priests he complains about received their training at Valladolid or Madrid or their financing from the silver reserves of the Spanish kings Philip II and Philip III;[6] Italian regions he visited, such as Naples, Milan, and Sicily, stood under the stewardship of Spanish protectors;[7] the Netherlands and Bohemia (between periods of armistice) suffered the ravages of Hapsburg-driven wars; and the people of Spain seemed to match the Italians in their superstitious beliefs and to suffer poverty and ignorance worse than that he witnessed among the Greeks. Spain also loomed large in the minds of many of Lithgow's fellow subjects because of the marriage negotiations between representatives of James VI/I and Philip III. The accompanying rounds of diplomacy between the two courts provided the stuff of suspicion and doubt for many in England.[8] Within the Jacobean court, the Spanish ambassador Gondomar was the most influential (and to many, the most insidious) foreign advisor to have the monarch's ear.[9] Around the time of Lithgow's return, Gondomar's stature in the city was the subject of much commentary:

> Tuesday, the 1st day of May [1621], the Count of Gondomar fearing some mischief from the apprentices of London, there were divers companies of soldiers appointed to guard, and watch in several quarters of the City, which still did more and more argue

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[6]See A. J. Loomie, Spain and the Early Stuarts, 1585-1655 (Aldershot, 1996).

[7]See H.G. Koenigsberger, The Government of Sicily under Philip II of Spain (Ithaca, NY, 1951).

[8]As seen in T. Middleton, A Game at Chess (1625). See also J. Limon, Dangerous Matter: English Drama & Politics in 1623-4 (Cambridge, 1986).

[9]See C.H. Carter, The Secret Diplomacy of the Hapsburgs 1598-1625 (New York, 1964), esp. pp.120-33. Middleton describes the 'Black Knight' as the 'fistula of Europe' A Game at Chess I, iii, 45.

the potency this Spanish Ambassador had in the English Court.[10]

As discussed in the Introduction, the half-crippled Lithgow fell into an argument with Gondomar after his liberation from Malaga, the result of which was the Scotsman's six-week stay in the Marshalsea prison.[11] Likewise, Lithgow's brief remarks on Spain in his 1623 edition appear to have landed him in jail for a second time -- from 1623 to early 1624. Thus, for a variety of reasons, Spain wielded a wide influence over the world Lithgow traversed and loomed as a significant presence in his writings.[12]

Lithgow begins his Spanish description in much the same way as he does his Italian account. At the outset, he tells of a 'leying miracle' in Santo Domingo de la Calzada, a town dedicated to a saint who helped pilgrims bound for Santiago de Compostela. Like his versions of popular tales from Rome and Loreto, his account bears the stamp of Protestant disbelief and is rendered with typical scorn. Turning a traditional story to his own purposes, he ridicules those who believe that the resurrection of a pilgrim killed by an unscrupulous innkeeper was heralded by a pair of talking chickens, noting in particular the greed of local priests who regularly accept plump hens from passing pilgrims in memory of the occasion.[13]

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[10]From S. D'Ewes, The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart., during the Reigns of James I. and Charles I., ed. J. Orchard-Halliwell, 2 vols. (London, 1845), i.187. On general belief in Gondomar's insincerity and duplicity, see i, 233.

[11]See Lithgow, pp. 419-20; see also APC (1621-23), pp. 196, 244.

[12]For contemporary English correspondence surrounding the Spanish marriage negotiations and related issues, see R. Winwood, Memorials of Affairs of State... chiefly collected from the original papers of Sir Ralph Winwood, ed. E. Sawyer, 3 vols. (London, 1725). Afterwards Winwood Memorials.

[13]Compare Lithgow's version (Lithgow, pp. 384-88) with the original story (first noted in the fifteenth century by a Seigneur de Caumont), the text of which is given in L. Vázquez de Parga, et al, Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948) i, 577-80. See also the pilgrim songs related to the miracle in ii, 165-67.

Lithgow contrasts the piety of St. Dominic with the profiteering of past and present Spaniards -- innkeepers and priests alike -- whose cupidity he contrasts also with the poverty of the nation at large. More could be said about the incident, but here it serves to suggest how he began his travels in much the same spirit as he undertook his passage through Italy and the Mediterranean. He wilfully turns the story related to him by two Catholic pilgrims into a mockery, thereby giving a fair indication of the characteristically contentious posture he maintains during his first months in the country.

He continues with a string of complaints and sarcastic comments, mainly grumblings about the lack of decent fare or bedding at local inns where he is forced to prepare his own food. His words paint a grim, if informative, picture of contemporary conditions:

> It is miserable travelling, lesse profitable, in these ten Provinces, or petty Kingdomes, hard lodging and poore, great scarcity of beds and deare: And no ready drest diet, unlesse you buy it raw; and cause dresse, or dresse it your selfe, buying first in one place your fire, your meate from the Butcher, your bread from the Baker, your Wine from the Taverne, your Fruites, Oyle, and Hearbes from the Botega, carying all to the last place, your bed-lodging: Thus must the weary Stranger toile, or else fast. (388)[14]

Afterwards, he gives a few impressions of the countryside, particularly of his 'miserable travelling' across numerous mountains. Although not enough to raise the eyebrows of those seeking early modern descriptions of landscape, his observations are notable for the way they suggest a sympathy between the land and its inhabitants: '[t]he high-minded Spaniard and their high topped mountaines, have an infused contention together.' The mountains, he tells us, are tall; the people, runts who borrow their pride from the landscape. Together, they 'be extraordinarily infounded.' (388) In a similar vein, he makes fun of the Spanish obsession

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[14]Lithgow's remarks on the country may be the source for the line in Heywood's The English Traveller (1633): 'Spaine, that yeelds scant of food, affords the Nation a parsimonious stomach' (I, i, 173). For a similar view, see Donne's epigram 'The Liar' ['...a salad worse than Spanish dieting'].

with *limpieza de sangre*, or purity of blood, by describing them as a mongrel race:

> [I]t is manifest, that this mixture of Nations, must of necessity make a compounded Nature, such as having affinity with many, have no perfection in any one. Their Manners are conformable to their discent, and their conditionall Vertues semblable to their last and longest Conquerors, of whom they retayne the truest stampe. (388-89)

To Lithgow they are little different from Moors he met in the Near East or North Africa. Nothing in his description, with the exception of his remarks on Granada, where he admires the Islamic architecture, can be described as complimentary about Spain or its people. Up until his arrival in Malaga, he treats his travels through the country more as a test of endurance and confirmation of his worst assumptions than as a pleasant or edifying journey.

Despite its overwhelmingly negative character, his description of Spain's places and people, which continues up to his arrest in Malaga, is one of the few first-hand accounts in English from the period.[15] A similar assortment of popular information appears in David Rouland's translation of The Pleasaunt History of Lazarillo de Tormes (1586), but this consists of marginal notes to the main text deriving from a French translation by Jean Saugrain (2nd edition, 1561).[16] The fact that Rouland's information came into English circulation at third-hand underscores the relative scarceness of reliable sources. Although there exist a few other accounts by ambassadors and courtiers, like Treswell, these generally tell of dances, bull-fights, or sumptuous meals reserved for the country's elite and their

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[15]Of six works on Spain written before Lithgow's Totall Discourse (according to E.G. Cox, A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel, 3 vols. (Seattle, 1935) i, 93-101), three are translations from French or Spanish works written before 1600, including A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation, composed by a French gentleman. Translated by R[obert] A[shley (1589); V. Figuiero's The Spaniards Monarchie. Englished by H.O. (1592); and The Present State of Spaine, translated out of the French, trans. R. Sergier (1594).

[16]See D. Rouland, trans., The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes, a Spaniarde, wherein is conteined his marveilous deedes and life, J.E.V. Crofts, ed. (Oxford, 1924).

visitors.[17] The absence of printed accounts of more modest trips is a reflection of the limited extent of popular or educational travel through the country. Except as a haven for fleeing Catholics or as a source of limited commercial possibilities for a few intrepid (sometimes unlucky)[18] merchants, Spain lacked the broad appeal that drew numerous travellers to France and Italy. In Lithgow's day, the country was in the throes of a depression, and runaway inflation made prices difficult to predict from place to place. It laboured under impoverished and sometimes dangerous conditions.[19] He writes that the terrain was often difficult to negotiate, with few good roads, except trade routes and pilgrimage paths. The political climate, until the peace of 1604, was also not conducive to passage for foreigners. Even the fictional Jack Wilton, Nashe's unfortunate traveller, hears news that 'in Spaine, none passe anie farre way but he must be examined what he is, and give three pence for his passe.'[20] Thus, at least some of Lithgow's bad humour can be ascribed to Spain's relatively inhospitable atmosphere and what was clearly the dire course of day-to-day life for visitors.

Alongside these economic and physical disincentives, Spain's professed antipathy towards England, products of religious differences and years of warfare, coloured people's views and doubtless dissuaded many Protestants from including the country in their travels. Many seemed to share Dame Pliant's view that 'never since eighty-eight could I abide

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[17]See R. Treswell, A Relation of Such Things as were observed in the Journey of the right honorable, Charles Earlle of Nottingham, L. High Admirall of England, His Highnesse Ambassadour to the King of Spaine (1605), pp. 45-9.

[18]Among the English Protestant 'martyrs' in Spain noted in the 6th and 7th editions of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, nearly all were described as merchants. See Foxe (1610), ii, 1560, 1865.

[19]Compare, for example, Lithgow's discussion of food (p.388) with marginal notes in Lazarillo, p.10. For more general comments on contemporary scarcity, see Stoye (1989), pp. 233-36, 260-63, and Elliott (1970), pp. 285-320.

[20]Nashe (1910) ii, 228.

them.'[21] Before 1604, the Spanish watched their borders carefully, regularly capturing sailors and itinerant visitors and prosecuting them for the threat of heresy they were held to pose.[22] Late in Elizabeth's reign, the Inquisition in the Canary Islands tried sailors such as John Hill, who found himself imprisoned -- naked and chained -- and left in darkness for several months.[23] Although the peace of 1604 included an article promising exemption to the vassals of King James from the investigations and prosecutions of the Inquisition, there were cases where municipal authorities ignored international obligations.[24] In 1605, an English crew arrested in Spanish-governed Palermo found its members dispersed around the island to monasteries where they were to be proselytised.[25] In 1608, Thomas Ferrers found himself in trouble in 'Ayamore', while John Prinn ran into difficulties in Madrid.[26] Such imprisonments were cheered on by powerful voices. Archbishop Juan de Ribera of Valencia maintained that the idea of peace with infidel Protestants was prohibited by divine law and would encourage heresy among Spanish Catholics.[27] Popular Spanish poetry, sermons, and drama also treated

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[21]See Jonson's The Alchemist iv, ii.

[22]See references to English prisoners of the Inquisition in W. de Gray Birch, Catalogue of a Collection of Original Manuscripts formerly belonging to the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands.... 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1903), esp. i, 221-37, 381-2; and J. Contreras, El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Galicia, Poder, sociedad y cultura (Madrid, 1982), pp. 609-27. See also Contreras's article 'The Impact of Protestantism in Spain,1520-1600' in Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe, ed. and trans. S. Haliczer (London, 1987), pp. 47-63.

[23]See Birch, Canary Islands (1903) i, 235-36. See also Lea (1907) ii, 527.

[24]For particulars of the peace, see Winwood Memorials (1725), ii, 29, and Lea (1907) iii, 464-68.

[25]Lea (1907) iii, 463-64.

[26]See Winwood Memorials (1725) ii, 390-92; and P. Croft, 'Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition 1558-1625', EHR 87 (1972), 263-64.

[27]Cited in Lea (1907) iii, 465.

the English (and particularly their late queen) as heretics bent on upsetting God's order.[28] In 1620, for example, the Spanish preacher Alonso Pérez de Villalta published his 'Sermon donde se tratan los graves daños de la comunicacion con herejes' as a warning of the dangers inherent in fraternising with English Protestants.[29] Accounts of the persecution of Roman Catholic recusants in England fanned the flames of dislike among pious Spaniards and stirred a desire to respond to Protestant enormities in similar fashion.[30] Such sentiments were echoed by English and Scottish Catholics who came to Spain to escape persecution or to train for service in the Church. Before returning to England, a seminarian at St. Gregory's College in Madrid gave a Latin speech before members of the 'Holy Tribunal' expressing his hope that one day the Inquisition would be 'established in England and other provinces plagued by heresy, in order that by its means religion might be kept pure and undefiled.'[31]

Strong antipathy towards English Protestants found expression among the Spanish, but these feelings were more than matched by the general English enmity towards Spain and its religion. Just as Spain did all it could to discourage Protestants from entering the country, England produced its own writers who preached on the dangers of Spanish-trained recusants.

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[28]See M. H. García, Ideas de Los Españoles del Siglo XVII (Madrid, 1966), pp. 466-86; more generally, see ch. 6 in B. Bennassar, The Spanish Character: Attitudes and Mentalities from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries (Berkeley, 1979).

[29]Noted in Croft (1972), p. 267. See also anti-English passages in the 'Sermón de Sta. Teresa' (1620), reprinted in H. D. Smith, Preaching in the Spanish Golden Age: A Study of Some Preachers of the reign of Philip III (Oxford, 1978), p. 148.

[30]See D. de Yepez, Historia Particular de la Persecución en Inglaterra (Madrid, 1599); see also A.J. Loomie The Spanish Elizabethans: the English Exiles at the Court of Philip II (New York, 1963), pp. 206-07.

[31]From Pedro de León's unpublished memoirs (entry dated 9 August 1616), translated in M. Murphy, St. Gregory's College, 1592-1767 (Southampton, 1992), p.180. As a possible influence, see The Jesuit's Memorial for the Intended Reformation of England, ed. E. Gee (1690), which presents similar ideas expressed by Robert Parsons, S.J., in the 1590s.

James Wadsworth and Thomas Gage, both children of men who left England and abandoned Protestantism as a result of Catholic persuasion, could speak from personal experience of the wiles of Spanish Jesuits and Inquisitors.[32] In addition to the story of his father's apostacy, Wadsworth describes the incarceration of Henry Roe, 'Master Scott', and numerous others (including Lithgow), punctuating his narrative with terrifying details about the Spanish authorities who held and bullied them.[33] An assortment of other writers, including Lewis Lewkenor, John Gee, Lewis Owen, and (most famously) Thomas Scott, either recounted first-hand experiences or rehearsed commonly-told stories of the dangers associated with Spain or Spanish-trained priests.[34] Lewkenor writes of the fates of fugitives who gave themselves over to the service of Spain, Catholicism, and warfare in the Low Countries.[35] Gee, who became a Protestant after his 'miraculous' survival of the Blackfriars disaster, in which numerous recusants were killed when their meeting place collapsed, showed his contrition by listing illicit books and identifying priests hiding in London.[36] Owen relates his own 'eyewitness' version of the last moments of Pickering Wotton, nephew of Sir Henry Wotton, who died a convert to Catholicism during his visit to Spain -- a victim, in Owen's eyes, of the trickery

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[32]J. Wadsworth, The English Spanish Pilgrime ([1629], 2nd ed., 1630) and Further Observations of the English Spanish Pilgrime, concerning Spaine (1630); T. Gage, The English American His travail by sea and land (1648).

[33]See Wadsworth Further Observations (1630), pp. 18-24. Lithgow's case, referred to as that of 'an unfortunate Scotsman', appears on page 24.

[34]I have only glanced at the work of Ferdinand de Texeda, a renegade Spanish monk, who published several works on the superstition and treachery of the Catholic Church, including Texeda retextus (1623), Scrutamini Scripturas (1624), and Miracles Unmasked (1625).

[35]L. Lewkenor, The Estate of English Fugitives under the King of Spain (1595).

[36]See J. Gee, The Foot out of the Snare (1624), esp. 117ff, and New Shreds of the Old Snare (1624). See also A. Walsham, "'The Fatall Vesper': Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London" in Past and Present, 144, Aug 1994, 36-87. According to a note in the STC, 4500 copies of his first work were sold within a month.

and relentless persuasions of Father Walpole of the English seminary in Madrid.[37] Scott's Vox Populi, with its scurrilous reports on Gondomar and the pro-Spanish movement, had already created a stir in London before Lithgow's English troubles began.[38] All of these accounts, along with reports of boatloads of English, Scottish, and Irish boys headed to continental seminaries to train for the priesthood, or of members of ambassador Cornwallis's household converting to Catholicism, share the view that Spain held dangers for Protestants unfortunate enough to find themselves there.[39] In such a climate, it makes sense that A Discovery and Playne Declaration of Sundry Subtill Practices of the Holy Inquisition, first published in English in 1568, should reappear in 1625 after the resumption of open hostilities between the two countries.[40]

Despite popular antipathy towards Spain and pro-Spanish policies, official disapproval greeted those who made anti-Spanish gestures in the early 1620s. This stance is witnesed by Lithgow's incarceration after the publication of his 1623 remarks, as well as by

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[37]L. Owen, The Running Register (1626), esp. pp. 55-63. On the controversy surrounding Pickering Wotton's conversion, see also Henry Wotton's letter to Edward Barrett, 31 December 1605, in Wotton's Letters i, 338 and ii, 481-82; and Stoye (1989), pp. 242-43.

[38]T. Scott, Vox Populi or Newes from Spayne (1620), An experimentall discoverie of Spanish practises.... (1623) and The Second Part of Vox Populi (1624). For a more detailed list of Scott's pamphlets and affairs, see L. B. Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's "Appeasement" of Spain' HLQ vi, 2 (1942-43), pp. 149-72.

[39]See CSP Dom (1601-03), 181-82; APC (1613-14), 69-70; and Cornwallis to Cecil, June 1605, in Winwood Memorials (1725) ii, 76. See also Warneke (1995), pp. 165-77.

[40]The book, by a disaffected Jesuit named Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus (Raimondo González de Montano) first appeared in Latin as Sanctæ Inquisitionis Hispanicæ artes aliquot detectæ ac palam traductæ (Heidelberg, 1567) The next year it was translated into English, first anonymously, then in an edition by V. Skinner. In 1625, Skinner's translation was reprinted and translated also into Dutch. For textual study, see N.C. Benito, El 'Reginaldo Montano': Primer Libro Contra La Inquisicion Española (Madrid, 1991). For suggestions that Gonsalvius's work was familiar to Shakespeare, see M.A. Ciriaco, 'The Inquisition and the Possibility of Great Baroque Literature' in Alcalá (1987), pp. 365-66.

the troubles endured by Scott, Middleton, and a host of others who opposed the Spanish détente. Preachers who decried the proposed match also found themselves in trouble:

> Mr. Clayton, (minister of Hackney, near London,) at St Paul's cross, cited a story out of our Chronicles of a Spanish sheep, brought into England in Edward the First's time, which infected most of the sheep in England with a murrain, [who] prayed God no more such sheep might be brought over from thence hither; at which many of his hearers cried out 'Amen'. So much generally did all men fear that Prince Charles should marry the king of Spain's sister, as they ever hated that nation.[41]

The enthusiasm of his parishioners and Clayton's fate (a brief stint in prison, brought to an end by the intervention of John Ramsey, Earl of Holderness) give a portrait-in-miniature of the difference between public opinion and the efforts of James and the pro-Spanish faction to pave the way for a match.[42] The rejoicing of most Englishmen upon Prince Charles's return from the stalled negotiations was tremendous in comparison with the feeble grumblings of those few who still hoped for his marriage with the Infanta.[43]

The aforementioned stories, and Lithgow's own troubles, demonstrate the dislike most Englishmen felt for Spain and help to explain why many were suspicious about, or thoroughly opposed, Spanish travel. Another famous detractor, Joseph Hall, laments in his Quo Vadis? (1617) that 'the world is wide and open; but our ordinary travell is southward, into the jawes of danger.'[44] Hall notes his particular fear of young recusants, who find in Spain and elsewhere 'nests' and 'perches' for 'their full hatching and making' into Jesuits.[45]

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[41]D'Ewes (1845), i, 219.

[42]On proclamations against 'disorderly printing' in connection with Spain, see Appendix A below.

[43]See G. Davies, 'English Political Sermons, 1603-40' in HLQ iii, 1(1939-40) pp. 1-22. See also CSP Dom (1621-23), pp. 418, 496, and Limon (1986), introduction.

[44]Hall, Quo Vadis? A Just Censure of Travel (1617) in Works (1647) i, 641.

[45]Op. cit., 656.

He describes these and other priests as frequenters of the colleges, churches, and inns of Spain, France, and Italy, which were visited by Protestant travellers, who succumbed to their subtle arguments. In particular, this is the practice of the Jesuits, whose methods Hall presents in a pointed vignette:

> The Society welcomes him [the Protestant traveller] with more then ordinary Courtesie.... [When] they have mollified the stiffenesse of his prejudice, and with much tempring fitted him for their mold, he is a take meet for one of their best workemen.... [who] knowes how first to begin with the spoone, and to offer nothing to a weake stomacke, but discourse of easie digestion: As first, that a Catholike, so living and dying (by our confession) may be saved: That there is but one Church, as but one Christ: and that out of this Arke, there is no way but drowning....[46]

The rest of his argument will be compared later with portions of Lithgow's own debate with his Inquisitors. For the present, Hall's words suggest the worrisome threat represented by Jesuits and other Catholics. It was by such machinations that Wadsworth's father was poached. They are a deceptive brood of vipers for whom travellers serve as easy prey. Yet Hall criticises travel not only for the dangers it invites from such obvious foes, but also for the untoward desires it brings out in the traveller himself. In fact, the greater part of Quo Vadis is devoted to a discussion of the vices travel awakens. He argues that the inquisitive man, by his very nature, cannot 'part with pleasure, or information' from a country like Spain 'without some tang of wickednesse'.[47] With little regard for the awakening enthusiasm for new observation and corrections of old tales by travellers, he argues that simply reading François Schott's Itinerary provides enough information about the continent -- a curious choice as Schott was himself a committed Catholic and brother of a Jesuit.[48] Full of fear, prejudice, and suspicion, Hall's argument typifies the outlook of those who saw travel as an

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[46]Op. cit., 650.

[47]Op. cit., 641.

[48]Op. cit., 645-46.

indulgence of the appetites. For him, it is a superfluous habit dangerous for the body and soul: 'If a man yield to run after his appetite and his eye, he shall never know where to rest, and after many idle excursions, should lie downe, weary, but unsatisfied.'[49]

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The fearful testimony of anti-Spanish writers and Hall's warnings indicate the double jeopardy inherent in Lithgow's trip. If he could resist the dangers posed by Catholic tricksters, what of the danger of travel itself as a vice? Lithgow commits himself to answering such objections in his expanded Spanish account of 1632. He begins his journey with the same sarcasm and jauntiness that typify earlier descriptions, but he later redefines his reasons for travelling, representing his journey as having a deeper purpose than he first sets out with or than his detractors would acknowledge. Although he does not embark with a divinely-countenanced set of purposes in mind, he nevertheless concludes his description defiantly proclaiming that his capture, interrogation, and torture are all part of a heavenly-ordained plan and that his redemption, rescue, and preservation are the miraculous workings of a faithful God. In assuming such a stance, he seeks to shield himself from the doubts of travel's detractors and from the 'matchevilian' courtiers in England who brought him to grief. In the narrative, he moves from a posture of self-reliance and pride, through a period of abasement, to new confidence built upon trust in God. A hint of the initial 'wrong-headedness' with which he embarks escapes at the very outset of his third journey, where he begins by cataloguing his previous adventures:

> [a]fter I had... escaped infinite dangers, by Sea suffering thrice shipwracke, by Land, in Woods and on Mountaynes often invaded; by ravenous Beasts, crawling and venemous Wormes daily incombred; by home-bred Robbers, and remote Savages; five times stripd to the skin; excessive fastidiousnesse, unspeakable adversities,

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[49]Op. cit., 643.

parching heates.... (371)

His recitation, which appeared first in the 1623 version, reads like a Pauline list of trials except for the way it ends: 'all these almost incredible sufferings past, could never abate the flame of mine... ambitious curiosity, exposing me to a third Voyage.'(371) Such 'ambitious curiosity' is dangerously close to the reasons which Hall, and even Nashe's fictional exile, warn against.[50] A 'ticklish humour' (in Sidney's phrase) scarcely justifies the physical and spiritual dangers inherent in this kind of journey. Lithgow finds that he must reassess his purpose in order to refute the suspicions of those who doubt the justifiability of such a trip.

With its passages about the 'science of the world', his amended stories, and reassessments of prior observations, the 1632 Totall Discourse includes Lithgow's strongest arguments on the merits of travel. In 1623, Lithgow found the political climate near the court of James VI/I ill-disposed to permit the details of his incarceration to be printed. Although his remarks on the affair were few, they still landed him in jail. By 1632, Lithgow turns the story of his arrest and torture in Malaga into a more spirited, sustained, and sophisticated attack on Spain and Roman Catholicism. His encounter with the Inquisition stands as the most formative moment in his evolution as an author, and in his self-depiction as a reformed pilgrim, scientist, and traveller. He fashions his account of what seems an avoidable misfortune into the story of a divinely-countenanced agon. Lithgow vindicates his sufferings as a trial undertaken for the glory of God; and he takes his readers, step by step, through a carefully crafted story of the months of testing and redemption ahead.

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[50]See Nashe (1910) ii, 297-303. It also resembles the chief reason for the Fall of Adam and Eve.

II: Torture in Malaga

In examining how Lithgow uses his account to acquit himself of the suspicions of his contemporaries and to embrace the role of a sanctified traveller, it is useful to divide his presentation into two main components. The first is the story's thematic strategy: the way he depicts his imprisonment and torture in religious terms, treating them as features of a divine test. This theme is presented as a gradually realised calling: Lithgow and his readers become aware of his emerging role over the course of his ordeal. Taken together, his changing prayers, his characterisation of his interrrogators and torturers, and his description of events preceding and following his release, show the way his justification for travel and his self-presentation as a proven Protestant evolve. To appreciate how Lithgow makes this strategy work, it is useful to examine as well the account's formal structure. The second component of the survey, then, examines Lithgow's use of details. Here it is important to consider how the details he includes contribute to the verisimilitude and passion of the narrative and, ironically, how they reveal certain of its 'fictional' qualities. The issue of fictionality draws the discussion into a consideration of this episode's influence on Lithgow's broader purposes, his view of himself as traveller and narrator throughout the Totall Discourse.

Before examining either of these two components, however, it is helpful to run through a basic outline of the events leading up to his capture in Malaga. After thoroughly traversing the peninsula, including the aforementioned trips to Santo Domingo and Santiago, as well as a visit to the Escorial, a stay in Madrid with the English ambassador, Sir Walter Aston, and trips to Portugal and Granada, Lithgow joined an English merchant named Woodson, with whom he reached the port of Malaga. Of particular note, he describes his

departure from Madrid as 'dangerous' -- a fact he says Aston's servants can corroborate. That Lithgow makes mention of Woodson, Aston, and Aston's servants gives an indication of one sort of detail he emphasizes in the Malagan account: he attempts to verify his movements and substantiate his account by naming various witnesses. In English Travellers Abroad, John Stoye compares Lithgow's claims with the testimony of one such 'witness' who knew about his ordeal. Stoye decides that while Lithgow tells the truth so far as he is aware of it, he makes several mistakes in determining who knew what about his movements and difficulties.[51] The issue of verification and its limits will be examined in the third section below, but for the present it may be remarked that Stoye, and even Gardiner in his general survey of events surrounding the English presence in Malaga, substantiate Lithgow's basic story.[52]

Once in the port city, Lithgow parted company with Woodson and looked for a ship bound for 'Ægypt and the Red Sea, for Prester Jehans Dominions and Court' (390). He found one bound for North Africa; but a host of English ships appeared outside the port on the day before its departure -- '27 October 1620'. The arrival of the fleet created panic and frenzied preparations among the citizenry of Malaga, who believed the English planned to attack. Given assurances that the ships were on an expedition against Mediterranean pirates, the town granted permission for the sailors to come ashore. Along with 'Sir Robert Maunsell', commander of the ill-starred squadron, Lithgow tells us 'there came hundreds... of my speciall friends, and olde familiars, Londoners, and Courtiers.'(391)[53] Whether he is telling

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[51]See Stoye (1989), pp. 271-77.

[52]See S. Gardiner, A History of England from the accession of James I...., 10 vols. (1883-84) iii, 336-347 and 374ff.

[53]On Mansell and the Algerian pirates, see op. cit., iv, 224ff.

the truth or exaggerating his range of friendships, the passage nonetheless points to Lithgow's familiarity with a whole class of soldiers and adventurers, men who felt a similar call to adventure and exploration. The way he so easily fraternised with the expedition members also makes it easy to understand why Malaga's governor, Don Gaspar Ruiz de Peredas, had his suspicions about Lithgow's motives for remaining in the city. Having declined an invitation to join the fleet as far as Algiers, he returned to shore, where the story of his detention follows.

His account shifts at this point from a straightforward, relatively concise, narration to a detailed and highly coloured description of his ordeal. He tells first of his arrest by the governor's men, then of a series of interrogations before Don Gaspar and others, who believe him to be a spy sent to gather information for Mansell. His books and possessions are confiscated and his initial questioning is followed by a lengthy imprisonment, as well as torture sessions and further interrogations. The civil magistrates eventually decide that he is not a spy, but that the translation of his notes reveals he is a heretic. As a result, he is turned over to the Inquisition, whose representatives conduct a further series of interviews, apply other tortures, engage him in religious debates, and determine he is an irredeemable Protestant. Lithgow tells of his condemnation, the discovery of his plight by Protestant tradesmen (including Woodson), and his release at the behest of the English ambassador. In the twenty-five pages that comprise this account, Lithgow represents his imprisonment, torture, and release as a 'lyving martyr[dom]' fit for inclusion in Foxe's Acts and Monuments. He spends more time filling in the kinds of details that his narrative lacks in other sections, adding a sense of vividness and realism to a story that would otherwise be difficult to believe. The 'holy' character, use of detail, and 'fictional' crafting that serve to

make his story more compelling are the subject of the rest of the chapter.

A. -- Sanctifying the Tale

Unlike the brief 1623 account of his capture, the 1632 version begins with a dramatic introduction which at once prepares the reader for the grave story to come and (perhaps unwittingly) points out the dual nature of its presentation:

> And so now followeth the sorrowfull Relations of my Tragicall sufferings, which as briefly as I may, I shall succinctly avouch, although the larger, the better to be understood. (391)

As soon becomes clear, the description that follows is anything but 'succinct'; instead it reads at once like a sermon, an apology, and an exposé, soberly written and highly nuanced. Likewise, his avowal that it is 'the larger, the better to be understood' not only differentiates the twenty-five pages of description in 1632 from the page and a half he writes in 1623, but it also underscores both the didactic nature of his new narrative and its underlying elements of 'fiction'. It is a copious description, and in some ways it contains more than a full measure of the truth. The rest of the introduction, in the form of an invocatory poem, further reveals the spirit in which Lithgow writes:

> Sad soule mix truth with grave and prompe discourse
> Let passions be, this Tragicke stile must rest
> On Faith and Patience, Columnes of secourse,
> Which underprop'd my sufferings here exprest:
> Lord weigh my words, with wisdome, give me grace
> In all this Worke, to give thy glory place. (391)

This is the first, and most important, indication that Lithgow wants his readers to accept his account as a heavenly approved description. Like a poet about to begin an epic, he summons divine inspiration and proceeds in the conviction that his story carries a moral message, that it

is worth reading on several levels: truth mixed with grave discourse. The fact that he acknowledges a kind of mixing of true account and sermon should also serve to qualify his readers' acceptance of what follows. In its most basic terms, his experiences might be reduced to a tale of foolhardiness and mistaken identity, which lead to conflicts based on political and religious rivalries. Looked at from his perspective as a truculent Protestant survivor, it is the story of a battle between good and evil, between one possessing a true faith and those bent on destroying that faith. His account also serves to prove how travels, which might seem to be pursued for the wrong reasons, can be 'redeemed' by God and used for sanctified purposes. Thus, Lithgow begins to mark out the difference between the 'ambitious curiosity' that first prompted him, and the redemption which changes his entire approach to travel.

With the invocation begins the process of self-sanctification. When Lithgow tells of his capture and initial incarceration, he borrows certain gestures and language from the scene of Christ's betrayal in Gethsemane. He presents himself almost as a type of Christ -- patiently and courteously enduring the 'Judas-smile' of the town's captain, Don Francesco, the buffeting of his men, and the night-long interview in the presence of the governor, who fashions his own version of Lithgow's reasons for visiting the city and peppers his accusations with insults and scarcely contained fury. 'These Lutheranes and Sonnes of the Divell,' he says, 'ought not from us good Catholickes to receive no credit.'(394) In these first pages, Lithgow effectively draws his audience into a sympathetic mood -- they recognise that the accusations of spying are false and they can measure his staid replies against the rancour of his accusers. At the outset, however, Lithgow does not coax his audience's sympathy too strenuously. Following his account of the initial proceedings before the governor, events

which end with the confiscation of his books and property, he describes his first jailing.

Rather than crying out about this unjust usage, he confesses his sins:

> [When] mid-night [had] come, the Sergeant and two Turkish slaves... brought mee... in a sequestrate side of the Palace... Where there, and then,... [they] thrust on every ancle an heavy bolt... [i]nsomuch, that I could never sit up, nor walke, nor stand, nor turne me.... Whereupon beholding my inevitable misery, and such monster-made irons my sighing soule deplored thus: Alas Sergeant, and you two Slaves, remarke in me the just Judgements of God; and loe how the Heavens have reducted me to this meritorious reward, and truely deserved; for I have dearely and truly bought it; that I whose legges and feete the whole Universe could scarcely contayne, now these bolts and irons keepe them fast, in a body length, of a stone-paved Floore. O foolish pride, O suppressing ambition! and vaporous curiosity! woe worth the fury of your aspiring vanities; you have taken mee over the face of the earth, and now left me in a Dungeon hole: My soule, O my soule is leager unto this Proverbe, Man proposeth, and God disposeth. (396)[54]

Lamenting his sorry condition, he professes to understand the true reason for his troubles: it is his own fault.[55] So far, he faces only the likelihood of civil prosecution -- for, despite talk of Lutheran devils, the governor holds him for spying, not heresy. Thus he seems to find himself in danger for the very reasons Hall and others warn against. His address to the jailers, though not without signs of a certain pride about his achievement, injects a note of contrition and succeeds as a strategy for evoking his readers' sympathy. It also steals the thunder from his detractors by laying claim to the apparent reasons, spiritual and practical, they might cite for his predicament. Like any character about to undergo a reformation, he begins by recognising his sins -- pride, ambition, and vanity. Faults once ascribed to Eve and Adam now represent the 'vaporous curiosity' of travel. His remorse is the beginning of the

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[54]His 1623 description of the lock-up is simpler: '[H]aving a gad of iron five quarters long set betweene my legs, and a bolt of iron depending on every end thereof, fast fastned about each one of my two ancles; I could neither stirre, go, nor turne, to either side of my body. Whereupon my face lay alwaies up to the Heavens, as my backe lay to the cold stones.' Lithgow (1623), pp. 195-96.

[55]See Fig. D.

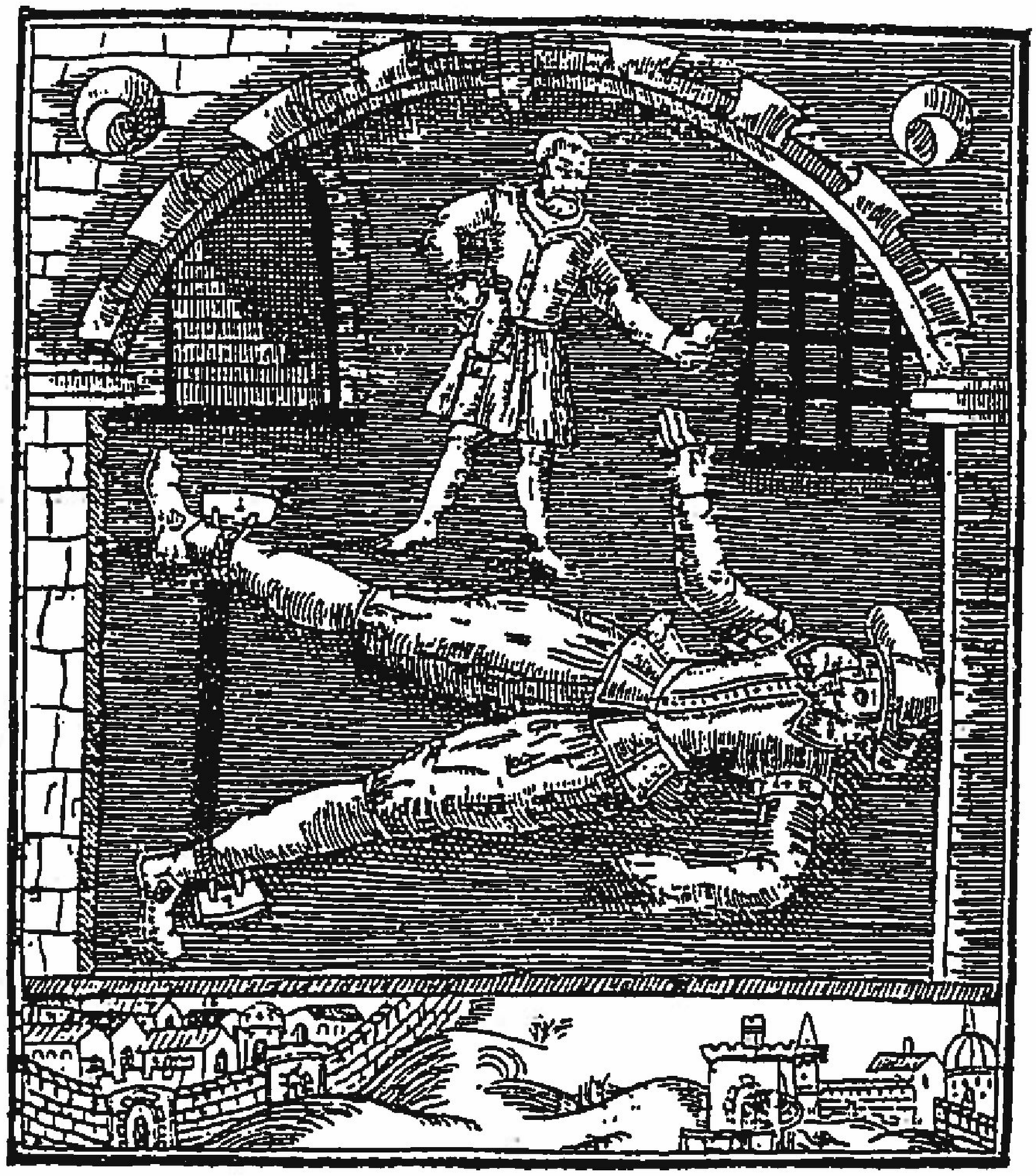


Fig. D -- 'And here is the emblem of my misery.'
(from the original edition of 1632, p. 455.)

repentance outlined in Psalm 51, or in the Confession of Henry Balnaves, who declares that 'a contrite, and broken harte, a troubled Spirit humiliate and subject unto God' are the sacrifices required of the penitent.[56]

In professing his unworthiness, Lithgow sets the stage for the sanctification of his travels. What is more, his 'science of the world' soon serves as his most useful weapon in combatting the arguments of his accusers. A brilliantly crafted story of redemption, the revelation is only gradually introduced into the narrative. It can be traced in the series of prayers and meditations he makes as he looks towards and endures his trials. The first of these provides a clear indication of the initiation of that process:

> [B]y Gods permission, the scourge of my fiery tryall approaching; upon the forty seventh day after my first imprisonment, and five dayes before Christmas; about two a clocke in the morning, I heard the noyse of a Coach in the fore-street, marvelling much what it might meane. Within a pretty while I heard the locks of my Prison-doore in opening; whereupon bequeathing my soule to God, I humbly implored his gracious mercie and pardon for my sinnes.... (399)

Lithgow uses this passage to emphasise his dire situation and to confess his wrongs, but he also indicates that the whole episode relates to a higher plan. With expressions like 'Gods permission' and 'fiery tryall', Lithgow begins to suggest that there is a purpose behind the ordeal. Gradually, Lithgow also shifts attention from his own 'sins' -- i.e., the curiosity and vanity that led him to visit Spain -- to the diabolical behaviour of his captors. As he prepares for his tortures to commence, he changes the focus of his prayers from what led him into the predicament to the unjust nature of the charges against him:

> [T]he irons being dissolved, and my Torments approaching, I fell prostrate on my knees, crying to the Heavens: O Great and Gracious GOD, it is truely knowne to thy all-seeing Eye, that I am innocent of these false and fearefull accusations, and since therefore it is thy Good will and pleasure, that I must suffer now by the scelerate

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[56]H. Balnaves, The Confession of Faith.... (Edinburgh, 1584), p.174.

hands of mercilesse men: Lord furnish mee, with Courage, Strength, and Patience least by an impatient Minde, and feebling Spirit, I become my owne Murtherer, in Confessing my selfe guilty of Death, to shunne present punishment. And according to the Multitude of thy Mercies, O Lord, bee mercifull to my sinfull soule, and that for Jesus thy Sonne and my Redeemer his sake. (401)

With a prayer reminiscent of St. Stephen's, he speaks as one about to join other martyrs of the faith.[57] Lithgow is careful to stress that his innocence has to do with the charges brought by the civil authorities. While acknowledging his sinfulness and God's justice in allowing him to suffer, he nevertheless changes his rhetorical stance so that he becomes less the shame-faced adventurer than a wandering Protestant caught up in the evil designs of God's enemies. In assuming this stance, he gives the first indication of how a Christian traveller should acquit himself when faced with a soul-threatening situation -- recalling perhaps Christ's encouragement in the Sermon on the Mount to rejoice in trials and tribulations or the lessons of the Scottish confession.[58]

Up to this point the Spaniards' proceedings are still concerned with suspicions that Lithgow is a spy. In this connection his detractors can reasonably criticise his ambitions and curiosity as being the source of his predicament. In the pages ahead, however, what began as a civil inquiry becomes a case before the Inquisition, devolving into an attack on Lithgow's nationality and religion. The change makes it clear that the story is really about one persecuted for his faith, not just the undoing of an unlucky or foolhardy traveller-- even though his travels are on trial as well. The first hints of this alteration occur during Lithgow's

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[57]See Acts 7: 59-60. Lithgow may have been inspired by one of Foxe's Marian martyrs, perhaps William Hunter, who cried out 'Lord, Lord, Lord receive my spirite' before he was thrown into a fire. See Foxe (1570), ii, 1716.

[58]The first question in the first chapter of the Scottish confessional asks 'what should be the study of man: and what man should do in time of tribulation. See Balnaves (1584), pp. 1-6. Also in the 7th edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments (1632), there is appended 'A Treatise of Afflictions and Persecutions of the Faithfull, preparing them with patience to suffer Martyrdom'.

first torturing at the hands of the municipal leaders. Having been stripped and bound to an elaborate pulley system, he endures a stretching which rips his hamstrings. Matters then become even more dire:

> At last the Encarnador [torturer], informing the Governor, that I had the marke of Jerusalem on my right arme, joyned with the name and Crowne of King James, and done upon the Holy Grave. The Corrigidor came out of his adjoyning stance, and gave direction, to teare asunder, the name, and Crowne (as hee sayd) of that Hereticke King, and arch-enemy to the Holy Catholicke Church: Then the Tormentor, laying the right arme above the left, and the Crowne upmost, did cast a Cord over both armes, seaven distant times: And then lying downe upon his backe, and setting both his feete on my hollow-pinched belly, he charged; and drew violently with his hands, making my Wombe support the force of his feete, till the seaven severall cords combined in one place of my arme (and cutting the Crowne, sinewes, and flesh to the bare bones) did pull in my fingers close to the palme of my handes, the left hand of which is Lame so still, and will be forever. (401-2)[59]

In response to the tendon-snapping pain, Lithgow cries out:

> O I am innocent, O Jesus! The Lambe of God have mercy upon mee, and strengthen mee with patience to undergoe this barbarous murder. (402)

The tearing of the tattoos he obtained in Jerusalem, the curses levelled against James and Protestantism, Lithgow's disfigurement, and his pleas for God's protection reveal his captors' malice. The governor and his men move from rational authorities seeking information about his suspicious movements to petty sadists who vent their nationalistic and religious hostilities towards James, his subjects, and Protestantism on Lithgow's body. The civil charges have become a mere pretext for abuse. If there is any doubt that the presentation of events, or that Lithgow's treatment of them, has changed signally by this point, such possibilities are removed at the conclusion of these tortures. Lying in pitch-black confinement, arms and legs wounded and vermin crawling over his body, Lithgow is told by a slave

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[59]Gonsalvius notes the practice: '[the torturer] bindeth his [the victim's] hands with a corde, 8. or 10. tymes about... [while] the Inquisitor calleth upon him to straine ech harder thē other.' (1568), p. 24r.

that an English seminary Priest... and a Scottish Cowper... were in Translating all my Bookes and Observations out of English, in the Spanish tongue, bringing every other day numbers of wrot Papers to the Governor, and for their paines had thirty duccats allowed, and that they were saying, I was an Arch-Hereticke to the Pope and the Virgin Mary. [Thus,]... I was assured of their bloody Inquisition, preparing my selfe in God, with Faith, and Patience to Receive and gane-stand it: for my spirituall Resolution, was surely founded, being sightlesse of company, and humane faces, I had intirely the light of my Soule celebrate to God Almighty. (407)

Gone are his woeful self-recriminations, penitence for curiosity, and talk of his own foolishness. Having confessed his sins and remained steadfast during his encounter with civil authorities who scarcely conceal their vindictiveness, Lithgow recognises what the tortures have become: his 1614 account, and presumably his notes on Spain and Ireland, are to be used as evidence in a case before the Inquisition. The recusant translators, renegades from the Protestant faith, even betray him for the symbolic sum of thirty pieces of silver -- again, Lithgow is able to stand as a 'type' of Christ.

When the pretext for his interrogation changes and Lithgow prepares for a series of interviews with the Inquisitors, he finds that his travels become his most powerful weapon in combatting their arguments. His debates are worth following in order to trace his ultimate vindication of his several journeys. Before the sessions begin, Lithgow points out that both the source of his new difficulties and the method of his self-defence are associated with his travels and writings:

[T]he Inquisitor arrising, expressed himselfe thus: Behold the powerfull majesty of Gods mother, commaunder of her Sonne, equale to the Father... [h]ow thou being first taken as a Spye, accused for Treachery, and innocently Tortured (as we acknowledge we were better informed lately from Madrile of the English intention) yet it was her power, her Divine power, which brought these judgements upon thee; in that thou hast wrot calumniously against her blessed miracles of Loretta: and against his Holinesse, the great Agent, and Christs Viccar on earth: Therefore thou hast justly fallen into our hands, by her speciall appointment; thy Bookes and papers, are miraculously Translated by her speciall providence with thy owne Countrey-men: wherefore thou maist clearly see, the impenetrable Misteries of our glorious Lady in punishing her offenders: and for a humble satisfaction, Repent thee of thy wickednesse, and be

converted to the Holy mother Church. (408-09)

His journey has come full circle. Remarks about Loreto and the Pope, which once certified him before Protestant readers as an heir to their scepticism, now certify him before his Catholic accusers as a heretic. His staunch views have brought him into a final agon with the authorities who undergirt the system he condemns at his every port of call. For him it is the confrontation of true faith and idolatry. By this point, even the most sceptical of his readers cannot condemn his behaviour during his imprisonment or interviews as either lax or wayward. And rather than standing as a symbol of idleness or vain curiosity, his chosen profession of travel now serves as an effective weapon of defense.

After declaring that eight days are to be devoted to his conversion, coaxing him to convert, and cajoling him about his predicament, the Inquisitors leave Lithgow to contemplate his future. He uses the interval to prepare himself for the looming battle:

> They gone and I alone, all this night, was I instant with my God, imploring his Grace, to Rectifie my thoughts, illuminate my understanding, confirme my confidence, beatifie my memory, to sanctifie my knowledge, to expell the servile fear of Death, and to save my soule, from the intangling corruption of any private ends, illusions, or mundane Respects whatsoever. (409)

His prayer conveys the sober purposefulness with which Lithgow looks forward to the debate. His remarks about sanctifying his knowledge are noteworthy in that they address his experiences as a traveller. Lithgow devotes the knowlege gathered during his wanderings to a defense of the Protestant faith. Gone is his self-reproach for ambition or curiosity. Many issues surrounding the ensuing debate are worth examining, but its most significant moment appears on the third day, when he recalls how one of the Jesuits tried to convert him to the Roman Church:

> having past with me some few superficial Arguments of their seaven Sacraments, Intercession, Transubstantiation, Images, Purgatory, Miracles, Merit, &c. He begun to

> brag of their Church her Antiquity, Universality, and Uniformity. (410)

Here is perhaps the most critical moment in Lithgow's dialectic with the Inquisitors, for it was through such arguments that James Wadsworth's father fell into apostasy. Their words follow the very prescription laid out by Hall in Quo Vadis as the Jesuits' standard lure for the unwary:

> [They claim t]hat this one Church is more likely to be found in all the world, then in a corner; in all ages, then in the last Century of yeares; in unity, then in division. And now comes in the glorious brag of the Roman Universality, their inviolate Antiquity, their recorded successions, their harmonious unity, their confessed magnificence.

'Thus' Hall concludes, are they 'able... to shake an ungrounded judgment.'[60] Against such arguments, Lithgow makes his answer. He attacks the first claim, antiquity, by claiming to be himself a member of Christ's 'owne Church', which has been in existence since the time of the apostles. By placing himself in this faithful remnant, Lithgow likens his plight to that of Foxe's martyrs. Having established himself in this position, he then brings his 'science of the world' to bear upon the argument:

> Universall no; although shee assumeth a Catholicke name, was not the Church in the East, a greater Church than yours in the West for hundreds of yeares, and I pray you what are now the Orientall Churches in Asia, (besides the Greeks) and the Æthiopian Affricans that doe not so much as know, or heare of your Pope, far lesse his profession. (410-11)

Other Protestant writers lodged similar objections, but what makes Lithgow's argument more forceful is his first-hand experience of the aforementioned churches: the Armenians he accompanied to Jerusalem, the Coptic Egyptians and Ethiopians he met in Cairo and North Africa, and the Orthodox monks of the Mediterranean world. His breadth of knowledge is even more effective in rebutting the third contention:

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[60]Hall (1647), i, 650-51.

> Uniformable no; some of your Priests give the Sacrament onely in Bread, for reall flesh and blood, some in Wine without Bread, some in both. The Bavarians in their owne language sing the Psalmes in prose at their Masses, and not else where done: The second Commandement goeth current amongst some of your Catholicks in France, yet not in Bretagne, nor Provance; so doth it in Austria and Bavaria, but not in Italy and Spaine.... So I pray you (father) where [is] your uniformity, much lesse your universality, and worst of all your antiquity. (411)

Lithgow's experience of Roman Catholicism in other parts of Europe brings the debate to a close. What was once ambitious curiosity now serves as powerful ammunition against the claims of his interrogators. If the course of his argument were not sufficient indication of the rehabilitation of his travels, Lithgow even spells out his view of the matter in an aside to the reader:

> [W]ho would have thought, that I who had seene so many sects and varieties of Religion, dispersed over the face of the earth, could have stucke fast to any religion at all; Travailers being reputed to be Ubique et omnibus parati. But I will tell thee Christian, it was the grace of God in me, and not mine: For as fire lying hid under ashes, and touch'd will flame; so I seeming to my selfe carelesse of Christianity, then God pricking my Conscience made tryall of my Faith. (415-16)

From a careless wanderer, he is transformed by penitence and divine appointment into a champion of the reformed point of view. The travels that might have led weaker men to agnosticism serve to make Lithgow's faith unassailable. Likewise, he refutes arguments which worried Hall and ensnared Wadsworth's father. He makes a stronger vindication of his travels in 1632 than he dares to suggest in 1623. Although accompanied by a sense of humility, his words show his belief in a divine calling: 'This I speake not for any selfe-prayse, but to glorifie God, and to condemne the rash censures of opinion.'

* * *

Providing further evidence of his vocation -- beyond the prayers, interviews, and defences that make up the narrative -- there is also the chronology of his ordeal. Lithgow describes his tortures, discreet acts of kindness performed by servants in the prison, and his

release, as falling on or close to several significant dates in the church calendar. Although perhaps not constructed to show such correspondences, the time-line along which Lithgow's tale unfolds is nevertheless notable for the affinities between holy days and what happens to him. First, he finds himself arrested in late October and held for over forty days -- until just before Christmas, when his tortures begin. Christmas comes soon after the tearing of the tattoos he acquired in the Holy Land. On Christmas Day itself, a slave named Eleanor manages to feed him a few bits of extra food, preserving him when he might otherwise have starved to death. Later dates are more notable. From '[t]he twelfth day of Christmas' to 'Candlemasse', the civil authorities continue to threaten him with more tortures. His Inquisitors, who challenge him because of his views on Mary, begin their interviews just after Candlemas, the day set aside to honour the Virgin's purification. During Lent, the time of penitence and mortification, Lithgow awaits the promised execution of the Inquisitors' sentence; he lies alone praying and fasting as he prepares for this last ordeal. Most notably, on 'Easter-satturday before midnight', he finds himself lifted out his grave-like prison and carried aboard Richard Hawkins's ship which returns him to England.

The time-line, a feature which contributes to the forcefulness of Lithgow's story, is one which nevertheles begs several questions. How reliable is Lithgow's version of events? How did he keep track of time in utter darkness and silence for so long an imprisonment? Although it is true that he could have counted the days of his incarceration -- after all, numerous examples exist of prisoners who accurately recall the length of their imprisonment and the bells of the Malagan cathedral would have apprised him of high holy days-- it still seems difficult to believe that some of the correspondences he maintains are accurate. Did what happened to Lithgow fall onto days of such typological significance? Such a question

can only be speculated upon or partly answered. In terms of the whole story, attention needs to be focused on how Lithgow constructs a tale that sounds plausible. Although the only previous inquiry into the matter, that of John Stoye, defends Lithgow's basic story, the specific components of the narrative must be more closely examined for verifiable details and for moments that may be exaggerated or that may reflect later editorial revision. What are the kinds of details he includes? How far can what he communicates be accepted as accurate? By asking such questions, we can begin to assess the work's 'fictionality' and consider the significance of the story of Malaga in the construction of the Totall Discourse and the 'self-fashioning' of Lithgow as its narrator.

B. -- Details and Fictionality

That the time-line is part of a strategy for solidifying his claims of divine appointment is an admittedly uncertain matter. Other details more obviously strengthen his role as the persecuted traveller and make his tale more vivid and compelling. Together, they make the tale a persuasive defense of Lithgow's life and behaviour. It is with an eye to this strategy that an examination of his use of details, the 'fictionalisation' of his tale, comes into focus. As was noted in the introduction, Lithgow was still awaiting the return of his diary in 1623 and feared writing a detailed account at the time because of political circumstances. Thus it appears that he wrote his full description some time after his return -- probably well after his wounded arms recovered and after the political climate had changed sufficiently to allow him to write with less fear. Since his full account appeared in the 1632 rather than the 1623 publication, it is possible that he wrote much of his version of events up to ten years after

they happened.

With this caveat in mind, and remembering that he promises to describe things 'the larger, the better to be understood', it should be asked how Lithgow goes about making the story of his 'living martyrdom' sound plausible. In doing so, it is tempting to follow the tale from beginning to end, pointing to impressions of colours, textures, and physical sensations, as well as dialogues, arguments, and character sketches, as they appear in the course of the narration. Such an approach might allow a comprehensive assessment, but it would be altogether too protracted and peripatetic a study. Instead, it is helpful to divide his use of details into two categories, descriptions and transcriptions, and to examine examples of each from the main scenes of his Malaga account. Under these two headings, it is important to consider not only how they contribute to Lithgow's self-portrayal as a 'living martyr', but also how well they stand scrutiny. Some of these descriptions (the sounds of a coach coming to carry him to torture) and transcriptions (his prayers and his arguments against the Inquisitors) have already been discussed in connection with the development of the narrative's theme. In tracing the way other details enhance or detract from the work's realism and polemic effect, further questions arise: which are verifiable and which patently fictional, which are unique and which resemble other sources or models? Each of these issues contributes to a more complicated, but more complete, portrait of Lithgow and his project as a travel writer.

i: Descriptions

After Lithgow's initial interrogation, the governor insists that he be chained to a

dungeon floor and all sensory stimulation taken from him:

> [H]e commanded... that none should come near mee except the slave, nor no food should be given mee but three ounces of moosted browne bread, every second day, and a Fuleto or English Pint of water, neither any bed, pillow, or coverlet to be allowed mee: And close up sayd he, this window in his roome, with lyme and stone, stop the holes of the doore with double Matts, hanging another locking to it; and to withdraw all visible and sensible comfort from him.... (397-98)

Among its other consequences, such radical treatment helps account for Lithgow's remarkably specific narration. Because he was often deprived of sights and sounds, he must have focused upon what few perceptions were available to help limn his account. Footfalls, bells, clattering carriages, the sensation of vermin crawling over his body, or the whispered encouragements of the slaves would have made a great impression upon one so deprived of stimuli. Although it seems reasonable that, when brought into human company, Lithgow should gather anything available to his starved senses, the monitoring and limitation of his perceptions by his captors should also prompt close scrutiny of the details he mentions. He employs more description in the Malaga episode than elsewhere in his narrative, meticulously recording what he witnesses (the rooms, the faces, and the gestures of those surrounding him) and feels (hunger, fear, coldness, and pain.) The variety and extent of these particulars is apparent from the outset of his ordeal:

> I was no sooner entred the Towne, and drawing up a private way to my lodging, to shunne company and acquaintance, for that night was I to have imbarked for Alexandria, but I was suddenly surprised in that narrow depopulated street, with nine Alguozilos, Sergeants, who inclosing mee on both sides layd violent hands on mee, wrapping me in a black frizado cloake, and gripping my throat to stop my crying, they carryed me on their armes to the governours house, and inclosed me in a low Parlour. (392)

He describes the sergeants as 'Alguozilos', an expression known to a few unlucky visitors of the region or to attentive readers of Gonsalvius. These bailiffs were associated with quiet

abductions of the sort feared by his contemporaries.[61] Lithgow further specifies that the men wrapped him in a cloak of 'frizado', a plush velvet garment produced in Spain. Here and throughout the episode, Spanish expressions help recreate the exotic setting of surrounding his misfortunes -- they also suggest his knowledge of the language, a topic to be considered again below. Lithgow also focuses on the physical sensations and tactile impressions associated with his entrapment. These details, particularly the way he describes finding himself man-handled and muffled, contribute to the verisimilitude and vivid effect of the scene. Later, when dumped at the governor's feet, he gives a detailed picture of the room's arrangement, his questioners, and the manner of their inquiry:

> [t]he Sergeants were dismissed, the doores made fast, and I was brought forth before these foure Cavalliers ['Don Jaspar', the governor; 'Don Francesco di Cordoba', the town captain; the 'Alcade major'; and the 'States Scrivan'], all placed in chayres, and the Scrivan-table set, with pen and paper to write my confession. Where after long silence, the Governour asked mee of my Nation, and how long, and how often I had been out of my Country: and whether I was bound? and how long I had been in Spaine. (392)

Each passing moment and every accoutrement of the setting is articulated deliberately, with a craft and economy that make the account seem credible and show Lithgow at his best as a narrator. The terse questions, fired off in quick succession by men who have been assigned proper names, also lend a sense of immediacy and realism. Indeed, his recollections of the room, the occupants, and the questions asked are comparable to, if slightly different from, those given by other writers and later historians of standard Inquisitorial and civil procedures.[62]

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[61]'Alguazil is in manner of a sheriff.' Gonsalvius (1568), p. 3v. Alguazils appear in sinister roles in contemporary Spanish fictions, such as Lazarillo and Gerardo the Unfortunate Spaniard.

[62]See Gonsalvius (1568), pp. 12rff.; Lea (1907) iii, 3-16; and Kamen (1985), p. 142.

In subsequent scenes, his recollections not only stir his readers' emotions, but also prepare them to accept his transformation and realisation of a higher calling. In other words, his imprisonment and torture are not merely described, they are also used to coax his readers into visceral and spiritual sympathy. To produce this effect, his narrative sometimes borrows techniques used by other writers. Take the description of his first few weeks in the dungeon, where he lies in chains and darkness. Upon such a character, whose love of open spaces and appetite for visual stimulation runs through his whole narrative, the effect is striking:

> [M]y roome was made a darke-drawne Dungeon, my belly the anatomy of mercilesse hunger, my comfortlesse hearing, the receptacle of sounding Bells, my eyes wanting light, a loathsome languishing in despaire, and my ground lying body, the woefull mirrour of misfortunes: every houre wishing anothers comming, every day the night, and every night the morning. (398)

The self-consciously literary character of this passage -- one of few which also appears in 1623 -- deserves notice, especially its euphuistic balance and protracted consonance, reminiscent of Elizabethan writers like Lyly, Gascoigne, and Nashe. In recalling the privations he endured, Lithgow condenses his various physical impressions into a threnodic passage at once dignified and mournful. Here, the matter of how he knew when it was night or day is subordinated to the effort to create poetry.

The poetic treatment complements his gradual realisation of his place in a divine drama. It also prepares the reader for the more vivid and highly detailed recollections that follow. When next removed from the dungeon, he finds himself en route to a second set of interrogations and civil tortures:

> the former nine Sergeants, accompanied with the Scrivan, entered the roome without word speaking, and carrying mee thence, with irons and all... they layd mee on my backe in the Coach: where two of them sat up beside mee, (the rest using great silence) went softly along by the Coach side. Then Baptista the Coach-man, an Indian Negro droving (sic) out at the Sea-gate, the way of the shoare-side, I was brought Westward almost a league from the towne, to a Vine-presse house, standing alone

> amongst Vineyards where they inclosed mee in a room till day light, for hither was the Racke brought the night before, and privately placed in the ende of a Trance. (399)[63]

Details again draw his readers more deeply into the building drama. Their presentation suggests that he sometimes acquired information -- about the movement of the rack, for instance -- in a different order from that in which he relates it. Matters such as the gate through which he passes out of the castle, the direction of his journey, and the location and appearance of the wine-press are reminiscent of specifics he includes in his description of Jerusalem -- it is as if one who followed in his footsteps could find the very gate, road, and house to which he refers. Yet it might also be reasonably asked whether these sites are verifiable, or how Lithgow, who found himself lying on his back in the coach and travelling in silence at night, could figure out directions, destinations, or the coachman's name, much less the story behind the rack's transportation.

Reasonable answers suggest themselves to these questions: Lithgow probably heard the lapping waters as he left through the castle's gate and westward is about the only direction one can travel from Malaga; he had almost certainly encountered Baptista before or learned his name from another servant who befriended him; the vine press was probably visible when he was removed from the coach -- as were the contents of the house; and the movements of the rack and the other items in the house could have been explained to him by his torturers in order to taunt or frighten him. If these or similarly disparate sources are where Lithgow derives the information he weaves into the narrative, then the description of his journey to the vinehouse is a clear instance of the 'fictionalisation' mentioned above -- he does not invent

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[63]A 'trance' is an obscure Scottish word meaning a passageway. Lithgow later describes it as a 'stone gallery'. In the vineyard, it was probably the place where the grapes were crushed.

these details, rather he puts them into an order that makes them logical and easy for his readers to absorb.[64] In other words, Lithgow uses the opportunity of a few years' remove to reassemble the particulars of the incident in a way that allows the narrative to move smoothly and make a compelling impression on his readers. This kind of fashioning could also account for his detailed description of various torture devices, particularly the rack:

> Now what a Pottaro or Racke is (for it stood by the wall declining downe-ward) it is made of three plankes of Timber, the upmost end whereof is larger then a ful stride; the lower end being narrow, and the three planks joyning together, are made conformable to a Mans shoulders: in the downe-most end of the middle planke there was a hole, wherein my head was layd: in length it is longer than a man, being interlaced with small cords from planke to planke, which divided my supported thighes from the middle plank: Through the sides of which exteriour planks there were three distant holes in every one of them; the use wherefore you shall presently heare. (403)

It is difficult to imagine that Lithgow, hardy as he undoubtedly was, could coolly stop to memorize the features of the device as his sufferings were taking place -- though perhaps he did. It seems more likely that these details were recalled or at least partly reconstructed at a remove from the event itself. Here the information serves to affirm that Lithgow experienced such devices, especially when he meticulously describes the method by which they were employed:

> Now the Alcade giving commission, the executioner layd first a cord over the calfe of my leg, then another on the middle of my thigh, and the third cord over the great of my arme; which was severally done, on both sides of my body receaving the ends of the cords, from these sixe severall places through the holes made in the outward planks, which were fastned to pinnes, and the pinnes made fast with a device: for he was to charge on the out side of the planks, with as many pinnes, as there were holes and cords.... (403)

The details become almost baffling in their technical complexity, but (along with an illustration provided in the 1632 edition) they give an accurate depiction of the *potro* (or

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[64]He also inserts what appears to be the route from Malaga to the winepress underneath the illustration of himself in chains on the dungeon floor. See Fig. D above.

escalera) and its accompanying accoutrements.[65] So, too, does the description of the *toca* and *jarra* of the water torture (403-05) and his explanation of the *garrucha* (401-02), a device commonly called the *strappado* elsewhere in Europe.

Lithgow's accurate descriptions of these instruments and procedures, while not unique, are nevertheless notable in that they are supplied by one who has suffered through their use.[66] Why should he interrupt the narrative to give such a detailed description of these particulars? The most likely reason is that he wants to prove what he has seen and experienced. He inserts more than he may have remembered from the time of his torture -- certainly more about them than his readers require to follow the story. In this way, his account demonstrates another aspect of the 'fictionalisation' mentioned initially: Lithgow turns his memories, the recollection of sights and sensations, into as persuasive a narrative as he can by the inclusion of minute particulars and intricate details. Some are drawn from memory and others appear to have been perfected by reflection or perhaps even improved by references to Gonsalvius or another source.

Other 'fictional' qualities contribute to his description of the physical sensations accompanying his torture. For example, after being hoisted by *garrucha* and having his tattooed arms wrapped in cords and ripped to the bone by the *potro*, he recalls his response:

> [M]ine eyes begun to startle, my mouth to foame and froath, and my teeth to chatter like the doubling of Drummers stickes... [a]nd notwithstanding of my shivering lippes, in this fiery passion, my vehement groaning, and blood-springing fonts, from armes, broake sinewes, hammes, and knees; yea, and my depending weight on flesh-cutting Cords; yet they stroke mee on the face with Cudgels, to abate and cease the thundring noyse of my wresting voyce. (402)

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[65]Compare Lea (1907), iii, 19, and Kamen (1985), pp. 175-76, which describe the use of these several devices. Lithgow provides an illustration of the rack and *potro* in use. See Fig. E below.

[66]Similar descriptions appear in Gonsalvius (1568), pp. 24r-26v.

Later, he describes the condition in which he was finally left upon the rack:

> my body being all begored with blood, and cut through in every part, to the crushed and bruised bones, I pittifully remayned, stil roaring, howling, foaming, bellowing, and gnashing my teeth, with insupportable cryes, before the pinnes were undone, and my body loosed. (404)

As in the recollections of hunger and deprivation above, Lithgow presents a highly stylised account of his sufferings. It also resembles a passage in The Unfortunate Traveller:

> Bravely did he [the executioner] drum on this *Cutwolfes* bones, not breaking them outright, but like a sadler knocking in of tackes, iarring on them quaveringly with his hammer a great while together... no limb of his but was lingeringly splintered in shiuers.[67]

Although there is no doubt Lithgow was tortured, his particular description suggests a familiarity with an earlier, fictional depiction of a civil execution. Perhaps Lithgow found that in discussing his experiences, something few individuals could claim to do at first-hand, it was useful to turn to the vivid fictional constructions of Nashe. Or perhaps the vocabulary necessary to describe such an incident belongs more to the topic than to a particular writer. Whatever the case, his language, full of fricatives and consonant pairings, shows the craft and care he takes in fashioning a description of his pain.

His words, and even the illustration of him wearing a stalwart, handsome expression while suffering on the rack, also bear a certain resemblance to passages and images in Foxe.[68] Foxe's description of the torture and death of William Gardiner, an English Merchant executed in Portugal in 1552, provides an example of a comparably elevated descriptive style: 'the more he [Gardiner] burned, the more vehemently he prayed'.[69] That Lithgow styles

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[67]Nashe (1910) ii, 327.

[68]Compare Lithgow's countenance (Fig. E) with that of Thomas Tompkins, William Gardiner, and similar illustrations in Foxe (1570) ii, 1710, 1544.

[69]Op. cit., 1543.

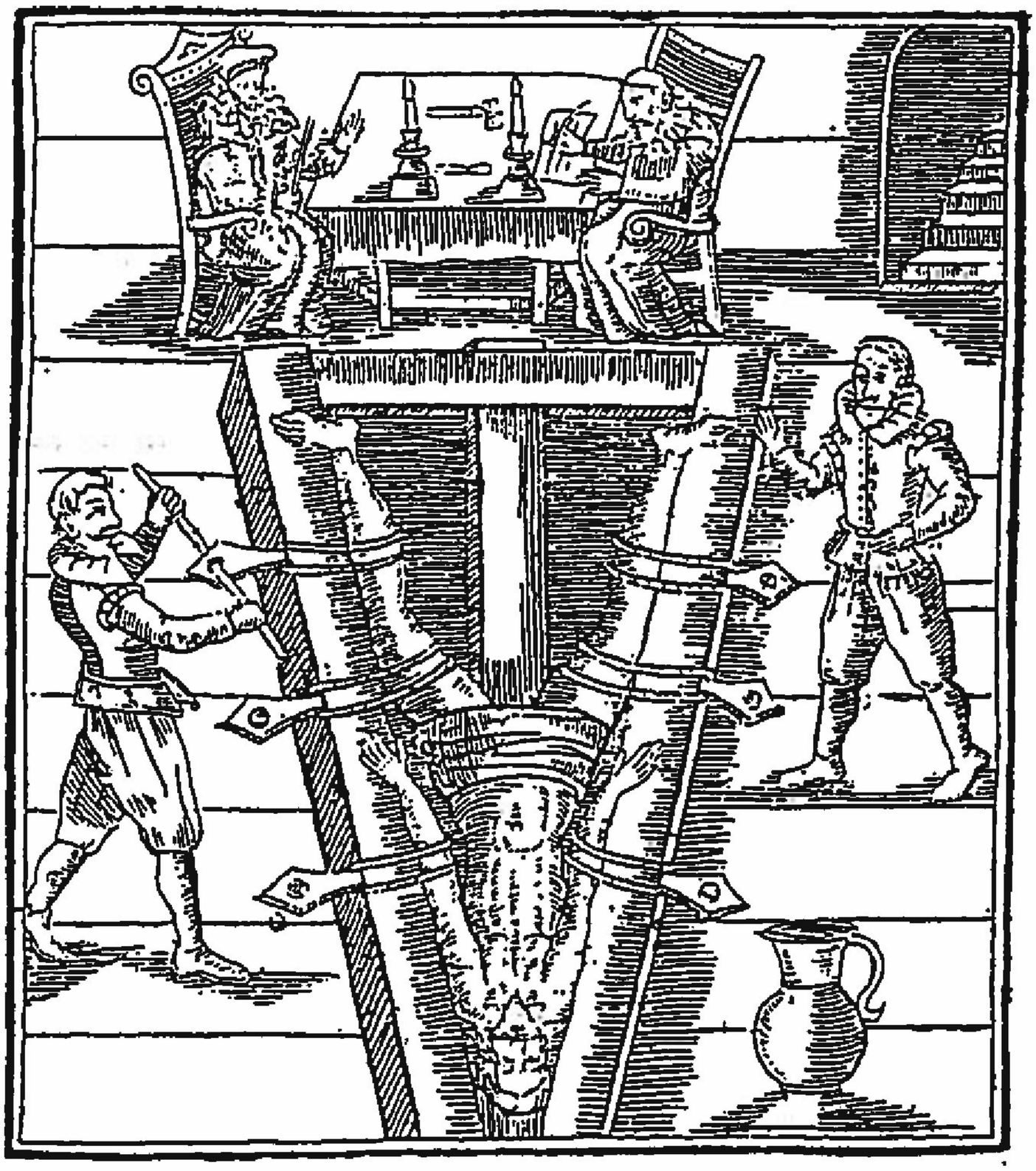


Fig. E -- 'Loe here is the manner how I was mainly Racked.'
Note the presence of the governor and a scrivener.
(from the 1632 edition, p. 464.)

himself a 'living martyr' is no mere coincidence. He clearly wants to portray himself as following the example of the martyrs who peopled Foxe's work.[70] Thus he characterises his experiences in phrases that suggest a dignity and composure he almost certainly could not have maintained -- physically or emotionally -- at the time of his torture. It is all part of a strategy of 'fictionalisation' by which he fashions a compelling account and wins the approbation of his readers -- here by imitating the evocative (Nashe) and moving (Foxe) depictions of popular writers.

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In the midst of reconstructing the horrors of torture, there are limits to his descriptive ability, moments where he cannot portray what he saw and felt. At one point when he is being choked with pots of water, he abruptly stops the story:

> And now to prevent my renewing griefe (for presently my heart fayleth and forsaketh me) I will onely briefly avouch, that betweene each one of these seven circular charges, I was aye reexamined, each halfe houre a hell of infernall paine, and betweene each torment, a long distance of life-quelling time. (404)

Here, he interrupts the narrative from his desk, manipulating the sensitivities of his readers by insisting that he, too, is overcome by the story. A few lines later, he adds

> [t]rue it is, it passeth the capacity of man, either sensibly to conceave, or I patiently to expresse the intollerable anxiety of mind, and affliction of body in that dreadfull time I sustayned. (404)

Similar ploys appear in overtly fictional works, as in Nashe's description of the massacre of the Anabaptists or of Heraclide's rape, accounts which Jack Wilton only pretends to

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[70]Foxe lists an array of martyrs who meet their end in Spain as a result of the Inquisition, but most of these are Protestants of Spanish extraction. Op. cit., 1060-65. In the sixth edition (1610), only one other significant Spanish case is added, that of another English merchant, Nicholas Burton, executed in 1560 in Seville. See Foxe (1610) ii, 1865.

interrupt.[71] Such breaks in narration serve a rhetorical purpose, allowing the narrator to coach the emotions of the reader. This strategy is more obviously the case in the trial scene in Sidney's Arcadia, where Philanax ends his accusations almost exactly as Lithgow ends his recollections: 'Alas though I have much more to say, I can say no more, for my tears and sighs interrupt my speech and force me to give myself over to my private sorrow'.[72] Sidney and Nashe use interruptions to suggest a barrier beyond which description cannot range: Sidney's Philanax pretends to have reached the limits of emotional endurance, Nashe's traveller, the limits of decency. Lithgow interrupts the narrative in order to suggest that his ability to recall is limited by the horror of his memories. Likewise, it conveniently permits him to avoid repeating in detail what was done to him a further seven times. Thus he avoids the risk of boring or sating his readers, instead strengthening the impact of the torture by means of a rhetorical gesture.[73] He follows a strategy similar to that laid out by Thomas Wilson in his Arte of Rhetoric (1560):

> how can he [the reader] be greeved with the reporte of any hainous act, either in stomaking the naughtinesse of the deede, or in bewayling the miserable misfortune of the thing... except the oratour himselfe utter such passions outwardly, and from his heart fetch his complaints in such sorte.[74]

Lithgow's descriptions invite his readers to watch, move, and suffer alongside him. When he says he can no longer describe, he allows his readers to imagine further enormities. Even his

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[71]Of Heraclide's rape, he concludes, 'Coniecture the rest, my words stick fast in the myre and are cleane tyred; would I had never undertaken this tragicall tale.' Nashe (1910) ii, 292. For the Anabaptist story, see op. cit., ii, 241.

[72]Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, M. Evans, ed. (Harmondsworth, 1977), p. 822.

[73]Close to *aposiopesis*, which Quintilian says gives the impression of anxiety or scruple. See B. Vickers, In Defense of Rhetoric (Oxford, 1988), p 318.

[74]T. Wilson, in his Arte of Rhetoric (1560), ed. G.H. Mair (Oxford, 1909), p.133.

utterances under torture carry a kind of persuasive, descriptive power: 'O I am innocent! O Jesus!' is his cry as he is dropped from the *garrucha*. The limits of description in conveying what he saw and felt are sometimes supplied by speech -- in this case, by shouts of pain and pleas for deliverance. His use of transcription, as much as description, is an effective and efficient tool for telling his story.

ii -- Transcriptions

In addition to numerous sensory descriptions, Lithgow presents transcribed dialogues between himself and other figures in Malaga, particularly the governor, the Moorish slave Hazier, and the Inquisitors. These transcriptions fill in other details, hurry the story along, or intensify the reader's anxiety on his behalf. In the governor's angry accusations and in Lithgow's prayers and arguments discussed above, they serve to reveal the character and motives of the participants or to solidify Lithgow's role as a 'living martyr'. Before examining several other 'transcribed' passages, it is important to recall a figure from Lithgow's initial arraignment -- namely, the scrivener, who resurfaces at his transportation to his tortures in the 'Vine-press house', then during his encounter with the Inquisition itself. Standing witness to most of what happens, he writes down every question asked by the interrogators and every response the prisoner makes. He even appears in the illustration of Lithgow's ordeal at the wine press, seated across from another figure (presumably the governor) with a quill in his hand and a scroll of paper in front of him.[75] There is little doubt that Lithgow would have encountered such an official -- in Lazarillo, it is reported that a

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[75]See Fig. E above.

scrivener and a deputy (another *alguazil*) are called out to settle a minor civil dispute.[76] These secretaries played a central role in the drafting of notes during the civil inquiries and even in the Inquisition, as Lithgow himself soon finds.[77] The Inquisition manual stipulated the presence of a scrivener.[78] One also appears at the inquisitorial questioning of the Englishmen John Catel in Granada in 1699.[79]

The scrivener stands as an ironic figure in Lithgow's narrative. In a sense, Lithgow has found the tables turned on him. Accustomed to putting his own spin on the stories he hears from others, he now finds his own movements converted into a highly subjective story woven by the Spanish authorities. Each principal moment in these initial scenes -- from Lithgow's questioning up to his commitment to prison -- is witnessed by the silent scrivener, whose presence serves as a pretext for the dialogic form of Lithgow's account.[80] Having been used to interpreting a world full of others and making his own investigations and judgements of people and places, he now finds himself fitted into a rather plausible tale created out of

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[76]See Lazarillo, pp. 56-7.

[77]Confirmed also by Lea (1907) iii, 16, and Gonsalvius (1568), p.12r.

[78]'[C]inq personnes doivent etre être présentes aux interrogatoires des délateurs et des témoins: le juge inquisitorial, le témoin ou l'accusé, le notaire et deux témoins inquisitoriaux.' And later: 'Le notaire est désigné par l'inquisiteur et doit se charger de la rédaction des actes de procès. Il consigne sous ordre du juge les dépositions des témoins, les aveux ou les dénégations des prévenus, etc.' N. Eymerich and F. Peña, Le Manuel des Inquisiteurs, trans. L. Sala-Molins (Paris, 1973), p. 124.

[79]'All this was committed to Writing, together with what I had about me...The secretary putting his hand to the Paper to set down the Questions and Answers ask'd me the following Questions.' J. Catel, Conscientiæ Equuleus: or, A faithful Relation of the Proceedings of the Inquisition at Granada....(1710), pp. 7-8.

[80]'The Scrivan writing downe meanwhile every word he [the governor] spoke and what I answered.' (393)

circumstantial evidence.[81] The governor expounds and the scrivener records that Lithgow is a spy who has gathered intelligence in Seville and made contact with Maunsell's English fleet to organise a raid on a silver fleet expected from the West Indies. (393)

In recalling these accusations, which must have humiliated and terrified him, Lithgow records this interview (and others later) as a hostile, largely one-sided, dialogue. This narrative format recreates the circumstances of his first interrogation more realistically, or at least in the way he wants the scene to be imagined. Rather than providing us with the sort of transcript a scrivener would probably have produced, however, he presents his accusers' questions as rambling and venomous, peppered with insults and accompanied by threatening gestures. By contrast, Lithgow's responses are polite, dignified and measured: 'My most noble governor' or 'I humbly beseech your goodness' are typical openings to his longer answers. As often, he responds to his accusers' lengthy questions with the briefest of replies. Again, the overall effect is that Lithgow casts himself in the role of a victim. For instance, when he articulates the town captain's suppositions as to his reasons for coming to Malaga, Lithgow creates a vivid picture of Spanish insincerity and wilfulness, thereby versing his readers in the diabolical foundations of his future troubles.

> Don Francesco [demanded of]... mee if I had been in Civilia, or was come from it; and clapping my cheeks with a Judas-smile made this entreaty. My deare brother, and gallant Companion, confesse freely... for your countenance bewrayeth, there are some hidden purposes in the closet of your brest; and Para fuyr mas malo, you had best in time relate to mee the trueth. (392-93)

The sensation of the Spaniard's hands and the proximity of the two faces bring the confrontation to life for the reader. Lithgow even manages to weave a loaded Biblical

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[81]The scene resembles Menocchio's trial in C. Ginzburg's The Cheese and the Worms (London, 1989).

allusion into one of the lines. The interrogators do not simply ask questions, they try to put words in Lithgow's mouth. Lithgow in turn responds to these assertions briefly, telling us 'I punctually returned my dividuat answers'. Significantly, he also records the accusations in a curious kind of broken English, as in the lines above and in the passage that follows:

> ...thou art newly come from the Generall, when thou wast taken, where consulting with their Counsell of Warre this morning, (concerning what they assigned thee to accomplish) thou hast delivered thy opinion, and the expectation of Sivilia, touching the returne of his Majesties Armado di Plato; and therefore thou art a Spiono, a Traytor, and a scelerate Velacco. (394)

The interpolation of Spanish words into Lithgow's recollections succeeds in lending the scene authenticity and making his accusers seem even more menacing.[82] The Judas-like captain and governor, addressing Lithgow with the familiar 'thou', reveal their true countenance by 'cursing and swearing' and introducing religious bigotry into what is supposed to be a civil inquiry. They also dismiss the seals, letters, and writings Lithgow offers as testimony of his innocence, giving them 'neither Respect nor trust' and turning them over to the Scottish cooper, Alexander Ley, and the English seminary priest to translate into Spanish. Like the work of the scrivener, these further acts of transcribing, though taking place apart from the unfolding drama, create even more danger for the hapless traveller.[83]

The words of the captain and governor and the work of the recusant translators beg the question of what language predominated during Lithgow's imprisonment. It appears that Spanish was spoken throughout the ordeal. Although Lithgow complains about not having

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[82]The device is used to humorous effect in Jonson's The Devil is an Ass where Wittipol, dressed as a Spanish lady, interpolates gibberish Italian and Spanish expressions into his catalogue of exotic cosmetics. See IV, iii and iv.

[83]Once again, the rarity of contemporary travel to Spain explains why the governor should find it unbelievable that he travelled merely for curiosity's sake; it is unfortunate that Lithgow offered a copy of his work, but this action helps explain the source of his future troubles.

the services of a translator during one of his interviews (he asks for a 'sufficient interpreter'), it is suggested elsewhere -- from a proverb he cites and by the fact that he already spoke Italian and French and had travelled extensively through Spain during the months before his arrest -- that he must have had a fairly good grasp of the language.[84] His long imprisonment, and surreptitious conversations with at least two of his jailors, could have further improved his abilities. Nevertheless, the contrasting assertion before the governor of his need for a translator sows at least a seed of doubt about the authenticity of the lengthy and elaborate speeches he attributes to Don Francesco, Don Gaspar, and the Inquisitors.[85]

With a series of false accusations and Spanish insults, the first interview ends, and the governor turns to the prison-keepers, whom he instructs to deprive Lithgow of light and material comforts. Lithgow's detailed recollection of the governor's words further asserts (or calls into review) the Scotsman's knowledge of Spanish. Later, the governor reappears at Lithgow's side, offering him false promises of friendship (397) and dubious compliments (401), but he does not feature prominently as an interlocutor until Lithgow is brought out to be tortured and further interrogated. To maintain a dialogic structure between these interviews, Lithgow introduces Hazier, a Turkish slave, who tells of events outside the prison and provides a running commentary on Lithgow's ordeal. Their first exchange brings Lithgow little comfort:

> Being alone with Hazier the naturall Turke, who was to attend me, feed me, and keepe

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[84]He also offers various lines in Spanish: '[T]he Spanish Proverbe prettily avoucheth: las mugeres, egannan a los hombres, dellas lastimandoles, con sus lagrimas fingidas; dellas hallagandoles, con Palabras lesongeras: to wit, Women deceave men, some of them, grieving them with their fayned tears, and other fawning on them with flattering words.' (414)

[85]Contemporary documents in Aston's papers suggest the governor only communicated in Spanish. See BL Additional MSS 36445/fols. 216 (Aug. 1621) and 223 (Sept. 1621). See also op. cit. 36451/42 (Corregidor of Malaga to Aston -- August 1621.)

me... hee demanded me for what cause I was committed, and what malefact I was guilty of? to whom I answered, onely for a naked suspition, mistaking the honorable intention of the English Armado... Whereupon the silly Slave falling downe on his knees, held up his hands crying, Hermano, Hermano, es muy grand menester, par a tomar pacenza &c... it is impossible now you can escape, some fearfull tryall, and thereupon a horrible punishment even unto death.... (397)

Besides filling in details of the unfolding drama, this passage suggests Lithgow's knowledge of Spanish -- for it seems unlikely he and Hazier would have shared another language. Whatever their ability to communicate or the substance of their relationship, Hazier serves several important roles in the narrative, acting as the courier of news, the commentator on Lithgow's deteriorating physical condition and prospects for release, and at times a barometer (as it were) of Spanish cruelty -- particularly in the instance where he is banished from Lithgow's side and is told the hapless Scotsman is a devil (413-14). Thus, Hazier is sometimes little more than a prop for coaching the reactions and filling in gaps for Lithgow's readers. A few weeks into Lithgow's imprisonment, he bursts into the dungeon with excited explanations for the noise of various drums and shouts in the streets.

> I hope in God and Mahomet, that you and I ere long shall be set at liberty; for your Countrey-men ... and mine... are joyned together, and comming to sacke Malaga:... and I hope we shall be merry in Algier, for there is above a hundred sayle seene comming hither; and therewith kissing my cheeke, hee kindly left mee. (406)

Lithgow receives this hopeful message as he lies chained to the floor, covered with filth swept onto him by a jailor. When the news turns out to be a false rumour, Lithgow's deflation is matched by that of his readers, whose hopes have been raised then dashed by the mis-informed slave. Hazier's presence and Lithgow's professed affection for him are of further interest in that they show Lithgow willing to embrace non-Western characters as companions. Mention might also be made of 'Ellinor', an 'Indian Negro' who was the prison cook and who helped keep Lithgow alive by various acts of kindness. Lithgow expresses his

gratitude in what might be the first English poem dedicated to an individually-named black woman.[86] Such fellowship is unimaginable in the context of his Turkish account, where he generally avoids contact with non-Westerners. In this portion of the Totall Discourse, Hazier and Ellinor serve to highlight the unchristian character and uncharitable behaviour of their Roman Catholic captors. At the end of the account, Hazier symbolically bears Lithgow on his back out of the dungeon on Easter morning. (417) Their relationship and their conversations, though occupying limited space in the story, nevertheless augment Lithgow's role as suffering innocent, further softening his appearance into that of a sinned-against hero.

Besides Lithgow's various prayers and his arguments noted above, his other transcriptions include further exchanges during his second civil interrogation and during his appearance before the Inquisition. In the latter episode, the governor is joined by Jesuits, whose debates with Lithgow are also written down by the scrivener. These dialogues again lend an air of authenticity to the scene. Yet serious questions arise as to how real or 'fictional' they are. Once again, it must be noted that the interrogations were probably recalled at several years' remove; moreover, they are 'transcribed' by one who has suffered crippling tortures at the hands of those conducting the interviews. Even if he made notes of the interrogation soon after his return, his version of the dialogues appears only in 1632, not 1623. Lithgow might have found questions about the authenticity of this part of his account bemusing, for his narrative clearly aims at constructing a persuasive picture of Spanish cruelty, the dialogue form merely serves to place these exchanges in a more dramatic and compelling setting. And as he has been vindicated -- that is to say since God has evidently preserved him from his captors -- he is free to write the story as it best communicates this

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[86]See Lithgow, pp. 414-15, and Appendix B below.

message to his Protestant readers. Examples of remarks he offers as transcribed, but which seem unlikely to have been made at the time, include Lithgow's plea for a translator as being his legal right.[87] Although such a request sounds reasonable, it seems doubtful that Lithgow would have entered his civil tortures with a keen grasp of Spanish law, nor does it seem likely he would have acquired such knowledge during his days of solitary confinement.[88]

The purported transcription sounds more like an instance of Lithgow usefully inserting arguments and requests he concocted *post facto*. In this case, it leads into dialogue that further confirms his readers' expectations of Spanish ruthlessness and cruelty. Remarks at the outset of the Inquisitorial interview appear to share a similar purpose:

> [T]he second day after Candlemas, the Governour, the Inquisitor a Canonicall Priest, entred my Dungeon, accompanied with two Jesuites... [w]here being Chaire set, Candle-lighted, and doore locked; the Inquisitor after diverse frivolous questions, demaunded me if I was a Romane Catholicke, and acknowledged the Popes Supremacy. To whom I answered, I was neyther the one, nor did the other. And what power (sayd I,) have you to challenge me of my Religion, since it is a chiefe Article, of the former concluded peace, that none of our Kings subjects should be troubled by your Inquisition; but as you have murdered me for alledged Treason; so you meane to Martyre me for Religion. (407-8)

Lithgow draws a vivid portrait of the setting before recalling the accompanying dialogue. Here he again contrasts the oafishness and inanity of the interrogators' questions with his own euphuistic eloquence. More significantly, he refers to a section of the peace of 1604, by which Spain agreed not to harm the subjects of James VI/I. The treaty was certainly in place and perhaps Lithgow was already familiar with its particulars -- though this sounds rather far-

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[87]Lithgow complains about having no 'Trench man' and reminds the governor that it is 'against their Law, to accuse or condemne a Stranger, without a sufficient Interpreter' (p. 400). He perhaps adds the complaint to underscore the terrifying circumstances of interrogation in a hostile foreign country.

[88]On rights of prisoners, see R. L. Kagan, Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile, 1500-1700 (Chapel Hill, 1981), and M. de la Pinta Llorente, Las Cárceles Inquisitoriales Españolas (Madrid, 1949).

fetched.[89] Whether or not this was so, his allusion to the treaty serves merely as a preamble to a more detailed attack:

> And you Governour, as you have Tortured and hunger-starved this helplesse body, consumed with cold and vermine to the last of my life; the Almighty God who revealeth the secrets of all things (although I bee never relieved) will certainely discover it, to my Countrey and to the World. And is this the best of your good deeds? you repay to our mercifull King, who then being onely King of Scotland, in the time of your just over-throw of Eighty Eight, gave secourse to thousands of your Ship-wracked people for many moneths; and in the end, caused transport them safely to their desired Ports. Leaving to the Worlds memory an eternall stampe of Christian Bounty, Mercy, and royal Charity, and your acquittance to him, is an imputation of Treachery to his Fleete, detayning and mis-regarding his Letters and Seales, and now imposing to a tormented Innocent, your lawlesse Inquisition. (408)

Lithgow employs prolepsis to great effect: his survival shows that God has authorised the warning that the deed will be 'discovered' and has even appointed Lithgow to carry this message back to his king. Of more temporal interest, he uses the speech to assert that his mistreatment amounts to the mistreatment of James. The tearing of his tattoos, as well as the flouting of treaty obligations, amount to a slap in the king's face. By the time this 'larger' account of Lithgow's troubles is in print, the treaty of which he spoke has become obsolete, marriage negotiations having broken off and hostilities having since resumed between the two powers. The author now stands as a living witness to the duplicity of Britain's enemy during the years of supposed accord.

Lithgow's transcriptions of his own words and those of the Inquisitors differ from the extant records of similar interrogations. That this appears to be the case is supported by transcripts collected by Lea, Kamen, and others, whose work suggests that the Inquisitors'

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[89]On the Peace of 1604 and the relative scarcity of persecutions during the first decades of the seventeenth century, see Lea (1907) iii, 464, and Monter (1990), pp. 246-47. The agreement concerning British visitors states that 'if they shall have done anything amiss [i.e. heretical] before their coming into Spain, they shall not be try'd nor molested for such Offences committed out of Spain, nor shall they ... be call'd to account for them.' See Winwood Memorials (1725) ii, 29.

comments were brief (or noted in brief) while every scream, oath, and admission uttered by the accused was recorded in detail by the scrivener.[90] John Catel's recollections of his own imprisonment, questioning, and torture also suggest that his interviews followed the basic prescription outlined by Eymerich and Peña. The way Catel's inquisitor moves from questions about his parentage and profession, to questions about his sacramental beliefs is similar to the recommedation in Eymerich and Peña that the interviewer try to come naturally to the critical questions by first asking about birthplace and family and then addressing the particular heresy of the accused: 'il adaptera ses questions à l'instruction, à la secte et au rang de l'accusé.'[91]

By contrast, Lithgow's record appears to be constructed to serve his own polemical purposes. It provides verbal support of the physical evidence his body bears -- the mangled arm that once sported James's seal. His survival confirms that the civil authorities have ignored international undertakings and that Inquisition is indeed 'lawless' in that it clearly fails to agree with God's purposes or to find God's support. In answer to Lithgow's accusations about broken treaties and discourtesy, the governor makes a sullen admission -- 'all that was true' -- but nevertheless orders the continuation of the interrogation and torture. In all, the exchange serves as one of the last opportunities for Lithgow to clarify for his readers the real motives behind the Spaniards' actions and to confirm his vocation as hero and surrogate for James in a game of foreign treachery. It would have been ironical indeed if Lithgow had been able to challenge his accusers in the outspoken way his narrative purports; nevertheless, the final version of the incident, the only version we have, is the report Lithgow

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[90]'[D]uring the torture, the only words to be addressed to him were "Tell the Truth"', Lea (1907) iii, 18. See also Kamen (1985), 176-77, and Birch (1903), i, 381-2.

[91]See Catel (1710), pp. 8-12, and Eymerich (1973), pp. 121-23, 125-26.

offers in 1632. It stands in defiance, too, of the bullying he endured upon his return to England in 1623 -- his detractors, the pro-Spanish faction, must admit, like the governor, that 'all that was true'. His body bears proof of what he saw and felt, his narrative offers the only authoritative version of what occurred.[92]

III. -- True Account or Fiction?

Lithgow assembles transcriptions up to the end of his ordeal. The most significant of these, his responses to the Inquisitors' baiting accusations and questions, have already been discussed. Their remarks serve chiefly to establish them as petty figures who try to wheedle and coax Lithgow into conversion. Over and over, he artfully pairs transcriptions and descriptions to present a negative picture of the Spaniards and a persuasive version of his own stalwart behaviour. One of the last pairings occurs after the investigations have ended and Lithgow is subjected to a final torture session:

> [S]etting of my teeth asunder with iron Cadges, they filled my belly full of water, even gorgeing to my throat: Then with a garter they bound fast my throat, till the white of mine eye turned upward; and being laid on my side, I was by two Sergeants tumbled two and fro seven times through the roome; even till I was almost strangled: This done, they fastned a small cord about each one of my great toes, and hoysing me therewith to the roofe of a high loft (for the cords runne on two rings of iron fastned above) they cut the garter, and there I hung, with my head downward, in my tormented weight, till all the gushing water dissolved. (413)

The scene develops like so many previous ones, with Lithgow enumerating each element in

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[92]Perhaps, ironically, the defacement of his tattoos constitutes an even more compelling indication of his identity -- if we agree with Certeau's remarks on tattoos and torture that 'the proof of its transcription will be proportional to the wound it leaves, because its truth can no longer be read....' Certeau (1986), p. 162.

meticulous detail.[93] That he tells us the whites of his eyes turned upwards seems another instance of plausible reconstruction: Lithgow could only guess what expression he wore, but it seems a likely description. His concluding lines, however, offer a more significant example of his imagination at work:

> I was let downe from the loft, quite senselesse, lying a long time cold dead among their hands: whereof the Governour being informed, came running up stayres, crying, Is he dead, O fie villanes goe fetch me Wine, which they powred in my mouth, regayning thereby a slender sparke of breath. (413)

Lithgow reports the furious expostulations of the governor as if he were a witness to them. This would of course have been impossible if he were, as he affirms, lying unconscious on the floor. Although the moment should not be scrutinised too closely (in that he could have later learned what the governor said from another witness or he may have 'recalled' the incident -- as is sometimes the case with those who black out), the fact that he offers a transcription of the governor's words nevertheless suggests another significant instance of fictional, if plausible, reconstruction.

The governor's angry words are not the last statement of dubious vintage. In fact, the story of Lithgow's release -- although reported in a believable order -- shows signs of being fashioned by a writer who needed to fill in the tale's gaps with compelling, if questionable, details:

> By Gods great providence, about a fortnight before Easter, Anno 1621. there came a Spanish Cavaliere of Grenada to Malaga, whom the Governour one night invited to Supper, being of old acquaintance: where after Supper to intertayne Discourse, the Governour related and disclosed to the stranger (God working thereby my discovery and deliverance) all the proceedings and causes of my first apprehending, my Confessions, Torments, starvings, their mistaking of the English Fleete, and finally the wresting of the Inquisition upon me, and their Condemnatory Sentence seeming

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[93]His description of water torture agrees with Gonsalvius (1568), pp. 26v-27r, and Lea (1907) iii, 19-20.

also much to Lament my mis-fortunes, and praysing my Travailes and Deserts. Now all this while, the Gentlemans servant, a Flandrish Fleming, standing at his Maisters backe, and adhering to all the Governours Relations, was astonished, to heare of a sakelesse Stranger, to have indured, and to indure such damnable Murther and Cruelty. Whereupon, the Discourse ending and mid-night past, the stranger returned to his Lodging; where the Fleming having bedded his Maister, and himselfe also in another Roome, he could not sleepe all that night, and if hee slumbered, still hee thought hee saw a man Torturing, and burning in the fire: which hee confessed to M. Wilds [the English consul at Malaga who]... sent for the other English factors, Mr. Richard Busbitche, Mr. John Corney, Mr. Hanger, Mr. Stanton, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Rowley, and Mr. Woodson: where advising with them, what was best to be done for my reliefe; they sent letters away [to Aston.] Upon which hee mediating with the King and Counsell of Spaine, obtained a strait warrant to command the Governour of Malaga, to deliver mee over in the English hands.... I was released on Easter-satturday before midnight, and carryed uppon Hazier the slaves backe to Master Busbitches house, where I was carefully attended till day light. (416-17)

It is possible that Lithgow could have discovered the origins and development of the reports and negotiations by which he was freed; in fact, the long list of supporting characters in the passage suggests many could verify his tale. But the idea that he also learned the particulars of the various conversations he records here, especially the earliest of them, seems unlikely. At best, the reports would have come to him as in a game of 'Chinese whispers', altered from telling to telling. Of particular doubtfulness is the governor's table talk, especially Don Gaspar's mixed expressions of scorn and admiration -- which Lithgow may have inserted to satisfy his own ego. Likewise the report of the servant's troubling dreams suggests fictional brushstrokes. Although blended smoothly into the narrative, they are almost certainly a fabrication -- compelling and realistic sounding, but fantastical in origin.

Hard proof of the liberties Lithgow takes with the story has been assembled by John Stoye, who transcribes the testimony of Walter Long, a servant of Maunsell who by his various detailed reports from Malaga would have merited the governor's accusations of spying more than the hapless Scot. Long's testimony puts a curious spin on Lithgow's presentation of the details surrounding his discovery. Stoye's transcription, however, leaves

out a few important lines from the letter, which is quoted at length here:

> I was advertised [struck through] given to understand by the Inglish marchantes whoe doe reside heere of an accident which hapned soone after the fleets departure from hence which I presume youre Excellencie have heard of by Mr. Cottington[94] or his Majesties Embassador at Madrid which was that uppon the Fleetes departure from hence heere was search made what men weare leaft beehind belonging unto the fleete in which was founde a scotsman who stiled him self by the name of the King's traviler his right name I cannot learne: Hee was in these partes beefore the fleetes arrival heare and in this search was fownde having a boute his neck a kind of leather budget in which was maney papers and observations of his travailes. I know not wheather hee had aney observations of this cittie or aney drafte of the castle heere but it is likely hee had beeing in that kinde curious: He was seacretly apprehended, and privilie carried to prison beeing suspected to be left by the fleete as a speye to informe himself of the strength of the cittie, (and as it was reported) the fleete was suspected to goe & joyne with the Turkes and come against this place. The trueth of these suspitions I know not but certaine it is that this fellow was kept verie seacretly in prison ever since until it was ten daes since when hee was privilie conveyed foarth of the cittie in a coach with the hang man and caried as I have learned into a vineyard whither came the corrigidore [governor] whoe is the principale magestrate with more of the cheefest of the cittie and theare in the presence of them was put to the torture to make him confess. His interpriter was an other scotsman who is maried heere at whose howse hee laye: wheare this fellow is now I cannot learne for hee retourned not in the coach in which hee was carried foarthe but I am certified hee is stil kept seacretly in prison.

Up to this point, Long's testimony is in full agreement with Lithgow's assessment -- except for one matter of great significance. Long's letter, sent to Secretary of State Calvert in December, 1620, shows that official notification had been made of Lithgow's predicament well before Lithgow's narrative suggests anyone knew of his circumstances but the Spanish. The substance of Long's report begins to diverge more significantly from Lithgow's account in the passage that follows:

> The marchantes acquainted my Lord Imbassador hearewith as soone as this fellow was apprehended, certifing him of the rumor which was heere of the suspition which was had of the fleete but he cowldly entertayned the newes, thinking it but meere surmises uppon fals grownds and retourned them a reprehensive answer. I have no

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[94]Francis Cottington was a trusted advisor to the king on Spanish affairs, who opposed the Spanish match, but was compelled to accompany Prince Charles on his journey to Spain. See D'Ewes (1845), i, 224.

> meanes to informe my self of the trueth thereof but by them whoe are men well approved of boath for theyre sufficiencie and honestie whoe doe afferme all this which I have written.[95]

If Long's testimony is true, then Aston also knew of Lithgow's predicament long before Lithgow suggests he did. Even though Aston initially claims the report to be an unfounded rumour, he had clearly been informed by December 1620. A passage from Long's correspondence in early 1621, indicates that the Secretary Calvert and Aston were even reminded of the matter:

> I have remayned in Malaga ever since I wrote untoY[our]e E[xcellen]c[ie] last, expecting the comming of the pinnices and the other ships of suppleyes which are much longed for by owre fleete. The busines which I then acquainted y[our]e H[onour]e had heere hapned hath ever since layne dead not havinge aney farther speeche bin made theare of. It is supposed the partie of whom I wrote was delivered over unto the inquisition after hee had bin put to the rack. My lord Embassadore and Mr. Cottington did conceive that all theyre proceedings against him proceeded from his owne ill carriage, who in maney places wheare he had bine had given oute that hee had wrote bookes against the Poape. Unto whose better oppinions I am bound to conforme mine. Yet by the sequel one may judge the contrarey for uppon owre fleets retourne from Argive the former rumors revived beeing openly devulged that wee had made a peace with the Turkes and that they suspected wee would ioyne wth them against this place: but these were rumours of meane men, who are much guided by theyre passions. Yet they weere cherished by certaine newes which the Gorrigidore the governor heere predended to receive which was that theare weare fifti sayle of ships gone foarth of Argive with twenti thosand men which weare thought to bee bounde for this place... I know not wheather this bee to make good his former suspicions which may proceede but from envie, or to make this a pretence to rayse forces for other designes but uppon this newes heere is a generall preparation for warr on all the coaste.[96]

The letters support Stoye's argument that Long contradicts Lithgow's account of how his release was arranged,[97] but they indicate that Lithgow otherwise gave a fairly accurate

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[95]Long to Calvert, 19 Dec 1620, SP Spain (94) 24/69-70. See abbreviated version in Stoye (1989), p. 275.

[96]Long to Secretary of State, 5 February 1621, SP Spain (94) 24/99.

[97]Stoye (1989), p. 276.

account of most aspects of his ordeal, such as the attempts to keep his imprisonment a secret, his transportation to the vineyard, his torture, the alarms and shouts explained by Hazier, and his incarceration by the Inquisition. Long's statements also shed light on several other matters: they conclusively show that official updates were made of Lithgow's predicament on at least two occasions, they affirm Lithgow's recollection of most incidents and locations, and they suggest that there was more concern over Lithgow's case on the part of the factors than among officials in Madrid or London. Thus while Long's report casts some doubt on Lithgow's explanation for his release, it supports the greater part of his account.

The tangle of information begs the question of why Lithgow should paint a partially inaccurate portrait. Two possible answers suggest themselves: either Lithgow wilfully misrepresents his release in the best possible light, or Aston, Calvert, and the other diplomats and merchants only provided him with a limited explanation of how the episode was concluded. Perhaps Lithgow assembled the story as accurately as he could from what he was told. Perhaps he pieced the tale together from only scant or censored information passed on by cautious negotiators or participants. Except for Long, Aston, Calvert, and their familiars, few if any Englishmen would have known of the private correspondence surrounding the case. It might be reasonably asked whether the ambassador received Long's reports and only proceeded to act when repeatedly bidden to do so by the merchants or as a consequence of shifting foreign policy. The picture emerges in Aston's correspondence that he did all he could to smooth relations over between the English and Spanish, that at the time of Lithgow's ordeal he was carefully monitoring the progress of Mansell's expedition, watching the failing health of the Spanish king, and helping in similar cases involving other more politically signifiant prisoners -- unfortunate characters like Henry Roe, or English and Scottish galley

slaves mentioned in various letters.[98] Long's reports also suggest Aston and Calvert may have felt a personal aversion to Lithgow -- itself an interesting issue. Aston's letters and notes make mention of the affair only after Lithgow's release.[99] It does not seem likely that Aston would have discussed his early inaction with Lithgow or the Malagan factors, for the delay between discovery and release was long enough to be embarrassing for all concerned. As if to support this possibility, Lithgow's narrative is sympathetic to the ambassador and recalls the Scotsman's friendships among Aston's servants and among the factors. This would support the notion that he only learned part of the story. Although this is mere speculation, it is curious that in presenting a bill of grievances before the Lords upon his return to Britain, Lithgow assembles testimony in corroboration of his version of events from individuals like Mansell, Sir Walter Button, and most significantly Aston, who 'spoke seriously face to face' with the keeper of the great seal about the wrongs Lithgow suffered. (424) It is not beyond the realm of possibility that Aston maintained one posture towards Lithgow and another towards English and Spanish officials.

A more dubious character is the Secretary of State, Calvert, who was more openly pro-Spanish and who seems never to have responded to Lithgow's predicament abroad. Calvert's only role in Lithgow's affairs came after the latter's return to England. There, he was instrumental in bringing about Lithgow's two periods of confinement. As mentioned in

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[98]On his efforts to free English and Scottish galley slaves, see especially BL Additional MS 36451 (Aston Papers), fols. 7v-8r (June or July 1620), 33r (May 1621). For Aston's (rather negative) letter of 30 October 1620 to Inquisition concerning Cheyne Roe, see op. cit., fol. 23v.

[99]Passing mention is made in one letter to Gaspar Ruiz de Peñeda, dated 17 August 1621, of a Scotsman making complaints to Gondomar, but Aston 'presumes' that the governor acted 'with justification'. See op.cit., fol. 42r-42v . No other mention appears in letters to Digby, from Mansell or Gondomar, or from Buckingham or Calvert in the Aston Papers.

the introduction, Calvert seems to have been in the pay of the Spaniard at the time.[100] He was a closet Catholic and one of the strongest voices in support of the Spanish match.[101] His initial inaction and his later vindictiveness suggest he looked upon Lithgow as a nuisance rather than as a *cause célèbre*.[102] His response to the failure of Spanish negotiation -- open conversion to Catholicism -- must have added incentive to Lithgow's 1632 talk of duplicitous courtiers and hidden cells of Jesuits.[103] Whatever the case with Calvert and Aston, the fact of the matter is that the source for Lithgow's story of his release is unclear.

Despite its fictional components (what might be called a great deal of wishful thinking), the final portion of Lithgow's Spanish account cannot be dismissed as simple fantasy. Its apparent contradictions can be regarded as a consequence of political manoeuvring, possibly withheld information, and a certain measure wilful imagination.

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[100]D. Sarmiento de Acuña, Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España: Correspondencia Oficial de Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar, ed. A. Ballesteros-Beretta, 4 vols. (Madrid 1936-45): iii, 86 -- Gondomar to Philip III 'sobre pensiones y gastos: El Condestable de Castilla dejó aquí, asentados y repartidos, treinta mil ducados de pensiones, de los quales han ido vacando y cesando asta quedar en once mil ducados, quatro mil a Cid [Calvert], quatro mil a Roldán [Aston], mil y quinentos a Rugero, y mil y quinientos a Amadis [Countess of Suffolk].' See Carter (1964), pp. 124-29, for a dispute over the dating of this list of bien intencionados.

[101]G. Mattingly, Renaissance Diplomacy (London, 1955), p. 259: 'George Calvert, another pensioner [of Gondomar] and probably for years before his avowed conversion a secret Catholic, brought news of the deliberations of the council, particularly about foreign affairs.' On Gondomar's efforts, see pp 255-68. For a list of Gondomar's supposed exploits, see the Black Knight's speech in Middleton, Game at Chess IV, ii, 41-75.

[102]See also pp. 25-30 above.

[103]In late March, 1625, Roe received news from court that 'Mr. Secretary Calvert hath never looked merily since the Prince his coming out of Spaine: it was thought that hee was muche interested in the Spanishe affaires: a course was taken to ridde him of all imployments and negotiations. This made him discontented... so hee apparently did turne papist.' in Sir Thomas Roe, The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from... 1621 to 1628, S. Richardson, ed. (1740), p. 372. Calvert also wrote to Roe in November 1623 with barely concealed enthusiasm for the match. (p. 190)

Lithgow puts forward a narrative of events that comes across as authoritative and realistic. Although the work has clearly been shaped to give a particular, slanted view of events, it is a plausible presentation. The elements of fictional shaping do not radically compromise the truth of the work, rather they enhance its polemical potency. It contains not much more exaggeration or falsehood than an assortment of contemporary presentations which share similar generic preoccupations -- Sandys, Coryat, or Purchas, for example, or even Foxe. Should his account, then, be regarded as the 'true relation' of a traveller's exploits? The answer, if every particular is strictly scrutinised, is no. If, however, we accept Natalie Davis's notion of 'fictionality', which argues that constructing certain tales requires the collation of discrete, sometimes contradictory, pieces of information into narratives that make sense, satisfy the spiritual needs of a particular audience, and permit the writer to heal his/her body and soul, then Lithgow's story presents a pardonable 'fiction' of what happened. More could be said about Lithgow's narrative of Malaga: his poem in honour of Elinor; the useful intelligence he supplies about the activities of English and Scottish recusants in Spain; and his recollections of Mansell's expedition. For the purposes of this chapter, it can be said that his narrative has put together a powerful attack on Spain -- more powerful than those made by his contemporaries by dint of its 'eye-witness' status. Furthermore, it serves to exonerate him of the charges (levelled by Hall and others) that travels are ungodly and travellers given to sinful pursuits. Lithgow's recollections provide a useful and curious addition to the tradition of Protestant martyrology, anti-Spanish polemics, and travel writing generally. Although left crippled by his abortive last journey, he has won a spiritual agon and survived to style himself as a 'lyving martyr' and to reconstruct this and earlier journeys as the story of a Providential triumph.

Conclusion

There is much more that could be written about Lithgow's work and his character. To be addressed adequately, many of the issues raised and discussed in this thesis need to be examined in greater detail in future studies. For example, little has been said about Lithgow's second journey or the two chapters he devotes to these wanderings. The description of this part of his career, mostly added to the 1632 edition, is of enormous interest for the unusual places he mentions and the picaresque character he maintains throughout his adventures. Besides whole portions of his narrative, there are stylistic issues which deserve more attention as well -- particularly the matter of his work's genre. Should Lithgow's account be classified as a true and duly reported travel autobiography; should it be scrutinised as a piece of fiction, cleverly detailed and highly personalised; or should it be treated as a dated, cosmographical oddity worth only the occasional glance from an historian of the Inquisition, North Africa, or Jacobean Scotland? I hope that this thesis has shown that no one approach is sufficient by itself to assess Lithgow or his Totall Discourse. Instead, the best course is to treat his work as a kind of composite of observation and speculation, of borrowing, shaping, and rethinking -- the terms Lithgow suggests when setting out his 'science of the world'. Only by combining various considerations and methods of comparison is it possible to come to terms with his project -- for Lithgow, to the very end of his travels, is a more elusive personality than he first appears.

In his Totall Discourse's final pages, where he recalls his unfortunate first imprisonment in the Marshalsea after his hero's reception at the court of James VI/I, Lithgow

notes that from his cell he learned about certain colleagues of the Spanish ambassador who were spreading rumours that he had paid homage to the Pope in Rome in 1605. Lithgow greets these accusations with his wonted scorn, dismissing them out of hand and using them as a pretext to write an abysmal poem against his detractors. The poem seems gratuitous even by Lithgow's standards -- three pages of denial perhaps written out of sheer boredom during his imprisonment. Although mainly a tedious exercise, the poem ends with these curious lines:

> I Organize the Truth,
> you Allegate the Sense,
> Disbending cominous defects,
> in your absurd pretence:
> Your immateriall proofes,
> I wish you would detect,
> My Processe craves Sedulity,
> for what you Gulles Suspect. (423)[1]

As a retort, his ultimate disavowal is decidedly weak. It seems unnecessary, too, in that his readers are already prepared to accept his denials of Roman Catholic sympathies based not only on his general anti-Catholic vehemence throughout his itinerary, but also on the merit of his longstanding steadfastness in the face of torture. There is also no evidence that he was even in Rome in 1605 -- he appears to have been either in Scotland or Northern Europe at the time. Why, then, the feeble dismissal?

Although the internal evidence of the Totall Discourse fully supports his poetic rebuttal, another source suggests the possibility that he may have participated in some doubtful rituals while in Rome in 1610. In fact, this testimony comes from another of Lithgow's poems, 'A Conflict Betweene the Pilgrim and his Muse' (ca. 1618), which does

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[1]Lithgow's vocabulary in the poem is typically obscure: 'disbending' means 'releasing' or 'unleashing'; 'cominous' means 'threatening'; and 'processe' means 'narrative'.

not appear in the Totall Discourse. One section of the poem clearly suggests that, at this later date, Lithgow did pay homage to the pope while in Rome:

> Muse:
> [Y]et a greater spotte,
> Thou bowst thy knees, before their Altars hie:
> And when comes the Levation, ther's the blotte:
> Thou Knockst thy breast, and wallowest with thine eye:
> And when the little Bell, ringes through the streete,
> Thou prostrate fall'st, their Sacrament to greete.
> Pilgrime:
> Thou fail'st therein, I still fledde Superstition:
> But I confesse, I got their holie Blessing:
> And under colour of a rare Contrition,
> The Papall Panton heele, I fell a kissing.
> But they that mee mistake, are base-borne Clownes:
> I did it not for Love, but for the Crownes. (Stanzas 43-4)

For readers who expect consistent behaviour from Lithgow, the revelation in these stanzas is startling. Why does Lithgow deny the incident in his Totall Discourse, but admit such a dubious gesture in his separately published poem of 1618? At first, this inconsistency seems to call into question much of what Lithgow so vehemently protests about his militant anti-Catholicism -- that is, until one stops to consider the nature of the admission in 'A Conflict', which is more bragging than confessional, suggesting with words like 'colour' and 'mistake' that he was dissimulating when he participated in the ritual.

Lest it appear with the detection of this apparent contradiction that I am about to launch into another investigation, the last thing to say here on the matter is that the incident reasserts the significance of role-playing throughout the writings of Lithgow and contemporary travellers. Lithgow vehemently insists he is not a Roman Catholic, and this is obviously true. Still, he admits kissing the pope's foot in a poem published separately from his travel account, notwithstanding the fact that he later dares his accusers to find proof of such an escapade within the pages of the Totall Discourse. In the context of his travel

narrative, Lithgow can and does leave no room for doubt about his religious faith. He is in charge of 'organising the truth'. The 'sense' alleged by his accusers in an effort to discredit him cannot be supported within the context of his narrative. Moreover, it can even be explained within the context of the 'Conflict' poem as a gesture he, as a traveller, may have felt compelled to perform at the time of his visit. He says that the episode of foot kissing represented just the 'colour' of devotion, a bit of acting by which he made a few 'Crownes', perhaps in a bet with another nameless travelling companion. Or it could even be that this is the brave face Lithgow puts on gestures he may have felt compelled to make in order to avoid suspicion while travelling through the still hostile Papal States. Or perhaps Lithgow actually did experience a moment of wavering, or Browne-like sympathy, during his first trip to Rome -- before reaching Loreto, encountering superstitious Franciscans in Jerusalem, or facing unscrupulous Inquisitors in Malaga.

Whatever the circumstances he actually recalls in the 'Conflict' poem, there is no room for admitting such suspicious behaviour in the Totall Discourse. His strident denials are a reminder of what a demanding effort it was to maintain for himself and his readers the persona of the faithful pilgrim. Curiously, we encounter a situation which could have been similarly embarrassing for Fynes Moryson in his Itinerary. After travelling for some time through Catholic countries and regions, the author reaches the city-state of Geneva and accidentally genuflects in a reformed church.[2] Walking out of the church with 'the great Beza', Calvin's first biographer, Moryson again forgets where he is and reaches for holy water beside the door. For this indiscretion, he endures a stern lecture on the evils of such practices from the old man. The lesson is hardly necessary for a staunch Protestant such as

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[2]See Moryson (1617), i, 181.

Moryson -- the man who filched coppers from the Loreto collection box. It is simply the case that, having spent a great deal of time in Roman Catholic countries when it was dangerous for an English Protestant to be conspicuous in such places, Moryson has momentarily forgotten where he is and how he is supposed to act. It is a consequence of the confusing necessity of role-playing. Similarly, when Lithgow answers his accusers with fierce denials of having genuflected and kissed the heel of the pontiff, though he has confessed as much in an earlier poem, it is because he, too, is caught up in the consequences of the complicated role-playing required of a traveller. Only one who travelled through Rome at the same time could fully appreciate the difficulties a Protestant traveller was likely to have encountered. Only one in Lithgow's place could understand why he felt compelled to bend his knee to the pontiff for whom he expresses so much disdain elsewhere.

It is a very human, and touching moment in Moryson's work to hear him tell of his mistake and of the ancient Beza's remonstrances. Lithgow's denial is much more severe, but so are the consequences of admitting his participation in such a ritual. His narrative admits no room for sympathy towards Roman Catholicism, penned as it was after his harrowing experiences in Malaga -- perhaps during his imprisonment in the Marshalsea when Gondomar's allies were heaping even more shame upon his confinement. His only way of 'getting back' at his accusers and detractors was by writing a consistent and persuasive narrative. A stanza from a later poem, 'The Gushing Teares of Godlie Sorrow' (1640), written just a few years before his death, suggests that he believes his account did strike a palpable blow against his Catholic enemies:

> They wish that *Malaga* had burnt me quick,
> As doom'd I was so, by *Spaines* Inquisition:
> Whose tortures (ah!) Fast to my bones doe stick,
> And vexe me sore, with pangs of requisition:

Great God, Avenge 't, confound them; and restore
Me to my health, for Ile debord no more. (L3v)

Though triumphant, this celebration of his Protestant victory is tinged with a certain sadness and sense of regret. By 1640, he was a man in his early sixties with a lame arm and aching bones. In these lines, his assault on Catholicism lacks some of its old fire. There is a kind of renewed penitence in his voice, perhaps augmented by reflection on all that he has seen and experienced. This is certainly the case elsewhere in the poem:

Now having seene, rude Lybians, nak'd, and bare,
Sterne barbrous Arabs, savage Sabuncks od;
Sword-sweying Turkes, and faithlesse Jews elsewhere,
Base ruvid Berdoans, godlesse of a God:
Yet when from me, on them I cast mine eye,
My life I find, farre worse, then theirs can be.

The rustick Moorish, sterne promiscuous sexe,
Nor Garolines, idolatrizing shame;
The Turcomans, that even the Divel doe vex!
In offring up, their first-borne, to his name:
Nor Jamnites, with their foolish Garlick god,
Are worse then I, nor more deserve thy rod. (G2v-G3r)

After years of wandering, writing, and judging others by his severe standards, Lithgow finds himself admitting (as he did in the Malagan dungeon) his own sinfulness and unworthiness.[3] In an odd way, the lines from this poem are notable for the queer sense of tolerance they express -- if the heathen deserve a hard time from God, so does he. What inspires these last protestations of a vague universalism is difficult to say. Is it his stern Calvinist rearing that reminds him of his own sin? Is it a penitential reflection on the 'fictionality' involved in shaping and rewriting his final 'true relation'? Or is it his broad, hardening experiences and his observations of cruelty and brutality throughout the world that make him reflect on God's

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[3]His last observations, on the sieges at Breda (1637) and at Newcastle (1644 -- published in 1645), further augment this notion that mankind is in a state of growing decay.

rightful wrath? He does not tell us, rather he looks for last answers at the end of his life's journey:

> Nay we are pilgrimes here, tost to and fro,
> There's no place permanent, on earth below:
> Our dwelling is above, then let us goe
> To th'heavenly *Canaan*, where all joyes flow. (H4v)

Appendix A: Document concerning Lithgow's confinement in the Gate House Prison
SP Dom (16) 229/43[1]

The humble petition of Williame Lithgow, close prisoner, in the Gatehouse

To the Noble, and illustrious Lords of his Matis
most honorable privy Counsell

humbly showing your honours,

That whereas, I have had no conditionall satisfaction performed, for those greevous torments, I sustayned in Malaga, nether any restitution of my [things], there most unjustly detayned; tending to my finall overthrow and ruyne: And having in the late description of my forrane travelles onely succinctly [observed], the wofull memory of such desastruous accidents, I am this long tyme comitted close prisoner in the Gatehouse:[2] By the which solitary restrait (sic), I have contracted great sicknes, having bene dyverse tymes, in danger of my Lyf, and can have none to administer any releef for my perishing health, in regard of my strict imprisonment.[3] And although the printer,[4] in whom onely the reprehension was is long ago decarcerat, yet am

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[1]This document appears in the CSP calendar of miscellaneous documents for 1632. The petition, which seems to refer to Lithgow's imprisonment of 1623-24, is dated 1632 with a query mark, suggesting it may have been miscalendared. Lithgow had left England for Scotland by 1627, having dropped his petition for restitution before the House of Lords. He does not speak of returning to England until the 1630s.

[2]Lithgow was a prisoner in the Gatehouse prison from around February 1623 to January 1624. No record of a later imprisonment exists in the CSP Dom, SP Spain, or APC records. Likewise, there is no mention of Lithgow or Okes in T.G. Barnes, ed. List and Index to the Proceedings in Star Chamber for the Reign of James I, 1603-1625, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1975)

[3]The language used in his pleading nearly matches that of a bill authorising remuneration recorded by the Privy Council in June 1624 '...hee having suffered long imprisonmente and had a great fitt of sicknes by meanes whereof hee was growne verie poore....' APC (1623-1625), 4 June 1624, p. 229.

[4]The printer to whom Lithgow refers may be Nicholas Okes, who published the 1614, 1623 and 1632 editions of his works. Okes was called before the Stationers' Company in July 1620 and fined in June 1621 for the publication of Wither's Motto (1621) -- see P.W.M. Blayney, The Texts of King Lear and their Origins: Volume One: Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 299-300. Wither was in jail for his work at the time of Lithgow's first confinement.

Okes continued to live and work as a printer until the 1640s and seems to have stayed out of trouble. There is no other record of Lithgow being censured or imprisoned alone or in connection with Okes in the late 1620s or early 1630s. For that matter, neither is there any mention of Lithgow's 1623 or 1632 work in the Stationers' Company Register. (Arber, Greg, Jackson, and Blayney consulted.) Nor is there further information in R.B. McKerrow, et al, A

I retayned in severe punishment, notwithstanding my former grevances, and inhumane crueltyes receaved.[5]

In consideration whereof, I humbly beseech yor honours, to commiserat this my strict and miserable affiction(sic),[6] and the long by past continewancie thereof; and for whatsoever offence, in me may be reprehended, I humbly crave mercy and pardon for the same. Obsequiously imploring for your favourable and accustomed clemency, to grant me either my absolut enlargement, or otherwyse, that I presently may be released from my close imprisonment, and remane free prisoner, untill such tyme, that your honorable pleasures be further knowne. In the concession of which, I sincerely protest, never to meddle any more with the Spanyard, howsoever my Lamentable wrongs rest unrepayred.[7] And I shall dayly pray for yor honours preservation, in all happynes, and long health.

The humble petition of
Williame Lithgow
Traveller

Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640 (1910), p. 206.

[5]In June 1616, the Bishop of London ordered the Stationers' Company 'to take into their Custodie all those bookes which they shall finde of this Title imprinted vizt the Travelles of Lythgoe', W. Jackson, ed. Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602-1640 (London, 1957), p. 356. As noted in the introduction, it is unclear why the work was impounded. A proclamation against 'disorderly printing' of controversial works, renewed by the Stationer's Company in 1623, may have been cited by the authorities who imprisoned Lithgow and the printer he mentions. See W.W. Greg, ed. A Companion to Arber (Oxford, 1967).

[6]For remarks on conditions in the Gatehouse prison, see Wither's The Schollar's Purgatory (1624), pp. 3-4, noted on p. 27 above.

[7]C.E. Bosworth is the only modern critic who says that Lithgow was incarcerated in 1632. He seems to base his evidence on this lone document and notes the possibility that Lithgow's 1632 work interfered with current efforts at rapprochement with Spain. I have no found evidence to support Bosworth's contention that Lithgow was incarcerated in the 1630s -- except for the dating on this document. Likewise, there is no mention in Arber, Greg, Jackson, Blayney, the APC, or CSP Dom that Lithgow and/or Okes were imprisoned or censured consequent to the publication of the Totall Discourse in 1632. See C.E. Bosworth Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society 114 (1971-2), pp. 24-5.

Appendix B: Lithgow's poem to Eleanor

Over the course of his Malagan difficulties, Lithgow writes that his life was preserved by the kindnesses of Hazier, a Turkish slave, and 'one Ellinor the Cooke, an Indian[1] Negro woman', who brought him more food than the governor mandated. To the extra morsels of food and glasses of wine, Lithgow attributes his survival. His poem of thanks to Eleanor is one of his better attempts -- notable in particular for its Scottish proverb about the plough and his use of rare words such as 'ebber' and 'mutchkin'. The poem also stands as one of the earliest dedicated to an individual woman described as a 'Negro'.

Kind Ellenor though blacke by nature borne,
Made bounty (not her beauty) to adorne
Her new chang'd Pagan life (though vail'd by night
Of Romish shades) to shine on mee more bright,
Then Sun scorch'd Æthiope beames; Art-glancing spangles:
Or that Ægyptian Bird,[2] mans sight intangles
With rarest colours: for her loving sight
Though black as pitch, gave me transparent light:
Food, and stolne-food, though little, yet enough;
(The finer soile, the ebber tilles the Plough,[3])

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[1]Whether Lithgow's use of the term 'Indian' is supposed to denote either the West or East Indies is unclear. Although the traffic of slaves from the New World and the use of the word 'savage' suggests that Eleanor may have come from the colonies there, it is possible that she came from India, where the Spanish had well-established trading links (through Portuguese factors in Goa). Alternatively, the juxtaposition of the term 'negro' suggests she may have come from Africa -- this possibility is supported by references to Egypt and Ethiopia in the poem. Lithgow, usually seems careful about his attempts at denominating ethnic groups and defining locations, seems unlikely to have intentionally called anyone from Africa an Indian. Then again, the juxtaposition of 'indian' and 'negro' might also suggest that he did not clearly distinguish or could not remember where Eleanor came from when he wrote the poem, or perhaps, that he did not recognise the terms as distinguishing descriptions.

[2]'In all this way [to Alexandria] the greatest pleasure I had, was to behold the rare beauty of certaine Birds, called by the Turkes, Ellock [Turkish 'erkek' = cock = peacock or Guinea cock?]; whose feathers being beautified with the diversity of rarest colours, yeeld a farre off to the beholder a delectable shew: having also this propriety, the nearer a man approacheth them, the more they loose the beauty of their feathers by reason of the feare they conceive when they see a man.' (285)

[3]'Ebber' here means 'more shallow', or 'more easily'.

Second with Wine, a mutchkin,[4] thrice a weeke
Pack'd in her pocket, for it might not speeke:
Thus Females have extreames, and two we see,
Eyther too wicked, or too good they be;
For being good no Creature can excell them,
And being bad, no ill can paralell (sic) them:
But sure this gift, from course of nature came,
Rais'd up by Heaven to be my nursing Dame;
For she a Savage bred, yet shew more Love
And humane pitty, then desert could moove:
Wherein shee stain'd the Spaniards; they did nought
But what revenge, on slaughter'd sorrow wrought:
Thus, they who turn'd her, went themselves astray,
And shee though ignorant, trac'd the Christian way:
For which great God reward her make her Soule
As white within, as she without is foule;
And if I might, as reason knowes I would
Her love, and praise, my deeds should crowne with gold.

[4]According to the OED, a 'mutchkin' denotes the fourth part of the old Scots pint.

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