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A Ship of Shadows

Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England

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Declaration

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and to the best of my knowledge and belief it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.

Should this thesis fulfill the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy I consent to it being made available for photocopying and loan.

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Abstract

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many thousands of Englishmen embarked on the tour of Europe in order to complete their education and add a final gloss of sophistication to their manners. Despite the popularity of the practice, educational travel attracted a great deal of public comment and criticism. Various images of the educational traveller, all essentially negative, became extremely popular in early modern England. Rather than a study of English travellers abroad, my thesis examines these public images of educational travellers, their development and popularity, and the fears and prejudices within English society that engendered and sustained them.

The first part of the thesis consists of three chapters. In the first chapter I review the traditions of English travel abroad and criticisms of these travellers before the mid-sixteenth century. In the second chapter I summarize the arguments in favour of educational travel, present a summary of Roger Ascham's arguments against Italian travel in *The Scholemaster* (which I argue stimulated the development of negative images of the educational traveller in early modern England), and also present a brief analysis of the images of educational travellers that emerged after Ascham's attack and of the material that promoted them. The success of these images often relied on the supposition that the Englishman abroad was particularly vulnerable to corruption, and in the third chapter I examine the two major reasons suggested for this vulnerability - the traveller's youth and a peculiar flaw in the Englishman's character that predisposed him towards corruption.

In the second part of the thesis I examine the seven major images of the educational traveller. The wicked and often Machiavellian Italianate, the atheistical traveller, the Catholic traveller, the morally corrupt traveller, the cultural renegade, the fool and the

traveller-liar. These images usually had little basis in fact. Few travellers returned home so corrupted that they threatened to disrupt society and state. The popularity of these images generally relied on traditional fears and prejudices within English society about the corrupt nature of European nationalities, and a growing anxiety about the integrity of England's traditional heritage amid growing contact with European cultures and societies.

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Over the past four years I have benefited from the assistance, advice and support of many people. My supervisor, Dr. A. Lynn Martin, spent many hours reading successive drafts of this thesis and his advice and support have been invaluable and always appreciated. Successive Chairmen of the Department of History provided me with office space and the use of many facilities for which I am very grateful. During the early days of my research Dr. Edward Chaney offered welcome encouragement and generously showed me a draft of his paper "Quo Vadis? Travel as Education and the Impact of Italy in the Sixteenth Century." Michael Richards, Exhibition Curator at the Australian National Library, unwittingly suggested the approach to this thesis when he casually mentioned the usefulness of studying past societies through the images they leave behind them. Dr. Wilfred Prest and Dr. D. R. Hainsworth have been extremely supportive and both organized the acquisition of materials I needed to complete this project. Dr. Prest read an early draft of this thesis and kindly showed me the location of the woods when I was lost among the trees; his comments were very welcome. To Dr. Hainsworth I owe especial thanks for his unfailing good cheer, optimism and, most practically, his organization of employment during the past two years. Patricia Scott and Margaret Hosking, history librarians in the Barr Smith Library, have been extremely patient and helpful, as have the staff of the History Office, Bev Arnold, Marion Pearce, Ros Mitchell and Marilyn Denholm. To my postgraduate colleagues working in the field of early modern English history I owe a debt that cannot easily be acknowledged. Christine Churches, James Galloway and Danielle James offered advice and pointed me towards many materials I would otherwise have missed. They gave me three enjoyable years filled with coffee, chocolate and cynicism; their friendship and support helped me immeasurably.

To Snow, who dreams, everything.

Illustrations

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The Picture of an English Antick.
[8 November] 1646, Thomason Tracts 669.f.10. (99).

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Abbreviations

APC	*Acts of the Privy Council of England.*
Altham	Letters contained in the typescript of the Altham Collection by Mary Elizabeth Bohannon in the Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cornell University Libraries, Ithaca, New York, Papers #2424. For letter references I use Bohannon's citation for each letter.
CSPD	Calender State Papers, Domestic.
CSPF	Calender State Papers, Foreign.
DNB	*The Dictionary of National Biography.*
HMC	Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.
Harleian	Harleian Manuscript Collection in the British Library.
Lansdowne	Lansdowne Manuscript Collection in the British Library.
Lowther	Lowther Letters in the Cumbria County Record Office, Carlisle.
PRO SP	State Papers in the Public Record Office, England.
Rawlinson	Rawlinson Manuscript Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Seymour	Seymour Papers, in the collection of the Marquis of Bath, Longleat House, Bath.
SP Ven.	*Calender of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Venice.*
STC	STC number in A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, eds., *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland ... 1475-1640* (London, second edition, 1976-1986); Donald Wing, *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Wales, and British America ... 1641-1700* (New York, 1945-1951).
Tanner	Tanner Manuscript Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Conventions

In quoting material from early modern sources I have expanded all abbreviations but have otherwise left the original spelling, capitalization and punctuation intact.

I have standardized all dating so that the year starts from 1 January.

Manuscript references are identified by name of collection, volume number and folio (if the document is identified by an item number rather than a folio number then I will indicate this). I identify the State Papers by monarch (for example papers from the reign of Elizabeth are numbered 12, papers from the reign of James I are numbered 14 and so forth), followed by volume and folio number.

In citing the date of the first known production of plays I use the dates listed by Alfred Harbage, *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700*, revised by Samuel Schoenbaum and Sylvia Stoller Wagonheim (London, third edition, 1989).

All authors of early modern printed material are those attributed by Pollard, Redgrave and Wing.

Introduction

Trauailes the bad of all bads, badly vsed
Twill in a moment ruing man and state
And proue of all pathes most vnfortunate ....
Tis not each Boor can trauaile to auaile.[1]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many thousands of Englishmen travelled abroad in order to learn foreign languages and to observe the cultures, manners and societies of foreign nations. Travel abroad as part of the educational process, or educational travel, became an established and popular practice among English gentlemen. Yet the perception of educational travel as, in the words of Baptist Goodall, the "bad of all bads," an activity with the potential to ruin both man and state, sits oddly with the ideals of travel abroad and with the enthusiasm exhibited by the large numbers of Englishmen who toured the Continent. Despite the well-publicized benefits and the obvious popularity of educational travel, a wide variety of printed material and popular entertainments presented particularly negative stereotypes or images of the educational traveller to the English public. Various popular images of the educational traveller, ranging from the wicked Italianate to the foolish fop, fostered the extensive and often negative public comment about educational travel. Detractors of educational travel, convinced of the extraordinary dangers English travellers faced abroad, completely denied the usefulness of sending young men to tour the Continent to complete their education. They promoted images of Englishmen so corrupted by their travel abroad that they returned home to embarrass their families, disrupt their local communities and destabilize their state. Despite the threatening scenarios described by some critics, wide-spread evil or sinister behaviour by English travellers did not precipitate the emergence nor support

[1]Baptist Goodall, *The Tryall of Travell* (London, 1630), folio G verso.

the subsequent popularity of these negative images. The images of the educational traveller in early modern England were primarily shadows cast by preconceived fears and prejudices within English society about the corrupt nature of European nationalities and the vulnerability of Englishmen and English society and culture amid sustained contact with European societies. Rather than a study of English travellers abroad or the early modern debate over travel as education, this thesis examines the public images of the educational traveller, their development and popularity, and the anxieties and prejudices within English society that engendered and sustained them.

Although travel for educational purposes rapidly gained popularity among Englishmen from the mid-sixteenth century, English men and women had a long tradition of travelling abroad. Before the sixteenth century English men and women demonstrated their passion for travelling abroad by embarking in large numbers each year on pilgrimages to the sacred sites of Europe and the Holy Land. After the Reformation Englishmen transferred their enthusiasm for travelling abroad from the institution of pilgrimage to the institution of educational travel. Perhaps, as Walter Houghton observed, the seventeenth-century Protestant Englishman, unable to continue the popular medieval worship of images abroad, transferred his worship to classical relics.[2] Indeed, at least one traveller, Thomas Coryate, numbered among the delights of travel pilgrimage to the ruined houses of Cicero and Virgil as well as the monuments and tombs of early Christian saints.[3] Educational travel encompassed a number of aims and ideals. Travelling abroad enabled the Englishman to study the political, social and cultural institutions of other nations, knowledge he was unable to learn properly within England. Time spent among other nationalities enabled him either to learn foreign languages or perfect their pronunciation, essential if he wished to obtain employment in the bureaucratic or diplomatic service or simply take his place as a sophisticated gentleman within upper class society. A tour

[2]Walter E. Houghton, Jr., "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century (II)," *Journal of the History if Ideas*, III (1942), pp. 190-219, specifically p. 192.

[3]Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), introduction by William M. Schutte (London, 1978), epistle to the reader, folio b3.

abroad would also ideally mature a young Englishman, polish his manners and demeanor, and create a more worldly and civil gentleman who could fully participate in public and private life on his return. Sixteenth-and seventeenth-century educational travel was a far more flexible practice both in concept and in execution than the rather more rigidly defined Grand Tour of the eighteenth century. A tour abroad might encompass time spent in a diplomatic entourage, fighting with an English or foreign military unit, a visit for health purposes to one of the renowned European mineral springs or even freelance intelligence work for the Privy Council. Englishmen often combined educational travel with their duties as merchants, businessmen, servants, soldiers, diplomats, spies or time spent as exiles.

Englishmen of all degrees took advantage of this post-Reformation excuse to travel abroad and see the world; educational travel was not an exclusive pastime of the sons of gentlemen, gentry or nobles. Practically any Englishman who aspired to some social and educational prestige and who could afford the time and relative expense of a tour abroad often took the opportunity to do so. Although many authors of conduct manuals on travel addressed themselves almost exclusively to the sons of gentlemen, others included advice for a far wider section of society. Sir John Melton offered advice to jewellers and physicians as well as "young vntamed Gentlemen" and "Schollers pregnant" in his essay on travellers in *A Sixe-Folde Politician* published in 1609.[4] When Sir Thomas Palmer noted in 1606 that the duty of every traveller was to educate himself for his own benefit and that of his country, he did not confine his comments to the sons of gentlemen and nobles. Palmer's advice also encompassed "Intelligencers" (men sent abroad on state business), merchants, craftsmen, divines, soldiers, lawyers and physicians.[5] Books of advice for craftsmen, merchants and the professions also included advice for educational

[4][Sir John Melton], *A Sixe-Folde Politician* (London, 1609), p. 47.

[5]Sir Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606), pp. 1-34.

travel abroad that mirrored advice written for more gentlemanly educational travellers.[6] Although the most typical educational traveller laid claims to at least gentle status, many others came from humble origins. The great body of English educational travellers abroad during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included soldiers, craftsmen and yeomen as well as more gently-bred tourists.

As educational travel was not confined to Englishmen of gentle status neither was the enthusiasm for educational travel or widespread criticism of the practice confined to England. Indeed, as in so many other aspects of cultural and intellectual life, England lagged behind continental European trends. Many European nationalities enjoyed travelling about the Continent for educational purposes. Malcolm Letts noted earlier this century that the habit of foreign travel developed earlier in Germany than anywhere else, a trend that culminated in a genuine mania for travel among Germans. Letts also observed that this love of travel attracted criticism from some quarters within Germany.[7] Some of the first essays of advice for travellers to appear in England were German imports, a fact that reflects the early development of German educational travel and subsequent German criticism of the practice. Jerome Turler, Justus Lipsius and Albert Meier all had their precepts and arguments translated into English during the late sixteenth century, and Thomas Coryate included Hermann Kirchner's essay on travel in his *Coryats Crudities* of 1611.[8] Although other European countries debated the merits of educational travel, the debate in England occurred almost entirely within an English context, and for the greater part peculiarly English anxieties and prejudices inspired the images of the English

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[6]Henry Bullinger, *The Christen State of Matrimonye*, Myles Coverdale, trans. (1541), provided advice for craftsmen, folio K verso; John Browne provided advice for young merchants in *The Merchants Avizo* (London, 1607), pp. 3 and 5; and John Cotta gave physicians advice on how to travel abroad in *A Short Discouerie of the Vnobserved Dangers of seuerall sorts of ignorant and vnconsiderate Practisers of Physicke in England* (London, 1612), pp. 111-114. All three sets of advice were virtually the same as those given to more gentlemanly travellers.

[7]Malcolm Letts, "Some Sixteenth-century Travellers in Naples," *English Historical Review*, XXXIII (1918), pp. 176-196, specifically p. 180 and 180n.

[8]Jerome Turler, *The Traveiler of Ierome Turler* (London, 1575); Albert Meier, *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions*, Philip Jones, trans. (London, 1589); Sir John Stradling, *A Direction for Trauailers* (London, 1592); and Coryate, *Coryats Crudities*. Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London, 1914), pp. 23-29, discussed the appearance of German manuals on travel in England.

educational traveller. The works of Turler, Meier and Kirchner did not reflect or significantly affect the popular images of educational travellers in England, and their arguments for educational travel appear out of place in the English debate. Stradling's translation of Lipsius had far more relevance to the English debate and imagery of educational travel, but this was almost entirely due to the fact that, as Clare Howard remarked, Stradling added so much of his own material that it was virtually his own work.[9]

During the early to mid-sixteenth century educational travel attracted almost no negative public comment in England. Enthusiasts promoted travel abroad as the best means for young Englishmen to gain experience and knowledge of the world in order that they might become complete gentlemen and profitable members of their commonwealth. At its most idealistic, therefore, educational travel not only profited the individual, but it also profited the state. As the enthusiasm and the number of travellers grew during the second half of the sixteenth century, however, educational travel began to attract growing and often virulent criticism. Critics claimed that Englishmen returned home corrupt shadows of their former selves, their spiritual, political, moral and cultural integrities ruined through sustained contact with European nationalities and societies. From the late sixteenth century the critics and the apologists of educational travel participated in an extended public debate over the relative dangers and merits of the practice. Many critics completely denied the usefulness of educational travel; too many Englishmen returned corrupted, they argued, to permit the practice to continue. Rather than totally dismiss the dangers promoted by the critics of educational travel, apologists, educationalists and travellers all preferred to believe that the benefits of educational travel outweighed the possible dangers to the young gentleman's integrity. Often their arguments appeared lost amid the extensive criticism and negative imagery of the educational traveller.

[9]Howard, pp. 26-27.

Nevertheless, neither criticism nor negative images stopped hundreds of Englishmen travelling abroad each year.

Many modern authors present summaries both of the enthusiasm for and of the criticism of travel as education in their editions of travellers' diaries or their monographs, essays and articles on educational travel and travellers. Studies of education in early modern England often include a brief discussion of educational travel and its ideals and criticisms. Ruth Kelso and Joan Simon, among many others, include brief discussions of the place of educational travel within English education.[10] George Parks and George Brauer have both dealt with the subject in more detail. In "Travel as Education" Parks detailed the development of the ideals, attitudes and actions of educational travellers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[11] In 1959 Brauer produced a detailed discussion of educational travel during the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century in *The Education of a Gentleman.*[12] Clare Howard included a useful bibliography in his *English Travellers of the Renaissance*, which is essentially a literary survey of the ideals of, and debate over, educational travel in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. Lewis Einstein in *The Italian Renaissance in England* also produced an adequate summary of the ideals of educational travel and of the reactions of travellers.[13] Modern editors of early modern literature sometimes include summaries of contemporary opinions of travellers (among the other issues addressed by the authors they edit). Both Maximilian Graff Walten, editor of Thomas Fuller's *The Holy State and the Profane State*, and Melvin Wolf, editor of Barnaby Rich's *Favltes Favlts, And nothing else but Favltes*, summarize criticisms and images of travellers in literature and drama.[14] Other scholars

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[10]Ruth Kelso, *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century* (Gloucester, Mass., 1964), pp. 142-146; Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 346-348.

[11]George B. Parks, "Travel as Education," in Richard Foster Jones, ed., *The Seventeenth Century* (Stanford, 1965), pp. 264-290.

[12]George Brauer, *The Education of a Gentleman* (New York, 1959), pp. 156-194.

[13]Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902), Chapter III, "The Traveller," pp. 115-154.

[14]Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State and the Profane State*, Maximilian Graff Walten, ed. (New York, 1966), I, pp. 166-168, for Walten's commentary; Barnaby Rich, *Faultes Faults, And nothing else but Faultes*, Melvin H. Wolf, ed. (Gainesville, 1965), pp. 70-75, for Wolf's commentary.

address particular issues and criticisms. In *The Crescent and the Rose* Samuel Chew investigates the phenomenon of traveller-liars, as did Malcolm Letts in "Of Lying Travellers."[15] Both Lewis Einstein and George Parks examined the English reaction against Italianism in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England and its relation to educational travel.[16] In *A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama* Richard Lindabury analyzed the reaction in Elizabethan drama against foreign cultural influences within English society, particularly those influences brought home by travellers.[17]

The works on educational travel and travellers are many; works that discuss the images of the educational traveller far less. Jonathan Haynes commented recently that scholars have written enough, perhaps too much, about the Renaissance love of travel, what is needed is a study of the anxieties about it.[18] No scholar to date has produced a detailed study of the anxieties about educational travel or the images of the educational traveller in early modern England, the forces that produced and sustained them, or the extraordinary range of sources that promoted them. The debate over educational travel and the images of the traveller reveal issues and anxieties that often go far beyond the question of whether or not young men should travel abroad in order to complete their education. For many commentators and critics the practice of educational travel represented the increasing contact between English society and corrupt European societies; many of these men expressed deep concern about the ultimate survival of English society in a rapidly changing world. Elizabethan paranoia about the necessity for conformity of social thought and action in order for the continued stability of state and society presupposed some of the images of the traveller popular in the late sixteenth

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[15]Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose* (New York, 1965), Chapter I, "Tales and Tale-Bearers"; Malcolm Letts, "Of Lying Travellers," *Contemporary Review*, CXVI (1920), pp. 95-100.

[16]Einstein, Chapter IV, "The Italian Danger," pp. 155-175; George B. Parks, "The Decline and Fall of the English Renaissance Admiration of Italy," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXXI (1968), pp. 341-357, and "The First Italianate Englishman," *Studies in the Renaissance*, VIII (1961), pp. 197-216. See also John Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy* (Ithaca, New York, 1964), for the English reaction to Italianism.

[17]Richard Lindabury, *A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama* (Princeton, 1931), especially Chapter VII, "The Alien Invasion," pp. 105-119.

[18]Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveler* (London, 1986), p. 33.

century. Images like the wicked, ambitious and scheming Italianated traveller and the unprincipled atheistical traveller owed much of their strength to anxiety about the continued well-being of the political and spiritual state of England. The preoccupation among civil authorities that travellers might reconcile themselves to the Catholic Church similarly reflected their anxiety about the stability of the state. The image of the cultural renegade, the traveller who despised and derided his native heritage, formed a significant part of a growing concern about the cultural integrity of England. This image quite clearly demonstrates a strong sense of nascent nationalism among a growing band of educated Englishmen who believed European cultures were eroding England's native heritage. The educational traveller represented the Englishman removed from the safety of his own society and exposed to the corruptions of foreign societies. For many authors the traveller's vulnerability to corruption appeared to symbolize the vulnerability of England's traditional social and cultural institutions to invasive foreign influences.

There are seven easily identifiable images of the educational traveller. Characterizations of the Italianated, atheistical, Catholic, morally corrupt, culturally alienated, foolish and lying travellers all permeated throughout English society by many forms of the printed and spoken word.[19] The sources available to study these images include pamphlets, ballads, jest and character books, broadsheets, popular drama and entertainments, moral treatises, sermons, newsletters, widely-circulated manuscript letters of advice and government publications. Despite the variety of vehicles any given image of the traveller remained remarkably similar across this broad spectrum of material.[20] I use all these forms of public expression to trace the emergence and subsequent development of images of the educational traveller. Sometimes a particular category of literature appeared to affect the content of another. Authors of conduct literature, both

[19]Although these seven images formed distinct characters, they sometimes overlapped and blended. Heavily satirical sketches, like the characterization of the traveller in *The Overburian Characters* (1614) contained components of many images; [Sir Thomas Overbury?], *The Overburian Characters* (1614), W. J. Paylor, ed. (Oxford, 1936), pp. 11-12.

[20]The one exception was the image of the traveller corrupted by Catholicism, an image that was largely confined to expressions of official concern and some conduct literature.

critics and apologists, sometimes reacted to the images of the traveller promoted by popular literature and drama; the images of the fool and the liar, for instance, only appeared in conduct literature after decades of promotion in popular literature and drama. All mediums of printed material widely promoted the issue of educational travel and the image of the educational traveller throughout English society. It is not surprising therefore, given this publicity and the numbers of Englishmen participating in the tour, to find a significant amount of commentary on educational travel in private letters and memorials. Modern editions of travellers' diaries and correspondence add to the material available in manuscript form. By using private correspondence and memorials I attempt to evaluate the impact these public images had on private opinion. Some images made a greater impact on individuals than others. The prospect that their sons might return home morally corrupted or ridiculously affected appeared to concern parents more than the prospect of them returning Italianated, culturally alienated or converts to the Catholic faith. The evaluation of private opinion is, however, often hampered by the natural tendency for parents to confide their anxieties personally to their sons rather than set them down on paper. Despite this restriction, the sources available for studying educational travel, the travel debate and the images of the traveller are very rich. The figure of the traveller was one of the most popular characters in early modern English literature; it attracted criticism and commentary from almost every quarter of English society.

This dissertation divides into two parts. Part I provides the background to the examination of the images of the traveller in Part II. Some of the criticisms and images of medieval travellers, especially pilgrims, anticipated the early modern images of educational travellers. The image of the traveller-liar, for instance, was an early modern revival of the medieval image of the pilgrim-liar. Travel abroad for educational purposes was a well established tradition for medieval English scholars, but during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the revival in classical learning and the influence of civic humanism resulted in a redefinition of and a new enthusiasm for educational travel.

Educational travel became increasingly popular during the first half of the sixteenth century as educationalists praised travel as a practice that produced a man perfected by his experience of the world into a profitable member of his commonwealth. Yet after 1570 educational travel suffered from increasingly virulent public criticism. Before this date educational travel had enjoyed a reasonably favourable press, after 1570 the positive image of the traveller deteriorated as negative images gained popularity. Roger Ascham's bitter attack on Italian travel in *The Scholemaster* published during 1570 was largely responsible for this sudden deterioration of the traveller's public image. Ascham's powerful imagery of the wicked and often Machiavellian Italianated traveller had a profound influence on subsequent imagery of the educational traveller during the late sixteenth century. The Italianate proved an extraordinarily popular and threatening image, and Ascham's attack on Italian travel inaugurated the English concern and criticism of educational travel that lasted throughout the early modern period. After 1570 it is virtually impossible to find unequivocally positive public statements about educational travel;[21] negative imagery had too strong a grip on public perceptions of the traveller. There were two principal reasons the English public appeared so willing to believe travellers faced inevitable corruption abroad. Educationalists, moralists and parents all worried that the traveller's youth and inexperience might predispose him to corruption. While concern about the youth of travellers appears natural, a far more curious anxiety also emerged that supposed Englishmen were particularly vulnerable to corruption because they were irresistibly drawn to novelties, whether moral, cultural or spiritual. The traveller's youth and his fascination with novelties figured prominently in many of the images of the educational traveller.

In Part II I examine the images of the educational traveller. After the extremely negative and influential image of the wicked Italianate appeared in 1570, the images of the atheistical traveller, the Catholic traveller, the morally corrupted traveller, the cultural

[21] Chew, p. 29, also notes this phenomenon.

renegade, the fool and the liar all emerged and most enjoyed considerable popularity. The popularity of these negative images of the traveller rested more on established fears and prejudices within English society than on the actual arrival home of large numbers of corrupted travellers intent on disrupting English society. Roger Ascham, for instance, composed his Italianate from fears and images already present within English society. Anxieties about the policies of Machiavelli and prejudices about the immoral, vicious and sinister nature of Italian society heavily influenced his diatribe. By channelling these established anxieties and prejudices into a single threatening image Ascham created a character that Elizabethans readily accepted. The success of the image of the atheistical traveller also rested on established, if not widespread, anxiety. During the second half of the sixteenth century many educated Englishmen worried that the presence of atheism within England would lead to social chaos. Their concern not only influenced Ascham to connect atheism with the Italianate, but it also helped to promote the image of the atheistical traveller after 1570. Although the theoretical danger of atheism caused ecclesiastical and government officials some anxiety, the concern that Catholicism posed a major danger to England predominated within official circles. Fear that subversive Catholics, supported by foreign powers, plotted to restore Catholic domination to England stimulated the Tudor and early Stuart official anxiety that English Protestants might reconcile themselves to the Catholic Church while abroad. While the images of the morally corrupt traveller, the traveller who abandoned his English identity, the foolish traveller and the travel-liar all had foundations that pre-dated 1570, the climate of criticism and the negative imagery of the educational traveller stimulated by Ascham's *Scholemaster* created an environment that fostered their rapid establishment as popular stereotypes of travellers. Although the image of the morally corrupt traveller had strong medieval precedents, the popular success of Ascham's immoral Italianate catapulted it into the public spotlight. The genuinely bad behaviour of some travellers, preconceived ideas about the lascivious courtesans of France and Italy and the immorality of European

society in general as well as the perpetual anxiety of parents about the hot blood of youths far removed from the restraint of their home community encouraged the popularity of the morally corrupt traveller. The image of the cultural renegade fed off the rising concern among many educated Englishmen that European cultures threatened to destroy England's traditional heritage. Much of their attention and criticism focused on Englishmen who travelled abroad to imbibe the cultural sophistication of more 'civilized' European nations. Criticism of the foolish traveller formed part of the general criticism of the affected gallant within English society. The popularity of the character of the foolish traveller and the revived medieval image of the traveller-liar benefited from the fact that, by the seventeenth century, travellers were established figures of derision and ridicule in the public arena.

The extensively promoted negative images of educational travellers did not stop many thousands of Englishmen participating in the tour. The majority of Englishmen abroad travelled with little blame; many grew in wisdom and experience and returned home mature and confident gentlemen who subsequently profited both local community and state. Others were not so discriminating. Some young men, released from the restraint of parents and schoolmasters, freely indulged in pleasures and activities that alienated them from the more conservative members of English society. It only required the corruption of a few travellers to fuel the negative images of educational travellers. Nevertheless, the criticisms and negative images of educational travel did not rely on the behaviour of this relatively small percentage of English travellers. At its most basic level, the anxiety about educational travel represented the fear that Englishmen and English society could not survive sustained contact with European societies. English society was traditionally xenophobic and insular.[22] Criticism of educational travel often represented the worst of this xenophobia and insularity and revealed a deep sense of vulnerability. Many Englishmen believed that European society harboured profound corruptions that

[22]Zera Fink's analysis of anti-foreign sentiment in Tudor and early Stuart England clearly demonstrates the xenophobic and insular nature of English society; "Anti-Foreign Sentiment in Tudor and Early Stuart Literature," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1931, especially Chapter I, "The Development of Anti-Foreign Sentiment in England," pp. 1-26.

would inevitably corrupt the naive and impressionable English traveller. On his return the corrupted traveller subsequently posed a grave threat to the stability of English society and that society's traditional heritage. The concept of educational travel as a carefree activity that gave the young gentleman one or two years of pleasure and enjoyment before he shouldered his responsibilities as a fully-fledged member of the commonwealth of England did not exist in early modern England. Instead, as Baptist Goodall put it in 1630, most commentators perceived educational travel as a serious and often dangerous undertaking that, if misused by impressionable, naive or irresponsible "boors," could well prove of all paths the most unfortunate for the future welfare of both man and state.

PART ONE

THE BACKGROUND

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I

Pilgrims, Students and Gentlemen: Traditions of Travel before 1570

> By frequent journeyings, thine shall be joys most rare.
> Far through strange realms and courts thus shalt thou fare.
> All kingly policies shalt thou learn there.[1]

Many precedents existed in medieval England for both the early modern enthusiasm for educational travel and the subsequent criticism of the practice. Despite the hardships and dangers of traversing the Channel and travelling on the Continent, hundreds of English men and women journeyed abroad in medieval Europe each year. This vigorous tradition prompted one chronicler to comment on the English people's love of travel and the number of them abroad; "the peple of that londe is dispersede a brode thro alle the worlde, trawenge alle the worlde to be a cuntre to theyme."[2] Apart from diplomatic, merchant and military traffic, medieval Englishmen travelled abroad as pilgrims, knights and scholars. Pilgrimage provided many men and women with the excuse to indulge their curiosity about the world beyond England, nobles journeyed to the tournaments in France, and large numbers of scholars travelled to the universities on the Continent. Travel for educational purposes was a well established practice for educated medieval Englishmen, but these scholars were not the direct predecessors of early modern educational travellers. By the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries political conditions and the changing emphasis of education for the

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[1]Cited in Edith Rickert, *Chaucer's World* (New York, [1937] 1962), p. 277, late fourteenth century.

[2]Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, Churchill Babington, ed. (London, 1865-1886), II, p. 169, the text of the anonymous fifteenth-century translator. Originally written in Latin.

gentleman stimulated by the civic humanism of the Renaissance united to create a new type of educational traveller, a man who travelled not only for scholarly accomplishment but also to study the world about him to fit himself for service to state and prince. This traveller was the direct predecessor of the educational traveller of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of these medieval and early Tudor travellers attracted public criticism, and some of the criticisms and images of pilgrims and, to a lesser degree, medieval scholars, re-emerged in the public comment over educational travel in early modern England.

Pilgrimage is a good example of a practice that, although dangerous and costly, attracted large numbers of English men and women, noble and ordinary, throughout medieval English history. The English passion for pilgrimage began early. In his *History of the English Church and People* Bede wrote that by the late seventh century "many English people vied with one another in [making a pilgrimage to the holy sites abroad], both noble and simple, layfolk and clergy, men and women alike."[3] The three most popular destinations for English pilgrims, as they were for European pilgrims generally, were Jerusalem, Rome and St. James of Compostela in Spain.[4] The Holy Land remained the most desired destination for pilgrims, but wars, cost and the sheer difficulty of the journey meant that Rome and St. James attracted more pilgrims throughout the centuries. Both G. B. Parks and John Allen have estimated the number of English pilgrims to Rome during the fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries. Their research indicates that between 75 and 200 English men and women journeyed to Rome in an ordinary year and as many as 800 in a Jubilee year.[5] The

[3]Bede, *A History of the English Church and People,* Leo Sherley-Price, trans. (Harmondsworth, 1968), pp. 280-281. Written during the eighth century.

[4]See Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage, An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London, 1975); G. B. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy* (Rome, 1954), I; and *The English Hospice in Rome*, XXI (May 1962), for some descriptions of medieval pilgrims and their journeys.

[5]Parks, pp. 356-357 and 373-374; John Allen, "Englishmen in Rome and the Hospice 1362-1474," *The English Hospice in Rome*, p. 58.

records of the English Hospice in Rome reveal that many of these pilgrims, as Bede indicated, were of very ordinary status: tilers, cobblers, weavers, brewers, tanners and "rustics."[6] Rome was not the only popular destination for English pilgrims. By the fifteenth century large numbers of English men and women undertook the pilgrimage to St. James of Compostela in Spain. Records for 1434 show that the English authorities licensed pilgrim ships to carry over 2,600 pilgrims towards St. James.[7] For a country of three million people or less before the sixteenth century,[8] these figures indicate that remarkable numbers of English men and women undertook a pilgrimage abroad. Many of these pilgrims found the journey itself as satisfying as the eventual destination. While journeying towards their main goal, most pilgrims took the opportunity to worship at the numerous shrines along the major pilgrimage routes. On the journey to Rome pilgrims satisfied both spiritual needs and worldly curiosities alike by pausing to pray before the hand of a miraculous virgin at Boulogne or before the head of St. John the Baptist at Amiens, or perhaps at the shrine of Our Lady of Rocamador in Guyenne, or before any one of the numerous holy places along the route. Such diversions not only satisfied pilgrims' worldly and spiritual curiosities, but they also provided them with ample material for exciting tales to tell their family and friends once home.

Church authorities continually taught that the object of pilgrimage could never be anything but spiritual salvation. Officially pilgrimage was an act of penance or thanksgiving. In the fifteenth century the English pilgrim William Wey listed ten justifiable reasons for embarking on a pilgrimage; these included the "virtue derived from the places visited, the indulgences granted for pious visits to great shrines, and

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[6]Taken from the lists of those staying at the Hospice during the period May 1479 - May 1484, and November 1504 - May 1507, printed in *The English Hospice in Rome*, pp. 109-141.

[7]*Foedera*, Thomas Rymer, ed. (reprint of the 1741 edition, Farborough, 1967), V, pp. 2-14.

[8]See John A. F. Thomson, *The Transformation of Medieval England, 1370-1529* (London, [1983] 1989), Chapter I, "The Population of England," pp. 9-16, particularly p. 11.

the moral value of the sight of holy places and relics seen *en route*."[9] In keeping with these values Sir Robert Knolles obtained a licence to travel to Rome in 1389 for "the quieting of his conscience and the salvation of his soul."[10] At its most spiritually idealistic, a literal pilgrimage mirrored man's lifelong spiritual pilgrimage towards grace and salvation. Although the prime motivation for many pilgrims was spiritual, less worthy motives also set some pilgrims on their paths - curiosity about the world beyond England, a desire to escape the routine of their lives, or by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries merely a desire to take part in a pleasant social round. A pilgrimage abroad provided for the majority of participants a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for adventure in both ecclesiastical and worldly senses. Yet as man found his spiritual pilgrimage fraught with earthly temptations, so he found actual pilgrimage fraught with worldly pleasures and distractions.

As the practice of pilgrimage became increasingly popular across Europe after the eleventh century it attracted criticism as a practice that men and women corrupted with material or worldly desires. Some critics went so far as to imply that it was not the spiritual goals of pilgrimage that drew so many pilgrims on the road, but the temptations and distractions that a pilgrimage abroad offered. Criticism of the moral degeneration of English pilgrims abroad appeared as soon as large numbers of English men and women began to travel towards Rome. In 747 St. Boniface urged the English Church to,

> forbid to matrons and veiled women the journey to Rome and the frequent halts which they make on the way thither and on the return. For the most part, they perish, few remaining pure. There are few cities in Lombardy or in France or in Gaul in which there is not an adulteress or a harlot of English race: which is a scandal and disgrace to your whole church.[11]

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[9]Cited in M. J. Barber, "The Englishman Abroad in the Fifteenth Century," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, XI (1957), pp. 69-77, quote cited on p. 74.

[10]18 August 1389, *Calender of Patent Rolls, Richard II*, IV (London, 1902), p. 94.

[11]Cited in Parks, p. 30.

Religious reformers not only criticized pilgrimage as an excuse for the worship of images and for the Church's practice of selling indulgences, many believed the final result of pilgrimage was only a journey towards laziness, vanity and idle living and the moral corruption of its participants. Some of the most vehement critics of pilgrimage in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were the English Lollards, who particularly criticized the practice of pilgrimage for the moral corruptions of its participants.[12] John Wyclif believed men and women should travel separately on their pilgrimages, for to travel in company was only to indulge in lechery.[13] An early fifteenth-century manuscript, clearly Lollard invective, denounced pilgrimage because of the sexual depravity among pilgrims:

> for comunely ... pilgrimagis ben mayntenyng of lecherie, of gloterie, of drunkenesse, of extorsiouns, of wrongis, and worldly vanytes. For men [th]at may not haunt hore leccherie at home as [th]ei wolden, for drede of lordis, of maystris, and for clamour of neȝeboris, [th]ei ... go out of [th]e cuntrey in pilgrimage to fer ymagis, and lyuen in [th]e goinge in leccherye, in gloterie, in drunkenesse.[14]

Furthermore, the author complained, some men travelled abroad from a "grett wille ... to se faire cuntreys" rather than from devotion to God or his saints.[15]

Curiosity in the world, men's great wish to see far (or fair) countries rather than devotion to a saint, was another major criticism of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage 'accounts' like Sir John Mandeville's mythical *Travels* only served to whet the curiosity of would-be pilgrims, and even genuine itineraries sometimes appeared to encourage curiosity; a late fifteenth-century itinerary ended with the exhortation, "the further ye go, the more ye shall se and knowe."[16] The journey itself, not the devotional goal, became the object, and one of the general criticisms of pilgrimage was that it was

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[12]Although, as Christian K. Zacher notes, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage* (Baltimore, 1976), pp. 56-57, they objected to pilgrimage on many grounds: because it condoned the belief that Christ was more accessible in some places than others, it was spiritually redundant (since pilgrims began their journey cleansed by confession), and it encouraged men to pray to an assortment of statues, not directly to God or the saints.

[13]Thomas Arnold, ed., *Select English Works of John Wyclif* (Oxford, 1869), I, p. 83.

[14]Anne Hudson, ed., *English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 86.

[15]*Ibid.*, p. 87.

[16]Edited by C. Horstmann in *Englische Studien*, VIII (1885), pp. 277-284, cited p. 284.

nothing more than an excuse to travel abroad to satisfy curiosity. Thomas à Kempis criticized pilgrimage on these grounds in the mid-fifteenth century:

> Many run to sundry places to visit the relics of the Saints .... Oftentimes in seeing those things, men are moved with curiosity and the novelty of sights, and carry home but little fruit of amendment; and the more so when persons run lightly hither and thither, without real contrition.[17]

The medieval Church taught that curiosity was a vice rather than an admirable quality. In medieval thought *curiositas* was a vice related to pride and sloth, and the temptation of *curiositas* generally referred to any morally excessive and suspect interest in observing the world, seeking novel experiences, or acquiring knowledge for its own sake. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many believed the vice of *curiositas* directly threatened pilgrimage; a pilgrim's curiosity about this inferior world might prevent him or her from reaching that "other land" of the Father.[18]

One of the most enduring images of the traveller, and certainly one of the most popular in early modern England, began in the medieval belief that travellers, particularly pilgrims, were habitual liars. An eighth-century critic of wandering clerical scholars complained that these vagabonds roamed from monastery to monastery, depleting both their host's table and patience with their tale-telling:

> Behold him now come from the Italian frontier, and a good fresh tale all about pilgrimage or captivity, entering the house with humbly bowed head, and lying hard till all the poor host's poverty goes into the pot and on to the table: that host will be a well-picked bone in a day or two.[19]

By the fourteenth century English poets closely associated this vice of lying with pilgrims, and both Chaucer and Langland personified pilgrims as habitual liars. In *The Hous of Fame* Chaucer wrote that pilgrims travelled,

> With scrippes bret-ful of lesynges,
> Entremedled with tydynges.[20]

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[17]Thomas à Kempis, *On the Imitation of Christ* (London, 1960), Book IV, chap. 1, p. 190.

[18]Zacher, p. 4. In his study *Curiosity and Pilgrimage* Zacher examines the close relationship in fourteenth-century thought between the vice of *curiositas* and the practice of pilgrimage.

[19]Cited in Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (London, 1927), p. 164.

[20]Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Hous of Fame* (*circa* 1375), Albert C. Baugh, ed., *Chaucer's Major Poetry* (London, 1963), Book III, ll. 2123-2124.

Writing only a few years later Langland used very similar imagery,

> Pylgrimis & palmers · plyghten hem to-gederes,
> To seche seint Iame · and seyntys of rome,
> Wenten forth in hure way · with meny vn-wyse tale[s],
> And hauen leue to lye · al hure lyf-tyme.[21]

By the early fifteenth century the belief that pilgrims were habitual liars crept into the Lollard invective against pilgrimage. William Thorpe believed that if men and women "be a month out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be, a half year after, great janglers, tale-tellers, and liars."[22] The image of the pilgrim-liar continued well into the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1509 Alexander Barclay labelled pilgrims liars in his adaption of Sebastian Brant's *The Ship of Fools*,[23] and Thomas More's rather lame attempt to defend pilgrimage in 1530 included an effort to defend the pilgrim from the popular charge of lying. More related the story of a worldly character who set out on a pilgrimage, more intent on seeing "Flaunders and Fraunce" than saving his soul, and who fully expected to find all the stories he had heard from fellow pilgrims completely false. Much to his amazement, the cynical pilgrim-cum-tourist found that not only were tales of pilgrims completely true, they were even modest in the face of reality.[24]

Pilgrimage provided several images and criticisms of travellers that later re-emerged in the early modern debate over educational travel. Concerns about the opportunities for the English pilgrim to indulge in sexual licence while away from the stabilizing

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[21] William Langland, *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman* (*circa* 1387), the C text, Rev. Walter W. Skeat, ed. (London, 1873), p. 3.

[22] *The Examination of Master William Thorpe, priest, of heresy, before Thomas Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year of our Lord, M.CCCC. and seven,* in Alfred W. Pollard, ed., *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse* (Westminster, 1903), p. 141.

[23] Alexander Barclay, trans., *The Ship of Fools*, T. H. Jamieson, ed.? (New York, 1966), II, p. 68. Barclay translated this work from Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*, but as both Barclay and his modern editor noted, he extensively adapted and edited the work for an English audience, adding, deleting and changing the text; *ibid.*, I, pp. xviii and 17-18. Barclay doubled the length of Brant's original, and so effectively localized the fools within England "that few would have believed his book of foreign origin;" Albert C. Baugh, ed., *A Literary History of England* (London, 1976), p. 351.

[24] Thomas More, *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies, The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven, 1963-1987), Thomas M. C. Lawler, Germain Marc'Hadour and Richard C. Marius, eds. of vol. VI, Part I, p. 228.

influences of his or her home community were echoed in the natural concern of parents and moralists about the young student's vulnerability to the fleshly temptations offered to him while touring the Continent. Straying from the narrowly defined ideal of both pilgrimage and educational tour through succumbing to a natural curiosity in the world and the new societies about them led to the condemnation of both pilgrims and educational travellers. If the pilgrim faced spiritual corruption, the educational traveller also faced moral, political and cultural corruption. The strongest image (or implicit criticism), however, which survived from the medieval into the early modern period is that of the traveller-liar. A popular concept in the medieval period, the identification of the traveller with the vice of lying survived into the early modern period to become one of the most popular images of the traveller, and the traveller-liar became a favourite butt of street jests in seventeenth-century England.

Education in medieval England had two principal goals - the education of the knight and the education of the clerk. In both these traditions travel abroad had its place. The English knight travelled to the Continent for the tourneying experience he could not gain in England. The medieval knight served his feudal lord and his king with his sword, and, as mimic battles, tournaments were ideal training and testing grounds for a knight's military skills. The authorities periodically banned tournaments in England (for political reasons[25]), and knights frequently travelled abroad for tourneying experience. Matthew of Westminster noted that it was customary for newly-made knights to travel to the Continent to show their mettle by feats of arms.[26] The splendour and excitement of French tournaments attracted English knights as much as the opportunity to test their military skills, for, as F. Warre Cornish remarked, the

[25]Tournaments were the subject of political controversy and government interference from their earliest days. A tournament that got out of hand became a mini war; Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (Ipswich, 1974), p. 183.

[26]R. Coltman Clepham, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phrases* (London, 1919), p. 14.

"colour of English chivalry was of a soberer hue than on the Continent."[27] Bored and impatient young noblemen, either waiting to inherit their land or with competent servants installed who managed their estates for them, travelled in search of excitement. Landless knights journeyed to the tournament in the hope of gaining a settlement. Tournaments eventually became more a social pastime than a sober practice of warfare. R. W. Southern notes that by the twelfth century the English nobility often travelled to the tournament as playboys and adventurers because they had nothing better to do; "they remained rootless and restless young aristocrats with no responsibilities at home."[28] After an impressively idealistic beginning the tournament degenerated into mere spectacle and pageantry, expensive, exclusive, a private diversion for the richest lords only. Richard Barber believes that the very nature of the tournament's origins meant that it inevitably declined once it became the place for peacock vanities rather than strong arms and stout hearts.[29]

Ecclesiastical authorities condemned tournaments not only for the risk they represented to life and limb or because they kept the knight away from the Crusade but also because they believed that tournaments exposed knights to the seven deadly sins, "the chief dangers being vainglory, the settling of private quarrels by violence, and the temptation of lechery because of the women present."[30] Unlike pilgrimage, tournaments gradually became more and more exclusive as the cost restricted the participants to the richest aristocrats, and the practice declined to a mere sport and pastime in sixteenth-century Europe. It is stretching the point too far to think of these tourneying knights as educational travellers; nevertheless, they do demonstrate the opportunity the medieval aristocracy took of the excuse to travel abroad to the colour and excitement of the French court. Ostensibly participating in tournaments,

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[27]F. Warre Cornish, *Chivalry* (London, 1911), p. 51.
[28]R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), p. 143.
[29]Richard Barber, p. 159.
[30]*Ibid.*, p. 191.

realistically these nobles often did little more than indulge in an exciting and extravagant social round. Like the pilgrim the opportunity to participate in the worldly pleasures and excitements available on the Continent corrupted the knight's original purpose in journeying abroad.

Many scholars and students joined the pilgrims, knights, diplomats, merchants, businessmen and ordinary soldiers leaving medieval England to journey on the Continent. Many intellectually ambitious Englishmen travelled abroad to the famous centres of learning on the Continent. From the twelfth to the late fourteenth century large numbers of Englishmen seeking careers in either church or state studied at the two major universities of Europe, Paris, famous for its teaching of the liberal arts and theology, and Bologna, the European centre for civil and canon law. Young men hoping to obtain a degree in medicine might travel to the school at Salerno, the chief medical school in medieval Europe. The confluence of large numbers of students from across Europe to the Universities of Paris and Bologna resulted in the creation of 'nations' in both universities - *collegia* of scholars, masters and students that provided support for scholars from broad geographical regions.[31] While most universities were open to all free men without restriction, Paris was particularly notable for the welcome that it gave to men from across Europe. The major European universities thrived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and their fame attracted many English students; Henry Hallam asserted that by 1200 Bologna and Paris were full of English students.[32] France and Italy were not the only destinations for English scholars; in the twelfth century a high proportion of the scholars who went to Spain in search of Arabic

[31] Other universities established nations as well. See Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Medieval Universities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948). The term nation is somewhat misleading. These *collegia* contained students from many countries. For example, the English nation at Paris university contained Scandinavians, Germans and Slavs as well as Englishmen. Students focused their loyalty on the corporate identity of these nations rather than on the geographical regions and peoples they represented; James Bowen, *A History of Western Education* (London, 1975), volume II of *Civilization of Europe Sixth to Sixteenth Century*, pp. 114-115.

[32] Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe* (London, 1860-1864), I, p. 16n.

science were Englishmen.[33] During the second half of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the number of foreign students began to ebb in the major European universities, particularly noticeable in the English-German nation at Paris where only a few students remained in 1383. The growing prestige of Oxford and Cambridge, division among the members of the University of Paris over the papal schism of 1378-1414, and the growing ferocity and extensiveness of the European wars at this time, especially between England and France, combined to keep many young scholars home.[34]

Despite this decline in the numbers of English students travelling abroad, respectable numbers still attended the universities on the Continent during the fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries. This particularly applied to Italy, where the universities and academies retained or increased their prestige during the classical revival of the Renaissance. Bologna attracted numerous Englishmen in the fifteenth century; university records show that almost fifty Englishmen took doctorates in civil or canon law there, and doubtless many others studied there without proceeding to a degree.[35] Over twenty Englishmen studied at Ferrara during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, some proceeding to degrees in either civil or canon law, arts, or theology.[36] During the fifteenth century the university at Padua began to rival Bologna for fame in the study of civil law, and it also became important for students of medicine and theology. Eighteen Englishmen (from the records that survive) took degrees there during the course of the fifteenth century. A degree from one of these three Italian universities provided a man's education with a lustre that many

[33]Southern, p. 171.
[34]Kibre, pp. 108-109.
[35]R. J. Mitchell, "English Law Students at Bologna in the Fifteenth Century," *English Historical Review*, LI (1936), pp. 270-287.
[36]Mitchell, "English Students at Ferrara in the XV. Century," *Italian Studies*, I (1938), pp. 75-82.

Englishmen considered Oxford and Cambridge powerless to give, and such a degree often became the key to diplomatic or administrative employment.[37]

Despite the long tradition of travel to the European universities from medieval England there was no strong tradition of public criticism associated with the practice as there was for pilgrimage. Nevertheless, individuals, whether foreigners or Englishmen, sometimes expressed some concern about the immorality of English scholars abroad. In the twelfth century Jacques de Vitry characterized English clerks travelling abroad as drunkards.[38] A late medieval English priest, preaching to English commoners, used the example of an English student living an "euyll" life in Paris to demonstrate that a sinful life did not always end happily. This evil clerk, "as synnefull a wreche as eu*er* anny myght be," never heard mass and, if there was any wicked counsel about, would always be in the thick of it, never saying good when he might say evil.[39] Private criticism is virtually impossible to gauge before the fifteenth century. Extensive collections of English family letters from before the fifteenth century have not survived, and individual letters surviving in state collections are rarely useful to evaluate personal opinion.[40] In an attempt to piece together private family reaction to sons travelling abroad to study during the medieval period I have relied upon Charles Haskin's study of medieval students' letters from across Europe, including England.[41] His study reveals that anxieties of sons and families in medieval Europe were remarkably similar to the anxieties expressed by families in later

[37]Mitchell, "English Students at Padua, 1460-75," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series, XIX (1936), pp. 101-116, particularly p. 116. Nicholas Pronay observes in his discussion of the Chancery and Council at the end of the fifteenth century that most of the men about Henry VII in the top Chancery positions and in the Council had spent extensive amounts of time either studying or travelling abroad; "The Chancellor, the Chancery, and the Council at the End of the Fifteenth Century," in H. Hearder and H. R. Lyon, eds., *British Government and Administration* (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 87-103. See also Janice Gordon Richter, "Education and association: the bureaucrat in the reign of Henry VI," *Journal of Medieval History*, XII (1986), pp. 81-95.

[38]Majorie Rowling, *Everyday Life of Medieval Travellers* (New York, 1989), p. 108.

[39]Woodburn O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons* (London, 1940), p. 176. Because the author of the sermon wrote in English, Ross speculates that he meant it for the uneducated who could not understand Latin, p. lv.

[40]G. R. Elton, *England, 1200-1640* (London, 1969), pp. 154-155.

[41]Charles H. Haskins, "The Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by Their Letters," *American Historical Review*, III (1898), pp. 203-229.

centuries. As occurred in early modern England, by far the largest element in sons' letters home to their parents consisted of regular requests for more money. Parents, in their turn, expressed concerns about the idleness, disobedience and immorality of their sons.[42] The relative lack of public criticism of medieval travelling scholars, despite their numbers, probably occurred because few social or ecclesiastical critics believed these travellers carried the same potential for social disharmony that pilgrims did. English pilgrims came from and returned into almost every level of society while medieval scholars remained individuals within a narrowly defined community whose activities rarely significantly affected the general community. It is no coincidence that the two popular institutions of travel, pilgrimage and early modern educational travel, attracted so much criticism; commentators believed that when their corrupted participants returned home they would adversely affect the general community by exposing them to the corruptions of the world.

The combination of several factors during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries resulted in a new type of educational traveller in the sixteenth century. The spread of humanism from Renaissance Italy northwards during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries brought with it a renewed interest in the ancient ideals of civic life. Civic humanism demanded that pure scholasticism give way to the concept that a man's education should prepare him for a life of service to his community, his prince and his state.[43] In *The Boke named the Gouernour* (1531) Sir Thomas Elyot centred his discussion of the education of the gentleman on the principle of service to the state; "Semblable ordre will I ensue in the fourmynge the gentill wittes of noble mennes children, who, from the wombes of their mother, shal be made propise or apte to the

[42] *Ibid.*, particularly pp. 208-214.

[43] See Bowen, pp. 207-211 and 398-402; J. H. Hexter, "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance," J. H. Hexter, *Reappraisals in History* (London, 1963), pp. 45-70, particularly p. 63.

gouernaunce of a publike weale."[44] Political conditions, particularly the decline in the power of the nobility concurrent with the development of a powerful and prestigious court about the person of the monarch, combined with the new emphasis civic humanism gave to education and shifted the direction of the nobleman's education away from military service to state service. The nobleman or gentleman's heaviest responsibility now lay in the performance of public service, and he fulfilled this service in the role of advisor, diplomat, administrative officer, magistrate or provincial official. The role of the court grew more important as patronage, influence and 'connection' became potent factors in entering government service, acting as a stepping-stone to careers in arms, diplomacy and administrative employment.[45] England's growing participation in European affairs, particularly during the reign of Henry VIII, meant that the king needed about him men skilled in diplomacy and knowledgeable about the governments of the European countries. The aristocrat now served his monarch better with his wit than with his sword.

To make the gentleman fit for employment in the office of state he required a basic education in the liberal arts, a training traditionally scorned by the medieval knight. Noblemen and gentlemen began to acquire educations in most of the subjects recommended by the humanists - languages, history, rhetoric, arithmetic, geography, philosophy and the classics. Unlike the medieval scholar, however, the gentleman did not immerse himself completely in scholarly study. When William Cecil planned his son Thomas' tour abroad in 1561 he wrote to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton that he did not want his son scholarly learned but rather civilly trained. Cecil included in this civil training instruction in history and the modern languages of either French or Italian.[46]

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[44]Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Gouernour* (1531), Henry Herbert Stephen Croft, ed. (London, 1880), I, p. 28.

[45]See for example R. A. Griffiths, "Public and Private Bureaucracies in England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, XXX (1980), pp. 109-130, particularly pp. 122-123; also Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902), pp. 58-59.

[46]Sir William Cecil to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 8 May 1561, *CSPF* (1561-1562), Elizabeth, no. 187, pp. 104-105.

The English schoolmasters and universities could not teach the gentleman those subjects most useful to a man planning a career in the service of his state - learning in history, modern languages and the political and social institutions of foreign countries. In effect, a young gentleman could not acquire a thorough grounding in knowledge and understanding of the contemporary world while still in England. There was another area of education that the ambitious gentleman needed in his career at court and that many felt England lacked. Henry VIII not only developed his court as a major force in the machinery of administration but also as the cultural hub of England. About the magnificent person of the monarch the court developed into a glittering showcase of ceremony and display, a place of culture and brilliance. As well as scholastic ability and worldly knowledge, the ambitious gentleman also needed a good degree of competence in the arts of civil conversation, music, fencing, dancing, and 'riding the great horse.' Most Englishmen genuinely felt they could best acquire these skills attending European instructors, and, if such instructors were not available in England, then the young man would have to seek them abroad. Besides modern languages and history, William Cecil required Thomas to undertake instruction in the courtly skills of dancing and expertise on the lute.[47]

Travel abroad to acquire the skills needed by the new 'Renaissance man', whether experience of the modern world or instruction in the finer arts of courtly accomplishments, gradually became an optional extension of the young gentleman's education. The process grew slowly; an educational tour abroad was difficult, expensive, and often dangerous, but the strong traditions of English travel abroad fostered its growth. Works like William Thomas' *Historie of Italie* (1549) enhanced the traditional prestige of Italian universities for those young gentlemen who desired excellence in both the scholarly and the courtly accomplishments. Thomas believed that Italy led Europe in the arts of civility, and his glowing description of the country

[47]Thomas Windebank to Sir William Cecil, 12 November 1561, PRO SP 12/20/59.

and its people encouraged gentlemen to study there. More gentlemen flocked to Italy to study than to any other nation in Europe, for in such cities as Padua, Ferrara and Pisa they found "excellente learned men, waged for the readyng of philosophie, of the ciuile lawes, and of all the liberall sciences." Gentlemen students also patronized the "excellent maisters" who taught them to sing and to play upon all manner of instruments, while the "beste maisters of fence" honed the gentlemen's skills on a variety of weapons. While spending the winter of 1548-1549 at Padua, Thomas claimed as the result of careful investigation that 1500 scholars studied there that winter, "wherof I dare saie, a thousande at the lest were gentilmen."[48]

Education generally was the great leveller in English society; a good education often became the key to success for a low-born citizen.[49] This particularly applied to travel abroad, although numbers of 'non-gentry' educational tourists only began to grow in the second half of the sixteenth century. For those without the blood or the influence, the experience of travel abroad served as both passport into, and apprenticeship for, state service. The experience and education gained during a tour through Europe often became the cornerstone of a young man's later career in the service of the 'publike weale'. In his quest for patronage and employment a young man emphasized any experience or education that he had gained abroad. When Thomas Starkey wrote to Thomas Cromwell in 1534 seeking employment in the king's household, he cited his studies and experience in Italy. His letter not only reveals his ambitions for employment, but also demonstrates the ideal of civic humanism:

> bycause my purpos ... was to lyue in a polytyke lyfe, I set my selfe now thes last yerys past to the knolege of the cyuyle law, that I myght therby make a more Aabyl & sure jugement of the polytyke ordur & custumys vsyd amonge vs here in our cuntrey, aftur thys maner in dyuerse kyndys of studys I haue [employed] myselfe, euer hauyng in mynd thys end & purpos, at the last here

[48] William Thomas, *The Historie of Italie* (London, 1549), pp. 2 verso - 3.

[49] See Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (London, [1935] 1964), pp. 44-48 particularly, and Chapter III, "The Concern Over Learning," pp. 43-80 generally, for the commoner's use of education as the key to success.

> in thys cominyualty, where I am brought forth & borne, to employ them to some vse.[50]

The belief that the gentleman should use his education to benefit his state was the foundation of civic humanism, and during the sixteenth century it became the principal argument for educational travel abroad. Starkey echoed his sentiments to Cromwell in the fictional dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset that he wrote in 1535 and subsequently presented to Henry VIII. Starkey had Lupset complain to Pole,

> I have much and many times marvelled, reasoning with myself why you, Master Pole, after so many years spent in quiet studies of letters and learning, and after such experience of the manners of man, taken in diverse parts beyond the sea, have not before this settled yourself and applied your mind to the handling of the matters of the common weal here in our own nation, to the intent that both your friends and country might now at the last receive and take some fruit of your long studies, wherein you have spent your whole youth - as I ever took it - to the same purpose and end.[51]

Like Elyot, Starkey was adamant that scholasticism for its own sake was useless, because it did nothing to benefit a man's friends and country.[52] Late sixteenth and seventeenth century apologists for the tour clung to this justification for travel abroad, and the image of the traveller benefiting the state with his experience became one of the major weapons in their attempts to negate the powerful images of that dangerous member of the community, the corrupted traveller. Nevertheless, as an ideal that truly motivated young men to travel abroad, the idea of travelling to serve the state probably died during the first half of the seventeenth century.[53]

Criticism of this new breed of educational traveller was not widespread nor images of the corrupt traveller popular during the first half of the sixteenth century. Alexander Barclay's 1509 verse on foolish students blundering ignorantly between the European universities was an isolated example reminiscent of early-medieval criticism of wandering scholars:

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[50]Thomas Starkey to [Thomas Cromwell], 1534, Harleian 283/129 verso - 130.

[51]Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue Between Reginald Pole & Thomas Lupset*, Kathleen M. Burton, ed. (London, 1948), pp. 21-22.

[52]See Elyot, I, p. 116.

[53]See discussion below, p. 46.

One rennyth to almayne another vnto fraunce
To parys padway Lumbardy or spayne
Another to Bonony, Rome or orleance
To cayne, to Tolows, Athenys or Colayne
And at the last retournyth home agayne
More ignorant, blynder and gretter folys
Than they were whan they firste went to the scolys.[54]

Barclay's verse was more a part of his criticism of foolish students generally rather than a precursor of post-1570 concern about the educational traveller. Even the popular medieval image of the traveller-liar only occurred spasmodically during the period 1500-1570. In the first half of the century families or individuals tended not to express any anxiety beyond expected concern regarding the safety of a child or relative abroad. In the 1530s Lady Lisle sent her youngest son, James Basset, to France to gain experience in modern languages and to meet those men who might be of use to him in a later career. None of the correspondence between the Lisles, James, his tutors and guardians betrays any undue anxiety or expresses any awareness that travellers might be exposed to undue criticism.[55]

A more revealing document of parental concern is the 'contract' William Broke's father made him sign before his departure for France in 1541 (Appendix A). Lord Cobham's concerns were not different from those of generations of fathers before him. The devotion expressed in the first two points are reminiscent of the devotion of the medieval pilgrim; William must ensure that no worldly fantasies corrupt his communion with God. This medieval piety contrasts sharply with the humanism evident in points three and eight; the young lord must study civil law, rhetoric and Greek and must also observe the ways of the countries he visited. He must be proficient in the lute, or some other musical instruments, and, perhaps with his success at court in mind, William must not speak too "thicke." Like every father concerned with his young son's moral integrity while far from parental supervision and with a marriage obviously arranged, William's father exhorted him to take no

[54]Barclay, I, p. 145.
[55]*The Lisle Letters*, Muriel St Clare Byrne, ed. (Chicago, 1981), III, pp. 106-133, IV, pp. 468-525.

pleasure in the "abhominable synne of lechery," and to "kepe [his] vessell cleane accordyng to the commandment of god."[56] Twenty years later Thomas Cecil possibly made very similar promises to William Broke in the "little discourse" of intent and purpose he presented in writing to his father shortly before departing on his tour in 1561.[57] William Broke proved more susceptible to his father's wishes than did Thomas Cecil, who freely indulged in lechery, gambling and other unsavoury activities the moment he reached the Continent.

Despite little public attention given to the dangers of travel or to the corruption of educational travellers abroad in the first half of the sixteenth century, by 1561 there is some indication that the behaviour of the occasional "contrary" traveller influenced a few individuals to view travel negatively. Anne, Duchess of Somerset, expressed deep reservations about the practice of travel in a letter she wrote to William Cecil early in 1561. Both Elizabeth and Cecil wanted the Duchess' son, Edward, Earl of Hertford, to travel abroad, and Anne, driven by maternal concern, wrote to Cecil regarding her fears. Apprehension over Hertford's frail constitution and the fact that the Duchess had already lost one "that had bene abrode and was comying homeward" compounded her fears regarding his journey, but the Duchess also had severe doubts about the viability of educational travel from her own observations of returning travellers:

> I calle to mynd many whose travell hath Incresed theyr estymacyon, others agayn haue consumed theyr substans spent theyr tyme and lost credyte, thus I do see for the most part as travell ys agayne to the beter desposed, even so proves yt fruteles to the contrary sorte.[58]

The Duchess' letter demonstrates that, in her mind at least, there existed some concern about the corruption of English travellers abroad. Concern about the corruption, moral corruption particularly, of the traveller had existed for centuries, and in this sense there

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[56]Harleian 283/33.

[57]Thomas Windebank, Thomas' tutor while abroad, referred to this document in a letter he wrote to Sir William Cecil on 9 August 1561, PRO SP 12/19/29.

[58]Anne, Duchess of Somerset to Sir William Cecil, 19 April 1561, PRO SP 12/16/130.

was nothing particularly unusual about the Duchess' letter, yet her letter shows she had preconceived ideas about travel that in part prompted her letter to Cecil. Perhaps this indicates some emerging concern among individuals within the community about the practice of educational travel that had not yet been expressed publicly; Anne's comment anticipated the public debate after 1570.

Comments from the same time indicate that Italy already had an image as a place of particular corruption for the traveller and suggest that other individuals shared Ascham's attitude in 1564. Roger Ascham's attack on Italian travel, printed in 1570 but written in late 1563 or early 1564, is surprising both in his bitter attack on Italy (considering his previous declared admiration for that country) and in the direction of the attack (towards the Machiavellian and Italianated atheist). Nevertheless, there are indications that, despite works that praised Italy like Thomas', some individuals held deep reservations about both travel and Italian travel in particular prior to 1564. In early 1556 Anthony Viscount Montague wrote to Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, anxiously enquiring after Devonshire's safe arrival in Italy and expressing the hope that he would be able to avoid the numerous evils that would be daily before his eyes.[59] It was, in fact, Sir Richard Sackville's concern about Italian travel that prompted Ascham to attack the practice in *The Scholemaster*. In late 1563 Sackville had particularly asked Ascham to write a discourse on the education of the schoolboy and specifically to state his opinion on the "common going of Englishmen into Italy."[60]

Thomas Windebank's attitude to Italian travel is particularly revealing. Windebank was the long-suffering tutor to Thomas Cecil during that young man's lamentable tour of the Continent in 1561-1562. After a disastrous year spent in France watching Thomas waste his time and his father's money in gambling and womanizing,

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[59]Anth. Visct. Montague to the Earl of Devonshire, 23 February 1556, *CSPD* (1547-1580), Mary, vol. 7, item 8, p. 75.

[60]See Roger Ascham's preface to *The Scholemaster*, Dr. Giles, ed., *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham* (London, 1864-1865), III, p. 83.

Windebank spirited Thomas through the Low Countries to Germany, where, through lack of opportunity, the young man's behaviour underwent some degree of reformation. Just as Thomas appeared settled, Cecil horrified Windebank with the suggestion that Windebank and Thomas journey into Italy, as they were so close. Because Cecil had earlier threatened to withdraw his patronage from Windebank, in part blaming him for Thomas' excesses, Windebank tried to change Cecil's mind about such an adventure with extreme tact. He agreed that it might do Thomas some good to see Italy and to learn the language,

> But as ther be Commodities, so is ther also grete danger in that Countrey of discommodities for yong men, by reason of the Inticements to pleasure & wantonnes that be there, from which Sir, (I must not disguise) I doubte much how I shall be hable to withholde him, hauing had som proofe allready to know what I may doo with him, during our being in france.[61]

Windebank also cited the dangers of the heat and fruit and the considerable expense such a journey would entail. Cecil continued to push for a journey into Italy for Thomas, and, responding, Windebank again agreed that it might do Thomas some good to see the country, but it should be accomplished as rapidly as possible, "for ... the lesse abode in that Countrey is the better."[62] Surely, Windebank added, Cecil would prefer to call Thomas home rather than have him risk further hazards in "this troublesom worlde specially in that countrey, for many respects which I doo not saye without good cause."[63] Windebank did not want to accompany Thomas into Italy because he believed he could not keep him under control and feared the complete loss of Cecil's patronage should Thomas' behaviour suffer a relapse. His image of Italy as a country particularly conducive to the moral corruption of a young man because of the "inticements to pleasure & wantones that be there" corresponds with Montague's concern for Devonshire's moral and possibly spiritual integrity because of the numerous evils that would be daily before his eyes.

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[61]Thomas Windebank to Sir William Cecil, 18 November 1562, PRO SP 12/25/109.
[62]Windebank to Cecil, 12 December 1562, PRO SP 12/26/13.
[63]*Ibid.*

Windebank's fears regarding Italian travel for the young man provide an interesting contrast with William Cecil's own views expressed in their correspondence. Unlike Windebank, Cecil was extremely keen to send Thomas into Italy, both to see the country and to learn the language. The only reservation he expressed was that Windebank and Thomas should pass "as vnknowne as ye maye, because of the malice that I know the papists ow me, and cold be content to avendg the same in my sone."[64] If there was any widespread public concern regarding Italian travel, it does not seem to have overly affected William Cecil in late 1562. Cecil's thoughts regarding Italian travel underwent a complete reversal after Ascham published his *Scholemaster*.[65] When Cecil sent his youngest son Robert abroad in the early 1580s, he wrote for him a set of precepts to guide him through life. These precepts contained the following warning about Italian travel:

> Suffer not thy sons to pass the Alps, for they shall learn nothing but pride, blasphemy, and atheism. And if by travel they attain to some few broken languages, they will profit them no more than to have one meat served in divers dishes.[66]

This comment to Robert in the mid-1580s is markedly different from Cecil's attitude in his letters to Windebank in late 1562. Although Thomas' behaviour may have influenced Cecil's change of heart regarding Italian travel, his remark regarding atheism clearly shows the influence of the public comment about and imagery of educational travel stimulated by Ascham's *Scholemaster*.

An examination of the traditions of English travel abroad prior to 1570 is useful to demonstrate both the English enthusiasm for travel and the body of criticism that could attach itself to an institution of travel. Images and criticisms of pilgrims survived the demise of the pilgrimage and re-emerged among the images and criticisms that attached

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[64]Cecil to Windebank, 16 November 1562, PRO SP 12/25/102.

[65]See below, Chapter II, pp. 48-54, for an analysis of Ascham's attack on Italian travel.

[66]"Certain Precepts for the Well Ordering of a Man's Life," (*circa* 1584) in L. B. Wright, ed., *Advice to a Son* (Ithaca, 1962), p. 11.

themselves to educational travel after Ascham's attack. The temptations of the world that corrupted the pilgrim from the narrow road of his spiritual quest were still there and still as powerful when the educational traveller set forth across the Channel. Unrestrained curiosity about the world proved the downfall of the pilgrim, as it held grave dangers for the educational traveller, morally and politically, if not always spiritually. Moral corruption of the young man studying far from parental control worried early modern parents as much as it worried their medieval forebears. The ability of the young man to withstand the temptations available on the Continent remained one of the primary concerns of individuals within families during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Images survived from pilgrimage virtually intact; this not only applied to the traveller-liar but also to the morally-corrupted traveller. As occurred with pilgrimage, the English love of foreign travel ensured that no matter to what heights public concern and virulent criticism grew, it in no way appeared to affect the growing numbers of young men participating in the educational tour. The English traditionally loved travel, they had always travelled, and they would always find an excuse to travel. In no small part the realization of this fueled the concern and criticism of educational travellers in early modern England. Ascham's reservations about Italian travel were hardly surprising considering the privately expressed views of those about him. The bitterness of his attack, considering his personal admiration of Italy up to that point, probably was unexpected; the direction of his attack and the powerful imagery of the Machiavellian Italianate and atheistical traveller certainly was. In many senses, however, Ascham simply provided a new direction and a new impetus for a very long tradition of criticism of the English traveller abroad.

II

Educational Travel: The Enthusiasm, *The Scholemaster*, and the Reaction

> None are more healthfull, none more lustie, none more merrie, none more strong of bodie, then such as haue trauailed Countries.[1]

Few words more successfully encapsulate the mid-sixteenth-century enthusiasm for educational travel than these of Thomas Wilson. Later public debate, ridicule and official concern did little to dampen this enthusiasm among young Englishmen who longed to experience the world outside England and who persuaded sometimes reluctant parents that a tour would both enhance their career prospects and provide them with the accomplishments necessary for the cultivated gentleman. Fynes Moryson wrote in the early seventeenth century that Englishmen travelled abroad because they realized they were less learned and skillful than continental Europeans, while those who stayed home greatly "esteeme[d] theire owne Countrymen being travelers, wisely iudging that the experience of Vlisses could not but add much to his other naturall vertues."[2] Only "Base and badder minds ... content their poore thoughts with their owne countries knowledge," wrote Sir John Stradling in 1592, adding that to keep Englishmen restrained in the narrow precincts of their little country was like keeping prisoners in a locked place, "sillie

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[1]Thomas Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique* (1560), G. H. Mair, ed. (Oxford, 1909), p. 30.

[2]Fynes Moryson, unpublished chapters of *An Itinerary* (1617), Charles Hughes, ed., *Shakespeare's Europe* (London, 1903), p. 475.

birds cooped vp in a narrow pen."[3] Few young English gentlemen with their hearts set on a tour of Europe would have disagreed with him.

Encouragement for educational travel in Elizabethan England came from the highest source, the queen herself. Elizabeth clearly understood the benefits of Continental travel for both the young man and the state and selected "many ingenious young gentlemen out of the universities to travel *pro bono publico* in order to make them ministers of state."[4] In 1561 Elizabeth wrote to the Duke of Florence, Cosimo de Medici, requesting a safe-conduct for the Earl of Hertford, who wished to travel through Italy. Elizabeth commended the Earl's "great and praiseworthy desire ... to discover the customs of many men and their cities" and encouraged his "laudable determination" to travel abroad.[5] Elizabeth did not confine her encouragement to young men. She supported Robert Cecil when, at the tender age of eleven or twelve, he asked his father for permission to go abroad for a year. Elizabeth's support for his request forced William Cecil to explain to her that he thought Robert a little too young for such a tour.[6] It is possible that Elizabeth's support for educational travellers sometimes frustrated the attempts of those concerned men, in both private and government circles, who tried to stem the flood of young men leaving the country.

The opportunity to learn foreign languages usually appeared as a reason for travelling abroad in applications for travel licences in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many Englishmen believed the best method of learning foreign languages was by living and studying with foreigners away from English-speaking companions. Many authors advised travellers to avoid residing with their countrymen abroad so that

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[3]Sir John Stradling, *A Direction for Trauailers* (London, 1592), folios A2 verso - A3.

[4]Comment from John Aubrey in the late seventeenth century, J. E. Stephens, ed., *Aubrey on Education* (London, 1972), p. 135. See also A. Lytton Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers* (London, 1964), pp. 42-43.

[5]Elizabeth to Cosimo de Medici, 14 July 1561, Maurice A. Hatch, trans. and ed., "The Ascham Letters: an Annotated Translation of the Latin Correspondence contained in the Giles Edition of Ascham's Works," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1948, p. 684.

[6]Sir William Cecil to Sir Francis Walsingham, 11 April 1575, PRO SP 12/103/56.

they could concentrate on learning a new language properly.[7] Nevertheless, as Lady Cromwell's application to Sir Robert Cecil for a travel licence for her son in 1611 reveals, the opportunity to learn foreign languages was not the only reason Englishmen travelled abroad. Lady Cromwell intended that her son should remain in France some three to four years,

> By which tyme, hauing attained the Language, and some better vnderstanding of him self ... he will become more fitt to doe his dutie & service to his majesty and by his experience abroade, in his more riper yeres maie with Gods fauour proue a profitable membre in the Comonwealth.[8]

Lady Cromwell's letter emphasizes two of the principal goals of the educational traveller in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: the experience to gain a better understanding of himself and enhance his personal development, and enough knowledge of the world to enable him to become a useful member of his commonwealth.

Many enthusiasts for educational travel emphasized the opportunities travel offered the young man for personal development or personal perfection. Phillip Stubbes believed every man ought to desire perfection, and he argued travel was one of the best ways to attain this, for "there is as muche difference (almost) betwixt a man that hath trauayled much, and him that hath dwelt euer in one place ... as is betwen a man lyuinge, & one dead in graue."[9] If the observation of many countries and their "orders and maner of lyfe" encouraged perfection in the gentleman traveller,[10] then, as Robert Johnson argued, partaking of the best company abroad would "awaketh and exerciseth wit, ripeneth iudgement, confirmeth wisedome, and enricheth the mind with many worthy and profitable obseruations."[11] Fynes Moryson claimed he undertook his extensive tour abroad in the final years of the sixteenth century "to enable my

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[7]James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1642 and 1650), Edward Arber, ed. (London, 1869), p. 21; and Robert Dallington, *A Method for Trauell* (London, 1605?), folio B3 verso, are two examples.

[8]Lady Frances Cromwell to Sir Robert Cecil, 8 October 1611, PRO SP 14/66/118.

[9]Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London, 1583), folio Bii.

[10]Andrewe Thevet, *The New founde worlde, or Antarctike* (London, 1568), preface to the reader, folio Aii verso.

[11]Robert Johnson, *Essaies* (London, 1601), folio E2 verso.

vnderstanding, which I thought could not be done so well by contemplation as by experience."[12] In the mid-seventeenth century James Howell advised the young traveller that unless the learning he acquired during his travels bettered the inward man he would achieve nothing but vanity and superficial knowledge. By observing the world the traveller would learn to know the '"Little" (himself) and would achieve elegance and solid wisdom by learning to govern and check his passions.[13] Howell believed that as travel enriched a young man's mind with all varieties of knowledge it built him towards the "highest story of perfection."[14]

Some authors maintained educational travel was the best way a young man could gain enough experience of the world to become a 'complete gentleman.' Gentlemen could learn more about the world through experiencing it themselves than reading about it in a book.[15] Thomas Coryate explained that experience could also enhance a man's gentility; "gentility be of it selfe gracious, yet it is much more excellent when it is adorned with the experience of forraine countries."[16] Yet experience of the world had a broader application than enhancing gentility. In Elizabethan and early Stuart England the principal argument for educational travel was that it directly benefited the commonwealth or state. It did this in two ways, firstly, by expanding the worldly experience of the traveller so that on his return he would, like Lady Cromwell's son, be a more useful member of the commonwealth, and, secondly, by allowing the traveller to collect intelligence for the Privy Council. The distinction between these two roles was sometimes a fine one. The knowledge that a traveller accrued in order to serve him in a later career in the civil service was very often information immediately useful to

[12]Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London, 1617), Part I, Book 3, Chapter 1, p. 197.
[13]Howell, p. 71.
[14]*Ibid.*, p. 11.
[15]Owen Feltham, *Resolves, A Duple Century* (London, third edition, 1628), p. 270. Written about 1620.
[16]Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), introduction by William M. Schutte (London, 1978), epistle to the reader, folio b4. See also Robert Dallington, *The View of Fraunce* (London, 1604), folio S3 verso, for the argument that travel enhanced the gentleman's hereditary valour.

privy councillors developing foreign policy. In educating himself the traveller could often assist the Privy Council.

One of the basic ideals of civic humanism was that a gentleman's education should fit him for a life of service to his community, his prince and his state. This ideal extended to the practice of educational travel, as Sir Thomas Palmer's advice to travellers demonstrated; "the very point which euery Trauailer ought to lay his witts about [is] To get knowledge for the bettering of himselfe and his Countrie."[17] Although this sentiment occurred extensively in private letters of the sixteenth century, William Bourne was one of the few authors during this century to put this clearly into words. Writing in 1578, he argued that travellers were worthy members of the commonwealth; "they are very necessary members in the common weale in diuers respectes, that are Trauaylers into other Countries, and they are able to profyt theyr owne Countrie in diuers respectes."[18] The argument that travel benefited the state appeared more frequently in print in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1607 James Cleland believed that travel abroad was the principal means whereby a young nobleman might benefit his prince, his country and himself,[19] while twenty years later Owen Feltham expanded the idea:

> It were an *excellent* thing in a *State*, to haue alwaies a *select* number of *Youth*, of the *Nobility*, and *Gentry*; and at yeeres of some *Maturity*, send them abroad for *Education* ....they mought prooue mightily *seruiceable* to the *State*, at home; when they shall returne well versed in the *World*, languaged and well read in men; which for *Policy*, and *Negotiation*, is much better then any booke-learning.[20]

Feltham only defined an ideal appreciated for years within official circles. Educational travel on the Continent provided the state with a pool of well trained men knowledgeable

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[17]Sir Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606), pp. 52-53.

[18]William Bourne, *The Treasure for Traueilers* (London, 1578), preface to the reader, folio **iii. Thomas Starkey's 1535 dialogue is another exception; *A Dialogue Between Reginald Pole & Thomas Lupset*, Kathleen M. Burton, ed. (London, 1948), pp. 21-22.

[19]James Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Noble Man* (1607), Max Molyneux, ed. (New York, 1948), p. 251.

[20]Feltham, p. 271.

about the political, religious and social affairs of foreign nations.[21] Most importantly, however, the state gained these men without paying for their education and without entrusting untried men to the responsibilities of office in order to gain experience.

The ideal that a man's travel should benefit the commonwealth occurred time and time again in the sentiments of sixteenth and early seventeenth century travellers, normally appearing hand in hand with hopes of future employment. Thomas Bodley claimed his motivation in travelling to study at Geneva in 1576 was to attain "the knowledge of some speciall moderne tongues, and for the encrease of my experience in the managing of affaires, being wholly then addicted to employ my selfe, and all my cares, in the publique service of the State."[22] From the mid-1580s the avowed motivation of many travellers applying for licences was to benefit the state through their time abroad. John Fynett asked leave to travel in 1595 and had "no intention therin but to enable himself the better to serve her Majesty and the State."[23] One of the direct consequences of becoming a more profitable member of his commonwealth was that the gentleman became more employable. This happy prospect was not lost on either parents or sons. In 1614 John Holles' father advised his son to make the most of his time abroad by learning the best in both intellectual and courtly accomplishments, for "These things at your returne will grace yow with the Prince, and by your abilitie to serve him and the King therin, will give yow place and precedence in their affections."[24] Holles' advice demonstrates the direction that seventeenth-century sentiment took; ambition for his son is far more perceptible than ambition for his commonwealth.

The educational traveller also proved useful to the sixteenth-century English state in the role of informal (and unpaid) intelligence agent. From the middle of the century

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[21]Gary McClellan Bell's "The Men and Their Rewards in Elizabethan Diplomatic Service, 1558-1585" clearly shows how travel abroad helped aspiring civil servants gain posts within the diplomatic service; unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974.

[22]Thomas Bodley, *The Life of Sir Thomas Bodley* (Oxford, 1647), p. 4.

[23]William, Lord Cobham to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 July 1595, *HMC*, Salisbury, part V, p. 279.

[24]John Holles, "Instructions for travell that my father gave me the 22 July 1614...," P.R. Seddon, ed., *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637, Thoroton Society Record Series*, XXXI (Nottingham, 1975), I, p. 55.

English travellers abroad gathered information that would be potentially useful to the state.[25] After the 1570s letters specifically advising travellers to gather political, military and civil information about the countries through which they passed began to circulate within English society. Not surprisingly, these missives began with privy councillors seeking European intelligence. William Cecil provided letters of advice to travellers that clearly demonstrate the intelligence these travellers collected for the Privy Council.[26] These letters (see Appendix B) were principally guides for gathering political, military and civil intelligence, using all possible means "to vnderstand the same without offence."[27] Cecil was not the only privy councillor to advise travellers to gather such information. Both Sir Francis Walsingham and William Davison provided similar directions for travellers during the late sixteenth century.[28] A letter of disputed authorship gave advice for the fifth Earl of Rutland's travels in 1596.[29] This letter very plainly demonstrates the use privy councillors made of travellers' intelligence. It began,

> I hold yt for a principle in the Couarse of intelligence of State not to discourage Men of mean sufficiency [from] writing vnto me; though I had at the same time very able advertisements, for either they sent me som matter which the other omitted, or made yt clearer by delivering the Circumstances or if they added nothing yet they confirmed yt, which coming single I might haue more doubted.[30]

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[25]Roger Ascham, for instance, pointedly gathered information on "the site, the building, the strength, the walls, the ditches, gates, ports, and havens of every town" while he was abroad in 1551; Ascham to Edward Raven, 20 January 1551, Dr. Giles, ed., *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham* (London, 1864-1865), I, part II, p. 247. The traveller Proverbio in George Chapman's *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fooles* (London, 1619), p. 1, remarked that travellers abroad helped the state because they gave intelligence of foreign preparations for invasion, first produced 1619.

[26]Two of these letters by Cecil, one to Edward, third Earl of Rutland, in 1571 and the other to Lord Zouche in 1587, are virtually identical, and Cecil probably gave variations of this letter to many travellers. Cecil's letter to Rutland is the earliest example in either manuscript or printed form that I have found of specific advice for the educational traveller in his role as intelligence agent. The letter to Rutland is in PRO SP 12/77/10-11 verso, the letter to Zouche in Tanner 103/230-232.

[27]PRO SP 12/77/10.

[28]Sir Francis Walsingham to his nephew, *circa* 1580, Conyers Read, ed., *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford, 1925), I, p. 19; Benjamin Foster printed Davison's instructions in *Profitable Instructions* (London, 1633), pp. 1-24.

[29]Several late-sixteenth century and early seventeenth-century transcriptions of this letter in the Harleian collection ascribed it to Robert Devereaux, the Earl of Essex, as did Benjamin Foster in *Profitable Instructions*. James Spedding, ed., *The Works of Francis Bacon* (London, 1890), IX, pp. 4-6, ascribed it to Francis Bacon, stating that he felt there was enough evidence of a "mental relationship" between the author and Bacon to ascribe the letter to him. To avoid confusion I will refer to it as Essex's letter. The mss. of this letter are in the Harleian collection, 813/7, 4888/37 and 6265/428. This letter also appears in copybooks of the seventeenth century, one example is Sir Francis Fane's copybook compiled between 1655-1656, British Literary Manuscripts in the Folger Library, V.a. 180, not foliated.

[30]Harleian 813/7.

As well as these letters manuscript charts of information that illustrated in a diagrammatical form the type of information Cecil, Davison and Walsingham asked travellers to collect also circulated during the late sixteenth century.[31] During the early seventeenth century some authors of conduct literature included these charts in their manuals.[32]

Many travellers hoped to further their employment prospects by gathering useful intelligence. Stephen Powle is an example of an ordinary traveller who used the knowledge gained through travel to both expand his own experience and provide useful information for the Privy Council. A younger son of a minor county official with few prospects of employment, Powle travelled abroad in 1579-1581 in the wish to "be farthered in honest delighte of learninge and knowledge .... that I maie be comfortable vnto [his father], and a proffitable member to my common weale."[33] In his effort to make himself such a profitable member Powle gathered information about towns, castle fortifications, the manner of governments and the natures of peoples.[34] Powle used this experience and the reports on the natures and governments of people he prepared during his travels to help him gain employment with both Cecil and Walsingham as a paid intelligencer on subsequent trips abroad.[35] Despite the opportunities it afforded for future employment, gathering intelligence in foreign countries could prove hazardous for the lone English traveller, and during the first half of the seventeenth century some travellers and authors of conduct literature warned travellers about displaying too much curiosity in other countries' secrets.[36]

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[31] Some of these charts are in Tanner 103/297, and Harleian 252/123 and 1579/86-96.

[32] For example, Robert Palmer's *Essay of the Meanes...* .

[33] Stephen Powle to Thomas Powle, 25 May 1579, Tanner 309/11 verso.

[34] Same to same, 20 June 1581, Tanner 169/149-173 verso.

[35] Many of Powle's reports survive in Tanner vols. 169 and 309.

[36] In 1611 Thomas Coryate believed that it was very "dangerous to prie very curiously into State matters, as diuers trauellers haue obserued by their deare experience;" *Coryats Crudities*, epistle to the reader, folio b5 verso. Five years later Thomas Gainsford cautioned the traveller not to exhibit too much curiosity in "dangerous newes, or ... seeke after others secrets," for then foreigners might suspect him as a spy; *The Rich Cabinet* (London, 1616), p. 148 verso. In 1643 Thomas Neale cautioned travellers against any inquisitiveness in state affairs, *A Treatise of Direction, How to travell safely, and profitably into Forraigne Countries* (London, 1643), pp. 93-101.

By the second half of the seventeenth century travel for the ultimate benefit of the state received much less emphasis both in works of precepts for the traveller and from private individuals themselves. In this half of the century travellers concentrated on acquiring those accomplishments that became a gentleman of estate and quality. Languages remained a high priority, but statecraft receded into the distance as young men studied the arts of horsemanship, fencing, dancing, drawing landscapes, mastering the guitar and playing tennis gracefully. Many believed, as James Howell did, that "Islanders" faced a disadvantage being isolated from the rest of the citizens of the world. Their young men needed to travel abroad so that they might mingle with those "more refined Nations, whom Learning and Knowledge did first Vrbanize and polish."[37] Travel on the Continent produced confident and comely behaviour in the English gentleman and rid him of his English rusticity, sourness in conversation and laziness.[38] With this view in mind Dr. Thomas Browne expected his son to lose his *pudor rusticus* abroad, and he advised him to "Practise an handsome garb and Civil boldness which he that learneth not in France travaileth in vain."[39] Wondering whether he should send his grandson to Paris for his education, the Duke of Ormond doubted whether the "more refined way of breeding" abroad would be more useful to his son than English "acquaintance and customs."[40] Rather unusually for someone of his degree Ormond decided that an English upbringing would stand his grandson in better stead. Sons from middle class families, like the Brownes, from gentry families, like the Althams and Lowthers, or those from the highest nobility, like the Ormonds, travelled only for their own profit and polish, rarely mentioning within their letters and journals the forgotten ideals of travelling to profit the state that appeared so frequently in the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods.[41] Yet

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[37]Howell, pp. 13-14.

[38][Obadiah Walker], *Of Education Especially of Young Gentlemen* (Oxford, 1673), p. 192.

[39]Dr. Thomas Browne to his son Thomas, 1 November 1661, also 22 December 1660 and 31 January 1661, Geoffrey Keynes, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne* (London, second edition, 1964), IV, pp. 4-5 and 14.

[40]James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormond, to his son Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory, 24 December 1678, *HMC*, Ormonde, new series, IV, p. 289.

[41]Keynes, *Works*, IV; Leventhorpe Altham to his mother, Lady Joan, 1635, Altham papers, letters throughout MSS I and MSS II; Richard Lowther to his father Sir John Lowther from France, 1656, Lowther, D/Lons/L, "Stray Letters 1600-1699"; Ormond letters, *HMC*, Ormonde, new series, IV, various pages.

whether gentlemen embarked for their tours in the late sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, and whatever motives they espoused to officials or family, surely most regarded the prospect of travelling abroad with sheer enjoyment. Perhaps Thomas Coryate spoke for many young Englishmen when he wrote in the early seventeenth century, "Of all the pleasures in the world trauell is ... the sweetest and most delightfull."[42]

Significant numbers of Englishmen travelled abroad for educational purposes during the mid-sixteenth century (and Marian exiles swelled these numbers). Peter Vannes reported to the Privy Council in 1551 on the activities of "light wanderers" in Italy who repaired thither "under the protest of studying languages and seeing countries."[43] By 1563 the Treasurer of the Exchequer, Sir Richard Sackville, expressed doubts about the "common going of Englishmen into Italy."[44] The number of Englishmen travelling abroad increased during the last half of the sixteenth century, and the evidence suggests that by the beginning of the seventeenth century several hundred young Englishmen travelled abroad each year to tour the Continent; by the end of the century thousands probably embarked each year. In 1606 the author of *The Reformed Trauailer* noted the large numbers of travellers flocking into France; some drawn from their homes by desire of learning "rare" sciences or "new conceites," some by pleasure, "But among all other Nations, there commeth not such a great multitude to *Fraunce* ... as doth yearely from this Ile, both of Gentlemen, Students, Marchants, and others."[45] Young Englishmen could find among the multitude of nationalities in early seventeenth-century Italy an "abundance" of their own countrymen.[46] By 1655 the tour was so popular that Thomas

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[42]Coryate, epistle to the reader, folio b2 verso.

[43]Peter Vannes to the Privy Council, 5 April 1551, *CSPF* (1547-1553), Edward VI, no. 313, p. 82. Also p. 110 for further reports.

[44]Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570), *Works*, III, p. 83.

[45] H., W., *The Reformed Trauailer* (London, 1606), folio A4 verso - B.

[46]John Barclay, *The Mirrovr of Mindes* (1614), T. M[ay], trans. (London, 1631), pp. 198-199. First printed in Latin in 1614 as *Icon animorum*.

Culpeper remarked that arguing against travel was tantamount to heresy.[47] The following year Richard Lowther wrote his father that 200 young men would journey to Italy that summer;[48] at least double that number confined their tour to France, Germany and the Low Countries. The records of the Privy Council give some idea of number of young men travelling abroad. During the reigns of James I and his son Charles the Privy Council regularly issued between fifty and seventy travel licences to educational travellers each year, while county and port officials handled hundreds more requests.[49] Concern about the number of Englishmen travelling abroad began, as Sackville's comment suggests, during the mid-sixteenth century. In Chapter I I referred to the grave doubts regarding travel into Italy held by some individuals in the 1550s and 1560s.[50] In the light of both private concern and the growing numbers of Englishman travelling into Italy it is not surprising that some reaction occurred in print. Roger Ascham's criticism of Italian travel in *The Scholemaster* simply provided the spark that re-ignited the long tradition of criticism of English travel abroad.

Because Ascham's *Scholemaster* was so crucial to the development of the images of the educational traveller in early modern England it is necessary to examine his attack on Italian travel in some detail. According to Ascham, a conversation with Sir Richard Sackville on the afternoon of 10 December 1563 prompted him to write *The Scholemaster*.[51] After attending a dinner hosted by William Cecil at Windsor where the diners discussed the repressive discipline used by many schoolmasters, Ascham retired to

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[47] T[homas] C[ulpeper], *Morall Discourses and Essayes* (London, 1655), p. 67.

[48] Richard Lowther to Sir John Lowther, 15 July 1656, Lowther, D/Lons/L "Stray Letters 1600-1699."

[49] See *Acts of the Privy Council*, various eds. (London, 1890-1964), various volumes for travel licences issued by the Privy Council or its clerks. It is likely these figures only represent those applications that were necessary to discuss in Council; the clerk of the Council would have handled far more routinely. Grants of travel licences by the monarch or privy councillors also occur throughout the State Papers. There is extensive documentation throughout the State Papers, the records of the Privy Council, port records and in proclamations to indicate that by the early seventeenth century many hundreds of Englishmen travelled abroad for educational purposes each year.

[50] See above, pp. 34-35.

[51] As explained by Ascham in the Preface to *The Scholemaster*, pp. 78-87.

read Greek with the queen in her chamber. Sackville joined them later, and, drawing Ascham aside, the two men continued discussing the need for gentleness in the schoolmaster. Eventually the conversation turned from the proper education of children to the education of the young gentleman. Both Ascham and Sackville agreed that many indulgent fathers gave their sons too much "liberty to live as they lust" when they set them loose to gain experience in the world.[52] This topic prompted Sackville to ask Ascham what he thought of the "common going" of Englishman into Italy. To this question and to all others raised in their conversation Sackville asked Ascham to "put in some order of writing the chief points of this our talk."[53] This Ascham proceeded to do, but what he originally thought would be a brief pamphlet expanded into a detailed treatise on the education of the child and youth. Finishing a draft by early 1564,[54] Ascham then set it aside for two years after the death of Sackville in April 1566. Only the promptings of William Cecil in 1567 encouraged Ascham to finish the manuscript shortly before his death in December 1568. Adding only a grateful dedication to Cecil, Ascham's widow gave *The Scholemaster of Wynsore*, as it was originally entitled, to John Day to publish sometime after July 1569.[55]

Only the first Book is relevant in the controversy over Italian travel. Ascham divided Book One of *The Scholemaster* into three segments. The first segment dealt with the necessity of schoolmasters treating their charges with tenderness rather than with force in order to inculcate a love of learning in young scholars. In the second segment Ascham

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[52]*Ibid.*, p. 82.

[53]*Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

[54]See G. B. Parks, "The First Draft of Ascham's *Scholemaster*," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, I (1937-1938), pp. 313-327, for his argument that Ascham finished this draft earlier than 1566 as he implied in the preface to *The Scholemaster*, p. 85. Parks presented a detailed summary of the differences between this draft (British Library MS Royal 18 .B. XXIV) and the published *Scholemaster*, although his summary contains two errors: firstly, that Ascham made no mention of Sackville's request as a motivation for writing the treatise (Parks, p. 313), when Ascham did mention the request although not Sackville by name (folios 77 verso - 78); secondly, in omitting to mention the significant addition to the published *Scholemaster* of the criticism of the "great ones" at court in manner of religion and apparel. Lawrence V. Ryan, *Roger Ascham* (Palo Alto, 1963), pp. 253 and 332n, also discusses the stages in the *Scholemaster's* composition.

[55]Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 AD* (London, 1875), I, p. 189b.

dealt with the need for moral discipline in youth between seventeen and twenty-seven. This discussion led Ascham directly into the third segment where he denounced Italian travel for English youth. Several elements in Ascham's discussion of the need for moral discipline in youth have a bearing on his later arguments against Italian travel. Ascham believed that too many fond English fathers paid scant attention to their sons' moral discipline in their most morally vulnerable years, and that "rich and great" men were particularly lax in this regard.[56] It was all very well to ensure that a child was well educated in his tender years, but to then give him "licence to live as [he] lust" resulted in the youth completely losing all the wholesome doctrine he had learned as a child.[57] Furthermore, Ascham abhorred the practice of sending a youth into the world to learn from experience. He argued that one year spent in learning proved more profitable than twenty years spent in experience; "He hazardeth sore that waxeth wise by experience."[58] With this argument Ascham neatly negated the paramount sixteenth-century justification of educational travel that claimed a tour abroad exposed a youth to experience of the world and matured him into a man of profit to the commonwealth. Ascham used his argument against exposing a youth to the hazards of experience to deny the usefulness of travel. Ascham claimed that one year spent diligently reading Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* would do "a young gentleman more good, I wiss, than three years' travel abroad spent in Italy."[59] Ascham also believed that respectable and virtuous scholars at such institutions as St. John's College in Cambridge could educate more learned men at one time than the whole university of Louvain could over many years.[60]

In his discussion of the need for more moral discipline in the English youth Ascham clearly confined his criticism to sons of "great men".[61] In a passage that followed his

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[56] *The Scholemaster*, pp. 122-123.
[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 120-123.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 142, yet in 1551 Ascham wrote to Edward Raven stating that the value of learning the languages abroad was worth ten fellowships at St. John's, 20 January 1551, *Works*, I, part II, p. 266.
[61] "This evil is not common to poor men ... but proper to rich and great men's children," *The Scholemaster*, pp. 122-123.

arguments against the usefulness of experience and immediately prior to his denunciation of Italian travel, Ascham launched a vigorous attack upon the "great ones in the court."[62] Ascham warned these men to take more care in the manner they conducted their lives, for "as you great ones use to do, so all mean men love to do."[63] Ascham castigated these men for their ill behaviour in two specific areas, their conduct in religion and their excess in apparel. Given both the medieval and early modern concern that Englishmen habitually dressed too flamboyantly, Ascham's criticism about their manner of apparel is not particularly unusual. His criticism of their conduct in matters of religion, however, was a little more curious:

> if you yourselves do serve God gladly and orderly for conscience sake, not coldly, and sometime for manner sake, you carry all the court with you, and the whole realm beside .... If you do otherwise, you be the only authors of all misorders in religion, not only to the court, but to all England beside. Infinite shall be made cold in religion by your example, that were never hurt by reading of books.[64]

Even before Ascham explicitly attacked Machiavellian atheists in his segment on Italian travel he foreshadowed the concept with these words and connected it with influential figures at court.

After his previously expressed belief that English fathers set their sons loose too early to gain experience in the world, in effect giving them *carte blanche* to "live as they lust," Ascham's condemnation of Italian travel for English youth was hardly surprising. Ascham vilified Italian travel, not because he disliked knowledge of the Italian language, nor for any private malice he bore Italy, but because of the pleasure and vice that were rife in the country. Ascham honoured the memory of classical Rome, but that time had long past, and while virtue "once made that country mistress over all the world; vice now maketh that country slave to them that before were glad to serve it."[65] The degeneration of Rome from its past glory was an old sadness for Ascham. In 1550 he wrote to his

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[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-147.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

beloved friend Sturm that through "her present customs, papist luxury, and domineering anti-Christianity" Rome had subjected herself to "good men's hatred."[66] Men should no longer regard Italy as a fit place to send youth to acquire either wisdom or honesty because it was now little more than a nest of vice. Rather than concentrate on the dangers of Catholicism Ascham argued that it was the vice and pleasure in Italy that transformed the young man, corrupting his mind so that he forgot all learning and goodness.[67] Italy abounded in corrupt manners and licentiousness, and the pleasure and vice of Circe's den transformed the young Englishman into a "right Italian."[68] While many "noble personages" managed to avoid the "Siren songs" of Italy, many more, and some of them Ascham's dear friends, returned home "worse transformed than ever was any in Circes' court."[69] While a firm belief in God's grace might shield a youth from the infection of Italy, most English travellers appeared to disdain such protection:

> I am afraid, that over-many of our travellers into Italy do not eschew the way to Circes' court, but go, and ride, and run, and fly thither: they make great haste to come to her; they make great suit to serve her; yea, I could point out some with my finger, that never had gone out of England, but only to serve Circes in Italy.[70]

Pleasure corrupted the youth in four ways: it made him forget all the good things he had learned previously, it made him incapable of receiving learning or honesty ever again, it predisposed him to embrace the worst opinions, and, finally, pleasure so corrupted the youth that thereafter he scorned any man of integrity and honesty whom he met.[71] Once the youth's mind became corrupted with vanity, his sound judgement gave way to any "fond opinion" in religion or philosophy with which he came in contact,[72] and this was when the frightening damage occurred. Ascham stated that Italians said of the English, "Inglese Italianato è un diabolo incarnato," which he interpreted as, "You

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[66]Roger Ascham to Sturm, 4 April 1550, in Hatch, p. 321.
[67]*The Scholemaster*, pp. 152-154.
[68]*Ibid.*, p. 151.
[69]*Ibid.*, p. 152. See G. B. Parks, "The First Italianate Englishman," *Studies in the Renaissance*, VIII (1961), pp. 197-216, for his attempt to identify Ascham's Italianates.
[70]*The Scholemaster*, pp. 155-156.
[71]*Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.
[72]*Ibid.*, p. 154.

remain men in shape and fashion, but become devils in life and condition."[73] This interpretation neatly summarized the most threatening aspect of the Machiavellian Italianate; there was nothing in this devil's outward appearance or manner to suggest the evil beneath. Only the catastrophic results of the devil incarnate's subtle treachery revealed him.

Should his reader still remain unaware of his exact meaning, Ascham explicitly explained the diabolical nature of the Italianated gentleman:

> I will plainly tell [you]: "He that by living and travelling in Italy, bringeth home into England out of Italy, the religion, the learning, the policy, the experience, the manners of Italy." That is to say, for religion, papistry or worse; for learning, less commonly than they carried out with them; for policy, a factious heart, a discoursing head, a mind to meddle in all men's matters; for the experience, plenty of new mischiefs never known in England before; for manners, variety of vanities, and change of filthy living.[74]

Ascham added the element of civic factiousness behaviour to the Italianate's character only after resuming work on the manuscript in 1567.[75] Expanding on what he meant by "worse" when he said travellers brought home "papistry, or worse" for religion, Ascham explained that the Italianated gentleman gladly sung,

> *Dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus* .... they count as fables the holy mysteries of Christian religion. They make Christ and his gospel only serve civil policy. Then neither religion cometh amiss to them: in time they be promoters of both openly; in place again mockers of both privily .... they mock the pope, they rail on Luther; they allow neither side; they like none, but only themselves .... the end they look for, the heaven they desire, is only their own present pleasure and private profit; whereby they plainly declare of whose school, of what religion they be; that is, Epicures in living, and [atheists] in doctrine.[76]

Despite the fact that they could be freely of no religion in Italy, on their return to England these men had to "countenance the profession of the one or the other, howsoever inwardly they laugh to scorn both."[77] While they flattered and fawned upon noble

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[73] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[75] See *ibid.*, p. 166, for further comment by Ascham on the factious heart the Italianated traveller brought home with him (not included in the 1564 draft).
[76] *Ibid.*, pp 161-162.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

personages, these Italianated Englishmen tended to ally themselves with the worst Catholics with whom they agreed on three principles: an open contempt of God's word, a secret security of sin, and a bloody desire to do away with those who were not of their faction. Ascham believed that anyone who had read either Pighius or Machiavelli would know he spoke the truth.[78]

Ascham opened a Pandora's box and let loose three issues closely interwoven with Italian travel: Machiavellianism, atheism, and sedition - previously only sedition had received marked attention in public comment. Ascham positively identified the Italianate with both Machiavellianism and atheism. Not only did *The Scholemaster* foster the English reaction against Italianism, but it also helped encourage late sixteenth-century English writers to closely connect Machiavelli with atheism.[79] In Ascham's worst scenario the Italianated Englishman returned home from his travels in Italy a Machiavellian atheist, a seditious character who would stop at nothing to advance his own personal ambitions at the expense of the commonwealth's stability. Ascham's threatening image of the Italianated and Machiavellian atheist achieved ready acceptance with the publication of *The Scholemaster* in the aftermath of the 1569 northern rebellion and the plots against Elizabeth in the early 1570s, and I discuss Ascham's influence in this regard further in Chapters IV and V. Ascham intended his readers to question seriously the advisability of sending English youths into the vice-ridden Italian society, but it it doubtful that he had any idea of the adverse impact his vivid image of the wicked Italianated traveller would have on the public image of the educational traveller.[80]

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[78] *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163. Albert Pighi (*circa* 1490-1542) was a Catholic polemist who in 1541 took part in the Colloquy of Rastibon; Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli* (London, 1964), p. 33n; and F. L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London, 1957), pp. 1071-1072.

[79] See George T. Buckley, *Atheism in the English Renaissance* (New York, [1932] 1965), especially pp. 31-42.

[80] Just prior to his death Ascham wrote a long letter to his friend Sturm detailing the arguments of *The Scholemaster* and what he hoped to achieve with its publication. Despite the length and detail of this letter (Ascham called it a "little book"), Ascham never once mentioned his attack on Italian travel; Ascham to Sturm, mid-December 1568, in Hatch, pp. 859-884.

After Ascham's attack on Italian travel it proved virtually impossible for the public image of educational travel in early modern England to rid itself of negative images. Almost immediately the image of the treacherous Machiavellian and Italianated traveller emerged in private letters, official documents, and, most effectively, in the popular literature of the day - the poems, plays and pamphlets. The extensive promotion of the powerful and negative image of the Machiavellian Italianate ensured that early modern educational travel subsequently found it difficult to rid itself of negative associations. Other images soon attached themselves to the traveller: the moral delinquent (which Ascham also fostered), the cultural renegade, the foolish traveller, and the traveller-liar. These last four images were to varying degrees traditional, and Ascham was not directly responsible for them, yet by triggering the public comment and debate over the issue of educational travel he was indirectly responsible for the re-emergence of traditional criticisms. In some instances clearly definable categories of material concentrated on one or two images at the expense of others. In the last part of this chapter I will briefly examine four categories of source material that often promoted images of or anxieties about educational travellers to determine what images of the traveller each promoted and when these images tended to emerge. These four categories are the records of official concern, popular literature and drama, conduct literature, and the private correspondence of travellers and their families.

Official documents from the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century regarding educational travel abroad reflected the authorities' concern with the political and religious stability of England. The primary concern of the monarch, the Council and the two Houses of Parliament revolved around the possible conversion to Catholicism by English travellers on the Continent, and the probable weakening of their political allegiance thereafter. Consequently, the primary image that emerged in the mass of official documentation concerning English travel abroad is that of the spiritual traitor and overwhelmingly that of the convert to Catholicism. The content of travel licences,

commissions to port officials, debates in both Houses of Parliament, examinations of travellers and sundry letters and instructions all reveal official preoccupation with the religious and therefore the political integrity of the traveller. Concern about the atheist and the Machiavellian Italianate also emerged in official circles, but after the early 1570s the authorities did not usually connect these images with the issue of educational travel in official correspondence. A period of greater than usual official concern could sometimes affect the images presented in both popular and conduct literature. The concerted attempt by James I and his Council in 1604-1608 to regulate strictly the issuing of travel licences undoubtedly influenced Ben Jonson to write the issue of travel licences into *Volpone or the Foxe* (1606),[81] while in 1607 James Cleland carefully stressed to parents that they must obtain a licence from the King's Majesty for their sons.[82]

Popular literature particularly promoted the images of the foolish traveller and the traveller-liar, but the image of the Italianated traveller was also very strong, particularly in the late sixteenth century. Ascham's image of the wicked Italianated traveller proved immediately attractive to poets, playwrights, pamphleteers and essayists and the description of the Italianate Englishman as a 'devil incarnate' appeared very quickly in verse and prose. George Gascoigne included this image in a poem he wrote for a friend in 1572:

> ...our Countreymen of late
> Haue caughte such knackes abroad in forayne lande,
> That most men call them *Deuils incarnate.*[83]

Thomas Nashe's traveller to Italy came home a vice-ridden atheist,[84] while the scheming characters of Shakespeare's Jaques (1599), Samuel Daniel's Colax (1605) and George Chapman's Antonio (1619) illustrate the increasingly threatening aspect that these

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[81]Ben Jonson, *Volpone or the Foxe* (produced 1606), C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, eds., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925-1952), V, Act II, scene i, p. 46. To my knowledge it does not appear elsewhere in drama.
[82]Cleland, p. 252.
[83]George Gascoigne, *Councel giuen to master Bartholmew Withipall* (1572), William Carew Hazlitt, ed., *The Complete Poems of George Gascoigne* (London, 1870), I, p. 375.
[84]Thomas Nashe, *The Vnfortvnate Traveller* (1594), H. F. B. Brett-Smith, ed. (Oxford, 1927), pp. 96-97.

Italianates assumed.[85] After the first two decades of the seventeenth century the character of the Italianate tended to lose its Machiavellian overtones and became foolish rather than threatening.[86] Popular literature and drama usually associated the morally corrupt traveller with the Machiavellian Itaianate, or Italianate, and the foolish traveller rather than portray it as a distinct character in its own right.

From the 1590s and throughout the seventeenth century writers of popular literature and drama regularly promoted the capacity of the traveller to return "out of love with [his] nativity."[87] The clear association of the traveller with a loss of cultural and national identity and allegiance appeared throughout the sixteenth century in more general works,[88] and it began appearing regularly in popular literature from the 1590s. The title character in *Thomas Lord Cromwell* (1602) protested his love of England on his return home from travelling abroad,[89] while Sir Thomas Overbury's quintessential character of the affected traveller would "choake rather than confesse *Beere* good drinke."[90] The tendency for travellers to return estranged from their homeland often appeared associated with the foolish or ridiculous traveller of the seventeenth century.

In 1578 Sir Philip Sidney prophetically wrote to his brother Robert that he feared that before long travellers would become the sport of comedies.[91] Sidney' observation anticipated popular ridicule by many years. Another fifteen years passed before the

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[85]Jaques, William Shakespeare, *As You Like It* (produced in 1599); Colax, Samuel Daniel, *The Qveenes Arcadia* (produced in 1605), Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel* (London, 1885), III, pp. 207-300; Antonio, George Chapman, *Two Wise Men and all the rest Fooles* (London, 1619), produced same year.

[86]John Cooke's character of Stains in *Greene's Tu Quoque* (produced in 1611), and George Chapman and James Shirley's character of Freshwater in *The Ball* (produced in 1632), are two good examples of the foolish Italianate.

[87]Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act IV, scene i.

[88]Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle Containing the History of England* (London, 1809), p. 597; Wilson, p. 162; *Cyuile and vncyuile life* (London, 1579), folio Bii; Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Wherin Those Primitive Circvmstances be Examined, Which are Necessarie for the Training vp of children, either for skill in Their Booke, or health in their bodie* (1581), Robert Herbert Quick, ed. (London, 1888), p. 210.

[89]S., W., *The True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, C. F. Tucker Brooke, ed., *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1918), Act II, scene ii, p. 179.

[90][Sir Thomas Overbury?], *The Overburian Characters* (1614), W. J. Payler, ed. (Oxford 1936), p. 11. See Paylor's comments on the dubious authorship of this work, pp. xvi-xxxi. *The Overburian Characters* were reprinted many times during the seventeenth century.

[91]Philip Sidney to Robert Sidney, 1578, Albert Feuillerat, ed., *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, 1962), III, p. 125.

foolish traveller began to appear with any regularity in popular literature, and even then the character was generally more threatening than laughable. The foolish traveller of popular literature during the period 1590-1610 was often morally corrupt and occasionally almost as threatening as the character of the Italianated and Machiavellian traveller of the same period.[92] Throughout most of the seventeenth century, however, the popular character of the foolish traveller appeared as a ridiculous dandy, a popular figure in drama, verse, prose and jests.[93] Another image closely associated with the foolish traveller in popular literature was the traveller-liar. William Bullein repopularized the traditional image of the traveller-liar with the character of Mendax in *A Dialogue against the feuer Pestilence* (1563-1564), reprinted four times during the 1560s and 1570s.[94] Thereafter the traveller-liar became a standard character and joke in popular literature, for "Trauailers are giuen (some say) to begull the worlde with gudgins."[95] Like moral corruption the vice of lying was often associated with the foolish traveller and sometimes with the Italianate traveller.

The handbooks, essays and pamphlets that composed the genre of conduct, or courtesy, literature contained instruction or advice, although, as Lacey Baldwin Smith points out, they were primarily instruments of social and moral indoctrination rather than books of etiquette.[96] Many works in this genre contained essays on or were entirely devoted to the subject of educational travel. Only a few works of this genre were entirely negative regarding educational travel. Some authors, like Richard Mulcaster (1581) and

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[92]Examples are the malcontent in Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse his Svpplication to the Divell* (1592), R. B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (Oxford, 1958), I, p. 169; and Robert Greene's malcontent in *The Life and Death of Robert Greene Maister of Artes* (1592), Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene M. A.* (London, 1881-1886), XII, pp. 172-173.

[93]For example, the ridiculous Mr. Frenchlove in James Howard's *The English Monsieur* (London, 1674), first produced 1663.

[94]William Bullein, *Dialogue against the feuer Pestilence*, Mark W. Bullen and A. H. Bullen, eds. (London, 1888), pp. 94-111.

[95]Nicholas Breton, *An Olde Mans Lesson, and a Yovng Mans Loue* (1605), Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton* (Edinburgh, 1879), II, p. 13.

[96]Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Treason in Tudor England* (Princeton, 1986), p. 77. See also John E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 4-5; and Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century 1600-1660* (Oxford, revised edition, 1962), pp. 24-26.

Anthony Stafford (1612), followed Ascham's example and suggested that it profited the young gentleman more to stay at home and study rather than to travel abroad.[97] While neither Mulcaster or Stafford wrote lengthy passages on educational travel, in 1617 Joseph Hall devoted an entire book to arguing that travel abroad was both unnecessary and harmful. The gentleman who travelled abroad faced the dangers of "corruption of religion, and deprauation of manners."[98] While he also discussed moral corruption, Hall centred his disapproval of travel around the dangers that Jesuits posed to young gentlemen too inexperienced to tell truth from falsehood in matters of religion. It is very possible that Hall responded to the anxieties of the early seventeenth-century authorities, for he took the unusual step of praising James I's "wise and wholesome lawes" enacted to restrict young men participating in the "dangerous liberty" of educational travel.[99] The only other seventeenth century work to deny utterly any redeeming values for educational travel was the Duchess of Newcastle's *Orations of divers sorts* (1662). The Duchess attacked the general belief that gentlemen could not be considered well bred unless they had travelled abroad to see the fashions, customs and manners of the world. She believed many English gentlemen returned with nothing but vanities and vices that corrupted the entire nation.[100] Works like those by Hall and the Duchess of Newcastle served to keep the issue of educational travel alive in both the public forum and private circles.

While only a few conduct manuals entirely denied the advantages of educational travel, it is a reflection of both the strength of concern within the community and of the negative image of the traveller that virtually no works of conduct literature after 1570 praised travel unequivocally. Haly Heron's *The Kayes of Counsaile* (1579) and Thomas Morrice's

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[97]Mulcaster, pp. 208-212; Anthony Stafford, *Meditations, and Resolutions, Moral, Divine, Politicall. Century I* (London, 1612), p. 62.

[98]Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? A Ivst Censvre of Travell as it is commonly vndertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation* (London, 1617), p. 44.

[99]*Ibid.*, p. 85.

[100]Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Orations of divers sorts, Accomodated to Divers Places* (London, 1662), pp. 73-74.

Apology for SchooleMasters (1619) are two of the rare exceptions. The vast majority of works contained within the genre of conduct literature praised the benefits wise men might accrue through travel abroad, but they also recognized (and popularized) the dangers involved and offered the youth precepts to help him avoid the pitfalls. By their very existence these precepts both indicated the authors' acceptance of the criticisms of travel and reinforced both dangers and negative images in the reader's mind. A typical piece of conduct literature spent more than twice the space on the dangers than on the benefits. In many instances these authors borrowed heavily from one another, and the arguments and phrases of one popular work might resurface in successive works over a period of fifty years or more.[101] Playwrights and essayists sometimes borrowed well-known precepts from conduct literature to include in their work. Shakespeare offered precepts for the traveller in *Hamlet* that closely followed the advice of conduct literature, while the poet and essayist Nicholas Breton presented detailed precepts in *An Olde Mans Lesson, and a Yovng Mans Loue* (1605).[102]

The authors of moral and conduct treatises generally concentrated on advising the young gentleman how to maintain his spiritual and moral integrity while abroad. Conduct literature is the only genre of material, apart from official documents, to express any significant degree of concern regarding spiritual corruption, and many works never mentioned it at all.[103] Authors commonly advised the traveller to be "well setled" in his religion before he left England,[104] for it was, remarked Sir Fulke Greville, "a vulgar scandall of *Trauellers* that few returne more religious than they went out."[105] Authors

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[101]Sir John Stradling, John Florio, *Second Frvtes* (London, 1591), and Owen Feltham are examples of authors whose arguments and phrases reappeared throughout the seventeenth century. Florio was the English-born son of an Italiam immigrant.

[102]Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, scene ii; Breton, *Works*, II, pp. 8-14.

[103]Among others, Richard Mulcaster (1581), Sir John Stradling (1592), Francis Bacon (late sixteenth century), Robert Johnson (1601), Sir John Melton (1609), Anthony Stafford (1612) and Benjamin Foster (1633) neglected to mention religious issues or dangers at all in their published essays, advice for, and criticisms of travel.

[104]Dallington, *A Method for Trauell*, folio B verso, is one example of many.

[105]Fulke Greville, *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes* (London, 1633), p. 295. This is the first publication of another widely circulated late sixteenth-century manuscript letter of disputed authorship. Spedding, who also printed the letter, ascribed it to Bacon, *Works*, IX, pp. 2-5 and 16-19. In the late seventeenth century Richard Parr claimed Sir Thomas Bodley was the author, *Life of ... James Usher*

warned against either Catholicism or atheism and sometimes both, while in 1642 James Howell suggested that the "Geneva lake" might be as dangerous as the "Roman See."[106] The dangers to the moral integrity of the youth abroad received as much if not more attention from authors of conduct treatises as did the dangers of spiritual corruption. Sir John Stradling realized that pleasure stood "as a faire wanton" on every corner tempting the passers-by, and he offered advice on how to escape the snares of passion abroad.[107] As late as 1642 Thomas Fuller recalled Ascham's opinion regarding the corruption of vice and pleasure in Italy and thanked God that some English gentlemen managed to avoid infection while travelling in that country.[108]

One image that rarely appeared in conduct literature was the Machiavellian Italianate traveller. When it did appear, as in Bartholmew Batty's *The Christian mans Closet* (1581) and the anonymous *The Office of Christian Parents* (1616), it clearly occurred as a direct result of Ascham's influence.[109] The traveller who abandoned his native heritage for foreign culture earned the criticism of far more authors. James Howell that thought these travellers were men who retained the worst at the expense of the best, "their *Memories being herein like haire seeves, that keep up the branne, and let go the fine flowre.*"[110] Conduct books also advised the traveller against returning a foolish young man who could do no more than salute his friends in the French fashion and rattle off the names of the towns he had passed through.[111] This advice began to appear regularly from 1630 after almost forty years of popular literature's promotion of the character of the

(London, 1686), pp. 17-19 (after main body of text). See also Hugh Maclean, "Reliquiae Bodleianae: Letter CCXXXII," *Bodleian Library Record*, VI (1960), pp. 537-541. The profusion of these surviving letters indicates the frequency with which they circulated within late sixteenth and early seventeenth century English society.

[106]Howell, p. 17.

[107]Stradling, folio B.

[108]Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State and the Profane State* (1642), Maximilian Graff Walten, ed. (New York, 1966), II, p. 159.

[109]Bartholmew Batty, *The Christian mans Closet* (Cambridge, 1581), p. 52; *The Office of Christian Parents* (London, 1616), p. 155. Surprisingly, Robert Dallington, folio B4, preferred his traveller to come home Italianated rather than Frenchified, but he qualified his statement by writing that he spoke of both characters in the "better sense" and meant "stayed, demure, respectiue, graue, aduised" by the word Italianate, a far cry from Ascham's Machiavellian Italianate.

[110]Howell, p. 63.

[111][Sir John Melton], *A Sixe-Folde Politician* (London, 1609), pp. 52-53.

foolish traveller and was undoubtedly influenced by popular perceptions of the traveller. The popularization of the character of the traveller-liar in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century literature plainly influenced the appearance of advice against the traveller exaggerating his experiences or telling outright lies in the conduct literature of the seventeenth century.

Many authors whose works do not fall into either genre of popular or conduct literature also commented on travel. Evidently influenced by *The Scholemaster*, William Harrison denounced Italian travel in *The Description of England* (1587) for causing atheism, infidelity, vicious conversation and ambitious and proud behaviour. Harrison castigated Englishmen who did not call the behaviour of these Italianates into question, although, fearing retribution, he carefully curtailed his criticism.[112] In 1612 Henry Holland praised Ascham's wisdom in revealing the dangers of Circe's court both to travellers and to Englishmen at home through the enchantments of merry translations from Italy.[113] By 1608 the images of the atheist and the traveller were so intertwined that Jeremy Corderoy's atheist in *A Warning for Worldlings* was by default a traveller.[114] The image of the traveller who had lost his cultural and national allegiance emerged, perhaps naturally, in some patriotic works. Thomas Gainsford believed that travellers were among those who would not like his *Glory of England* (1618), for they would think his praise of England "ouer-liberall and ouer-partiall."[115] Translators of foreign books often took the opportunity to include comments on travel in the prefaces to their translations. Philip Jones wrote a brief passage on why he thought the English tardy and gross travellers in the dedication to Albert Meier's *Certaine briefe, and speciall*

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[112]William Harrison, *The Description of England* (1587), Georges Edelen, ed. (New York, 1968), pp. 114-115.

[113]Henry Holland, ed., *The Workes of the Reverend ... Richard Greenham* (London, fifth edition, 1612), preface to the reader, not paginated.

[114]Jeremy Corderoy, *A Warning for Worldlings* (London, 1608). Ascham's image of the Italianate atheist was also popular in works and sermons on the religious problems of England. Thomas Palfreyman, *The Treatise of Heavenly Philosophie* (London, 1578), p. 703, and John Hull, *Saint Peters Prophesie of These Last Daies* (London, 1610), p. 127, both copied directly from Ascham.

[115]Thomas Gainsford, *The Glory of England* (London, 1618), in the preface to the reader, folio ¶ 4 verso.

Instructions, while Lewes Lewkenor praised the benefits of travel for "wise" men in the preface to Gaspar Contareno's *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice.*[116] Dialogues like John Florio's *Second Frvtes* (1591), which provided examples of translation to and from another language, often contained advice for travellers, usually of a more practical nature than the advice offered in conduct literature.[117] Travellers who published accounts of their travels often took the opportunity to defend themselves and encourage other young men to travel. In 1590 Edward Webbe defended himself against the popular image of the traveller-liar by insisting the account of his travel was truthful in every respect.[118] Thomas Coryate not only published Professor Hermann Kirchner's oration praising travel in his travelogue, *Coryates Crudities* (1611), but he also took pains to praise the practice in his epistle to the reader.[119]

The sentiments evident among surviving letters and diaries of individuals and families regarding educational travel naturally embrace every opinion from the extremely positive to the extremely negative. Parents often used the precepts offered in the conduct literature to advise their sons before travel. References to conduct books appear in letters, and individuals often transcribed excerpts into their copybooks. When writing advice for a friend's travels, Gabriel Harvey read "Maister Turlers" precepts for travellers,[120] while as late as 1648 relatives and friends still asked for Hall's *Quo vadis?* to present to prospective travellers.[121] Sometimes parents' anxieties can be a little difficult to gauge

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[116]Albert Meier, *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions*, Philip Jones, trans. (London, 1589), dedication to Sir Francis Drake, not paginated; Cardinal Gasper Contareno, *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice*, Lewes Lewkenor, trans. (London, 1599), epistle to the reader, folio A.

[117]Florio, pp. 91-111.

[118]Edward Webbe, *Edward Webbe ... His Trauailes* (1590), Edmund Goldsmid, ed. (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 9. Webbe, in the best Mandevillian tradition, then proceeded to relate fantastic tales of Prester John's court.

[119]Coryate, epistle to the reader, folios b2-b8.

[120]Gabriel Harvey to M. Immerito, late 1570s, Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Osgood, Frederick Padelford and Ray Heffner, eds., *The Works of Edmund Spenser* (Baltimore, 1966), X, p. 444. Harvey referred to Jerome Turler's *Traveiler of Ierome Turler* (London, 1575).

[121]William Dillingham to [William] Sancroft, 7 February 1648, Tanner 58/690. Cecil's advice to his son Robert not to pass the Alps appeared throughout the seventeenth century in copybooks and memorials, as did Essex's letter to the Earl of Rutland; see Sir Daniel Fleming's *Memorials*, W. G. Collingwood, ed. (Kendall, 1928), pp. 92-97, and the British Literary Manuscripts in the Folger Library, volumes V.a. 180, 321 and 381.

because they often did not set their advice or anxieties in writing, preferring to give their sons advice personally before departure. Letters written to sons abroad often did not survive the tour, and sons were less likely to keep letters of anxiety and censure than others. Surviving collections of entire correspondence between parents, their son and the son's tutor are rare, often only the son's letters home survive.[122] Despite this restriction it is often possible to determine a parent's anxiety from a son's letters home. In this sense a defence is as useful as an accusation. If a son carefully stressed the corruptions he avoided then it is reasonable to assume that he was responding to specific anxieties on a parent's part.

Doubts about the traveller's spiritual integrity did not emerge as a strong theme in private letters. Concern might only surface once a parent, relative or friend had heard rumours of a traveller's possible conversion. More often than not no mention of religious concern appears in correspondence, or travellers and friends might express anxiety only about the physical dangers that religious differences posed. In the early seventeenth century William Bedell asked Samuel Ward if he knew the safest way home to England from Italy, for he had heard that the Inquisition in Milan imprisoned people who did not "duck not lowe at euery Crosse."[123] William Cecil likewise feared only that his son Thomas might suffer at the hands of Catholics who hated Cecil, and neither he nor Thomas Windebank expressed any reservations about the spiritual dangers of travelling in Italy.[124] Even the most devout families sometimes neglected to mention the possibility of spiritual corruption abroad. The sanctimonious Sir Simonds D'Ewes made no comment about the religious dangers of travel on the Continent to his brother Richard while he was on tour in the late 1630s.[125] Fearing the consequences of government persecution, heavy

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[122]The extensive correspondence between Sir William Cecil, Thomas Cecil and Thomas Windebank in the State Papers is one of the rare exceptions.

[123]William Bedell to Samuel Ward, Tanner 75/17.

[124]Sir William Cecil to Thomas Windebank, 16 November 1562, PRO SP 12/25/102; Windebank to Cecil, 18 November 1562, PRO SP 12/25/109.

[125]The D'Ewes correspondence in the Harleian collection of mss., volumes 379 and 382, various folios.

fines or confiscation of lands, the nobility and gentry were more likely than middle class or professional families to worry about the possible conversion of their sons abroad.

The overriding concern for most families was that a son should maintain his moral integrity while abroad. Most parents feared the corruption of their son through pleasure and vice more than the possibility of some smooth-talking Jesuit seducing his religious fidelity. In the sixteenth century Stephen Powle assured his father that his only desire in wanting to travel abroad was to increase his knowledge and learning, not spend his time and money "vpon dishonest Courtezans."[126] Almost eighty years later Richard Lowther made a similar guarantee to his father promising he would eschew the vices of drinking, swearing and gambling to which most English students in the French university town of Saumur succumbed; "By gods assistance I shall avoid, & escape thes rocks on which [many] suffer shipwrake."[127] Parents also worried about their son's companions; in 1646 Henry Seymour's mother instructed him to dismiss a companion who had begun to demonstrate a certain "debaushnesse."[128]

The image of Italianated traveller and the traveller-liar received little attention in private letters, but the idea of their son returning a ridiculous fop concerned some parents. John Holles warned his son that too many young men returned home with "crooke shoulders, unstayed countenances, mopps and maws thrusting outte the crupper, and head forward, a shaling pace, affected gestures, curchies, salutations and odd fashions of apparell, speeche [and] diet."[129] Holles' advice owed a undeniable debt to the image of the foolish traveller popularized in the drama, verse and pamphlets of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Surprisingly, families paid little attention to the physical dangers inherent in travel; in this regard they echoed conduct literature's general lack of advice on the same point. The letters of travellers, their diaries, reports and journals graphically

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[126]Stephen Powle to Thomas Powle, 25 May 1579, Tanner 309/11 verso.
[127]Richard Lowther to Sir John Lowther, 22 April 1656, Lowther, D/Lons/L "Stray Letters 1600-1699."
[128]Henry Seymour to his mother, the Marchioness of Hertford, 6 May 1646, stating he had carried out her instructions in this matter, Seymour Papers 6/102.
[129]John Holles, "Instructions for travell...," *Letters*, p. 52 and also p. 53 for more on the subject.

describe the physical dangers in travelling abroad,[130] but they rarely dwell on them. Thomas Windebank's only comment on a proposed treacherous passage through the high Alpine passes in mid-winter was a laconic "as for the Colde of the winter and the snowe in the mountaynes, we must doo as others doo, and be armid against it as well as we may."[131] Perhaps because there was as much risk of "contagion," "consumption," peril and death at home,[132] families accepted the risks of travel abroad and prepared as best they could. Concern normally began only once parents knew, or suspected, that a son lay ill abroad.

The public image of the educational traveller in the late sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century remained overwhelmingly negative.[133] Travellers might defend themselves in print and publish their travel accounts or political and historical surveys of the European nations, but there was never a strong public image of the educational traveller that was consistently benevolent. Sometimes travellers attracted fulsome praise, notably Sir Philip Sidney,[134] but such examples tended to become lost amid the negative images. Although conduct literature carefully detailed the benefits of travel, many authors tended to reinforce and validate the negative images associated with educational travel by suggesting precepts to avoid the perceived dangers inherent in travel. They might detail the benefits, but they also detailed the dangers, the corruptions and the evils. The examples from conduct literature demonstrating the benefits of travel cited earlier in this chapter occurred in works that also admitted the validity of the negative

[130] An example is John Evelyn's graphic description of the horrors of travelling through the Alps in the mid-1640s; E. S. deBeer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford, 1955), II, pp. 509-511. Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* also contains descriptions of his passage through the Alps as well as the many other physical dangers the travellers faced abroad.

[131] Thomas Windebank to Sir William Cecil, 18 November 1562, PRO SP 12/25/109 verso.

[132] Hermann Kirchner, an oration in praise of travel, in Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities*, folio C8 verso.

[133] This is in stark contrast to the image of the adventuring traveller seeking new lands in the New World or the Far East. His image remained almost totally benevolent, perhaps because the adventurer's philosophy was to conquer foreign cultures rather than let them conquer him.

[134] For example G[eorge] W[hetstone], *Sir Philip Sidney, his honorable life, his valiant death, and true vertues* (London, 1586).

criticisms. Corrupt or foolish travellers usually overshadowed any strong and wise travellers within the same play.[135] By the second half of the seventeenth century virtually no positive images of the educational traveller remained in English drama. Even travellers' letters rarely exhibited uninhibited enthusiasm. Although large numbers of Englishmen set out on the tour each year, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, rarely did their parents let them go with light hearts. Unlike the late twentieth century perception of travel abroad as a recreation, early modern English parents understood it as a necessity. A profitable tour might mean the difference between a successful career or a lifetime of financial uncertainty for a son; at the least it might mean the difference between a socially sophisticated gentleman and one who could do no more than discuss his pack of hounds. It was the 'necessity' of travel that persuaded parents to let their sons go, even though many held deep reservations about their sons' ability to withstand the corrupting powers of the Continent.

The only body of people who undoubtedly held a consistently benevolent view of educational travel was young men who hoped to undertake a tour themselves. Yet some of the most negative comments in print came from men who had once enthusiastically campaigned for their own tours and had then enjoyed their travel to the fullest. Roger Ascham is the prime example of a traveller who did this. Joseph Hall is another. Perhaps Henry Peacham had these men in mind when he wrote in 1634, "many disallow [travel] in Gentlemen, yea and some great trauellers themselues; but mee thinkes they are as one who hath filled his owne belly, and denieth the dish to his fellow."[136] Later in the seventeenth century Thomas Culpeper and John Evelyn both expressed considerable

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[135]The Italianated traveller, Antonio, overshadowed the wise traveller, Proberio, in George Chapman's *Two Wise Men*. An exception to this rule was Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher's *Queen of Corinth* (produced in 1617) in which two foolish travellers only enhanced the positive image of the two wise travellers (especially Act II, scene i). It is interesting to note that this play, which briefly debated the pros and cons of travel, appeared in the same year as Moryson's *Itinerary* and Hall's *Quo vadis?*, two influential works that respectively argued for and against educational travel.

[136]Henry Peacham, *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman* (1634), G. S. Gordon, ed. (Oxford, 1906), p. 235.

reservations about educational travel after travelling themselves.[137] This trend of travellers turning against the practice of educational travel did not only occur in print. Stephen Powle travelled abroad in 1579-1581 after spending much time and trouble begging his father for the money to go. Once abroad he unquestionably enjoyed his travels around the Continent. Yet immediately on his return home in mid-1581 Powle wrote a letter to an unknown person in authority arguing that travel was dangerous and ultimately resulted in the conversion of the traveller to atheism.[138] As Powle sought employment at this time he undoubtedly only wrote what he believed his recipient wished to hear.

Officials worried about the spiritual and political corruption of the traveller abroad, parents worried about the moral corruption of their sons, and conduct literature trod a delicate balance between the authorities and the audience and worried about both spiritual and moral corruption. Popular literature tended to pick up images and promote them very quickly. The wicked Italianated traveller appeared swiftly in popular literature in the 1570s and proved an extremely popular character in the late sixteenth century, as well as providing a politically safe villain for the licensing board and the Office of Revels.[139] The belief that the traveller might lose his cultural and national allegiance appeared in more general works in the 1570s and 1580s, and it appeared almost simultaneously in verse, prose and drama. The re-establishment of the traditional images of the foolish traveller and the traveller-liar was accomplished almost entirely through popular literature. While popular literature was sensitive to public opinion, it also shaped it to a significant degree in the late sixteenth century. As a general rule conduct literature responded rather

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[137]Culpeper, pp. 66-75; J[ohn] E[velyn], *The State of France* (London, 1652), in the "Prefatory Letter," not paginated.

[138]"In dispraise of trauaile, & confutation of Atheisme," mid-1581, Tanner 309/28-37 verso. The opening address and tone of the letter indicate that Powle wrote it for someone in authority.

[139]The licensing board, consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, normally had to license all printed materials before publication. The Master of the Revels, assisted by a divine and one other person nominated by the Lord Mayor of London, had to examine all pieces of drama before performance. See Frederick Seaton Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776* (Urbana, 1965), especially pp. 61-63, for regulations regarding licensing of printed material; and minutes of the Privy Council, 12 November 1589, for discussions of the role of the Master of Revels regarding the licensing of public drama, *ACP*, XVIII, pp. 214-215.

than initiated, and it tended to respond rather slowly except on one or two occasions during James I's reign, when a few works responded swiftly to official anxieties regarding the traveller's spiritual and political allegiance while abroad. In keeping with this trend of response rather than initiation, conduct literature for travellers began very slowly. The first piece of conduct literature on travel printed in England was a German import,[140] and most of its arguments held little relevance to English anxieties. Even conduct authors' arguments in favour of travel tended to have been present in private opinion decades previously.[141] After 1570 the various images of the traveller quickly spread throughout society from the Privy Council chamber to popular street theatres. William Shakespeare's portrayal of travellers in his dramatic works clearly reveals the swing of the educational traveller's public image from positive to negative during the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. Shakespeare progressed from presenting extremely positive images of travellers in his early work to presenting equally negative images in his later plays.[142] While it is easy to understand parents at home who worried about their son's moral integrity abroad, it is equally easy to visualize the yeoman or tradesman reading his jest-book aloud before the fire at the end of the day and enjoying a quiet laugh at the expense of the local gentry's son.

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[140]Jerome Turler, *The Travailer of Ierome Turler* (London, 1575). See my discussion of German conduct literature on travel in the Introduction, pp. 4-5.

[141]As, for example, the widely circulated manuscrupt letters of the late sixteenth century that appeared in print from the 1630s forwards; see above pp. 44n and 60n. Even the argument that travel benefited the state, well-known even in the early sixteenth century, appeared rarely in conduct literature before the seventeenth century.

[142]*The Taming of the Shrew* (produced 1592), Act I, scene ii, and *The Two Gentleman of Verona* (produced 1593), Act I, scene i and scene iii, presented positive images, while *As You Like It* (produced 1599), Act IV, scene i, and *King Henry VIII* (produced 1613) Act I, scene iii, among others, presented negative images.

III

Educational Travellers: Adolescents and Apes

But tis our *English* manner to affect
Strange things, and price them at a greater rate,
Then home-bred things of better consequence.[1]

After 1570 the negative images of the educational traveller retained a high profile during the rest of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century. The deeply ingrained fear within the English community about the corruptions of the Continent was a major factor in this continuing concern. Many dangers awaited the English traveller abroad: the courtesans, the invitations to dice and duels, the temptations to idleness and the glittering and alluring but morally questionable society. The vast majority of English men and women who expressed concern about educational travel feared these corruptions for one principal reason - they believed the English youth was particularly unable to resist corruption. The belief that the 'infections' or corruptions of the Continent were particularly dangerous because of the English traveller's low resistance to corruption fostered the continued concern and negative images surrounding educational travel. The English traveller's susceptibility revolved around two factors, his youth and his very nationality, his 'Englishness.' The English public's lack of trust in the young men they sent abroad was one of the fundamental reasons beneficial images of educational travel never gained a firm hold within the public imagination.

One of the principal anxieties surrounding the practice of educational travel centred on the traveller's youthfulness. Both publicly and privately most Englishmen supposed the

[1]Robert Yarington, *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (produced 1594), A. H. Bullen, ed., *A Collection of Old English Plays* (New York, 1882-1889), IV, p. 12.

years of a man's youth combined impressionability, immaturity and headstrong behaviour and therefore comprised the most morally vulnerable period of his life.[2] A man's youth was the most perilous time of his life, argued Richard Brathwaite in 1630, for then he was most apt to follow all his "inordinate" desires, "being as ready to *consent*, as the Devil is to *tempt*."[3] Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, thought that governors should accompany all young boys when they left home to go to university; "It being the fraile nature of youths as they growe to ripenes in Age to bee more Capable of doing ill, vnlesse theire manners bee well guided and themselues by degrees habituated in Uertue."[4] Moralists, educationalists and authors of conduct literature argued that a man should spend the years of his youth away from evil company and in the companionship of "good folke & honeste" so that by their example he should be ashamed to do evil.[5] Ascham only echoed contemporary opinion when he argued that indulgent fathers should take more care of their sons' moral welfare during their youth. No matter how well taught in his childhood, "vain sights" and "filthy talk" could easily negate a youth's wholesome upbringing and bring his parents, for all their cost and effort, only grief and care.[6] Bartholomew Batty argued that in the youth's "mutable, wauering and slipperie age [he] ought to be defended, preserued and instructed" so that he might become wise and able to choose between good and evil.[7] As Lord Herbert suggested, most moralists and authors believed the firm hand of a governor might prevent the youth slipping into unrepentant vice. Family elders might also write memorials for the young male members of the household to help them govern themselves through life. Fathers and grandfathers

[2]Most authors tended to define the period of a man's youth as the years between seventeen and twenty-seven; see Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, Dr. Giles, ed., *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham* (London 1864-1865), III, p. 123, for one example.

[3]Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman* (London, 1630), p. 2.

[4]Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *The Life of Edward, First Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, J. M. Shuttleworth, ed. (London, 1976), pp. 18-19, written during the early 1640s.

[5]Jacques Legrand, *The Boke of Good Maners* (n.p., 1507), "Of the astate of yonge people and how they ought to gouerne themselfe," folio I4 verso. English printers translated and published Legrand's book regularly from the late fifteenth century.

[6]Ascham, p. 122. See also Joseph Hall, "A complaint of the mis-education of our Gentry," *The Sixt Decade of Epistles* in *Epistles, The Third and Last Volvme* (London, 1611), pp. 65-73, for a similar discussion.

[7]Bartholomew Batty, *The Christian mans Closet* (London, 1581), p. 52.

presented these memorials to the youth when he "arrived both at the tyme and the place where both within [and] without all manner of baits" would tempt him.[8]

The concern expressed about sending young gentlemen on their travels was a natural extension of the common concern about a youth's moral welfare during his vulnerable years expressed in conduct literature, educational tracts and private memorials. If a man was most vulnerable to corruption in his youth, then he was doubly so away from the steadying influence of family and schoolmaster. Even enthusiasts expressed strong doubts about sending youths abroad when they were most liable to corruption. While William Bourne strongly believed in the benefits of educational travel for both man and state, he also believed that it was most inadvisable to send young men abroad when all they could think about was gambling, dancing, "dallying with women" and gazing upon "vaine toyes."[9] When Sir John Stradling adapted Justius Lipsius' advice for travellers for the young Edward, Earl of Bedford, in 1592, he confessed a deep dread of the Earl's ability while in his "yoong and slipperie age" to withstand the "alluring and intrapping natures of the Venetian and Italian Curtesanes."[10] These two authors made some of the most positive statements regarding educational travel published in England between 1570 and 1600, yet both expressed grave doubts regarding the ability of youths to withstand moral corruption while abroad.

If the enthusiasts harboured such grave doubts, then it is hardly surprising that authors like Joseph Hall, who completely denied the usefulness of educational travel, so strongly criticized the stupidity of parents who sent their sons abroad in the minority of age and judgement; "Doe they not see how easily a young twig is bowed any way?"[11] Not only

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[8]"Sir Charles Cornwallis Precepts Directing Mr Charles Grosse Esquire, his graund Childe, how to gouerne him selfe in his youthe: Dated the ·7· of Nouember anno: 1614," Harleian 354/61-63 verso. Other examples of these homilies are Sir William Cecil's "Certaine Precepts for the Well Ordering of a Man's Life," L. B. Wright, ed., *Advice to a Son* (Ithaca, 1962), pp. 9-13 (printers published Cecil's advice throughout the seventeenth century), and Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon's, extensive memorial to his son Ferdinando, "Certaine directions for my Sonne to observe in the course of his life," *circa* 1613, in the Hastings Collection of Family Papers in the Huntington Library, California.

[9]William Bourne, *The Treasure for Traveilers* (London, 1578), preface to the reader, folios **iii verso - **iiii.

[10]Sir John Stradling, *A Direction for Trauailers* (London, 1592), folio C4.

[11]Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? A Ivst Censvre of Travell as it is commonly vndertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation* (London, 1617), p. 6.

were young men inclined to corruption and vice, they were also inclined to disregard any good advice they received. Even the steadying influence of a governor would be of little use to youths who believed themselves "too much Men to be governed by others, and yet have not Prudence and Experience enough to govern themselves."[12] No doubt many parents feared that their sons might emulate the conduct of the "Reformed Trauailer" who confessed in 1606 that, despite a good and careful upbringing by loving parents,

> hauing once passed the Seas, and beeing ridde of the vnpleasant thraldome, wherein I did suppose my selfe to be fettered, when as my Parentes and Kinsfolkes were ruling ouer mee, like as many censours and controulers of my youthfull actions and pleasant life; and so hauing at length tasted a title [litle?] of the wanton libertie of [France], I began to shake off my former bondes, changing also my Countrey habite, with *French* ... and in so doing, to shake off my former actions, and good behauiour, by changing of them into a more pleasant and licentious forme of lyuing.[13]

Too often, as John Evelyn observed to Edward Thurland in 1658, the "seed time" of youth became the "field of repentence" when youthful gentlemen travelled abroad.[14] Friends and family feared that once the youth's character was "spotted with the *pitch* of vice" little might be done to redeem his future integrity.[15]

Apart from keeping the youth at home, anxious parents had only two options. One was to provide the youth with a governor to steady his headlong passions; the other was to delay a tour until the son had reached adulthood. William Bourne suggested only men with "stayed & ... modest" heads should travel abroad and then only between the ages of forty and fifty-seven years of age.[16] Fynes Moryson also believed it was best that the gentleman delay his travel until middle age, for he claimed that even youths accompanied by governors tended to imitate strange fashions like apes.[17] Conversely, John Locke argued that the better course was to send boys between the ages of seven to fourteen or sixteen abroad in the company of a tutor, avoiding those "boyling boistrous" years of

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[12]John Locke, "Some Thoughts Concerning Education," James L. Axtell, ed., *The Educational Writings of John Locke* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 321.

[13]H., W., *The Reformed Trauailer* (London, 1606), folio C2 verso. The "title" is probably a printing error for "litle."

[14]John Evelyn to Edward Thurland, 8 November 1658, William Bray, ed., *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S.* (London, 1906), p. 586.

[15]Brathwaite, p. 4.

[16]Bourne, folio **iiii.

[17]Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London, 1617), Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 1, pp. 2-3.

their life when a tutor would have no authority.[18] Sir Thomas Palmer considered both these options but finally insisted upon middle age as the time when a man could make most profit in the shortest time and remain in least danger of being corrupted, either "by his owne swaying affections, or by the slie perswasions of others."[19] Family, friends and travellers themselves were generally aware of the pitfalls of sending headstrong youths abroad. Lord Conway remarked to the Earl of Winchelsea in 1659 that it was a great mistake to think youth the proper time for travel. Young men generally only brought home useless descriptions of churches or gardens, or at the best "exercises and modes, whereas wise men will not converse with such who can make them no returne."[20]

Yet middle age was the most unlikely time for a man to spare the time for a protracted tour of the Continent. By middle age most gentlemen had a wife and family, estates to manage, and perhaps a career at court to pursue and protect, and they would be in no position to undertake an extended tour of the Continent. The authors who advised middle age as the best years to travel abroad underestimated the driving concern that sent so many young men abroad, namely, the opportunity to earn the credentials to obtain a good place at court or in government service. The most convenient years for most gentleman to travel abroad were between leaving one of the universities or Inns of Court and settling down to married life; thus, practical considerations ensured that most men who undertook an educational tour did so in their most "boyling [and] boistrous" years. Comparatively few English gentlemen travelling abroad avoided doing so in their most vulnerable years; the realization that practicalities drove men abroad when young rather than in their more mature years only fueled the anxiety within the community about the corruption of English travellers abroad.

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[18]Locke, pp. 321-322.

[19]Sir Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606), pp. 18-19.

[20]E., Lord Conway to the Earl of Winchelsea, 17 March 1659, *HMC*, Finch, I, p. 77.

Few disagreed that young men were particularly vulnerable to corruption while travelling on the Continent, but during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries authors sometimes suggested that the English traveller was also vulnerable because of his very nationality. Medieval Englishmen occasionally expressed the belief that English men and women suffered from an unsteady or flawed character. This unsteadiness of character predisposed Englishmen to discard traditional or accepted values and customs in favour of new, novel, or foreign goods and standards. This medieval belief in the Englishman's unsteady and flawed character resurfaced with force in the anxiety and debate over educational travel in early modern England. If English men and women found it difficult to remain loyal to traditional values while at home, then the English youth was hardly likely to remain loyal to his home-bred virtue, culture, national integrity or national religion while submerged in the temptations, novelties and corruptions of the Continent.

This flaw was an inconstancy of mind that Englishmen and women generally exhibited in a fascination with new and foreign things, or, as Edward Moorcroft commented to William Cecil in 1567, "Every country has its fashion of vice ... our country folks in new fangledness."[21] In the late sixteenth century William Harrison explained that,

> such, alas, is our nature that not our own but other men's do most of all delight us; and for desire of novelty we oft exchange our finest cloth, corn, tin and wools for halfpenny cockhorses for children, dogs of wax or of cheese, twopenny tabors, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fools, dogtricks for dizzards [trifling tricks for fools], hawkshoods, and suchlike trumpery, whereby we reap just mockage and reproach in other countries.[22]

Harrison criticized his countrymen for their inconstancy, "For hereby we have neglected our own good gifts of God growing here at home, as vile and of no valure, and had every trifle and toy in admiration that is brought hither from far countries."[23] Novelties fascinated the English people whose "natural vice" was to prefer foreign commodities before their own.[24] In the mid-sixteenth century Robert Copland lamented that books of

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[21]Edward Moorcroft to Sir William Cecil, 1 January 1567, *CSPF* (1566-1568), Elizabeth, item 879, p. 161.

[22]William Harrison, *The Description of England* (1587), Georges Edelen, ed. (New York, 1968), p. 359. Although Harrison sometimes connected man's "natural desire" to prefer foreign commodities before their native equivalents with mankind generally, he usually specifically connected it with his country men and women, for example pp. 309, 357, 359 and 371.

[23]*Ibid.*, p. 263.

[24]*Ibid.*, p. 357.

virtue lay unsold on shelves as readers clamoured for "tryfles" and "wanton toyes." For the old they had no use; they sought for "thynges a-new."[25] In 1601 Leonard Wright described the natural inclinations of the Englishman as "Always desirous of nouelties, neuer long content with one state, nor one fashion, greatly delighted in ryot, brauery, and excesse of diet."[26] Henry Peacham included a pictorial representation of the Englishman's passion for novelties in *Minerva Britanna* (1612). Among the characters and verses he included a woodcut of the English Ape, complete with a collection of the "beades, Hobbie-horses, boxes, Fannes, Windmills, Ratles, Apes, and tailes of Foxes" that merchants imported into England from exotic locations (Illustration I).[27] Englishmen also slavishly copied games and dances from abroad. When Robert Dallington described the game of pall mall to his countrymen in 1604 he marvelled that "among many more Apish and foolish toyes [from France] wee haue not brought this sport also into England."[28] Echoing Harrison's sentiments in 1583, the Puritan Phillip Stubbes observed that "it appeareth that no People in the World is so curiouse in new fangles, as they of *Ailgna* [England] be." He expressed the common opinion that the English people's "new fangles and toies, are occasions, why all nations mocke, and flonte vs."[29]

English men and women did not confine their fascination with foreign novelties to tangible "new fangles and toies." John Lyly explained that any foreigners who travelled in England could report that the English always thought the worst of their own nation in learning, experience, common reason, or wit, "preferring always a stranger rather for the name than the wisdom."[30] For such is the nature of mankind and especially of the English, wrote Stradling in 1592, that "as we admire and entertaine strange artificers before our owne, so wee wonder at, and more willingly intreate of learning with the

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[25]Comment by Robert Copland in the mid-sixteenth century, cited in Edwin Haviland Miller, *The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 70.
[26]Leonard Wright, *A Display of dutie, dect with sage sayings* (London, 1602), p. 17 verso.
[27]Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna* (London, 1612), p. 168.
[28]Robert Dallington, *The View of Fraunce* (London, 1604), folio T4 verso.
[29]Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London, 1583), folios C and Gvii (marginal note).
[30]John Lyly, *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit, Euphues & His England* (1578 &1580), Morris William Croll and Harry Clemons, eds. (New York, 1964), p. 424.



Illustration I: Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna* (London, 1612), p. 168.

learned forrainer, then with our own natiue countrey man."[31] Fynes Moryson believed Englishmen generally respected and esteemed strangers, "aswell Phisitians as other like professors [before] their owne Countrymen, as more learned and skillfull then they are, which makes the English ... so much travayle in forrayne parts."[32] As Moryson suggested, many Englishmen travelled abroad because they felt that English learning could not possibly compare with European wisdom. A biased John Evelyn embarked on his tour in the 1640s "from a certain vaine Emulation which I had to see the best of Education, which every body so decrying at Home, made me conceive, was a commodity onely to be brought from a far Countrie."[33]

The belief that the English character was unstable and inconstant was not an early modern innovation. It had deep roots in medieval English belief about the nature of the Englishman. The fourteenth-century Benedictine monk Ranulf Higden included a description of the Englishman's flawed character in his *Polychronicon*. Widely read in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Higden's description proved very influential:

> The peple of Englonde is fulle curious to knowe straunge thynges by experience, deprauenge theire awne thynges [thei] commende other straunge, vnnethe other neuer contente of the state of theire degre, transfigurenge to theyme that is congruente to an other man.[34]

William Camden quoted Higden in 1605 when referring to the Englishman's unsteady nature,[35] while James Howell possibly alluded to him in 1642.[36] The medieval belief in the Englishman's flawed character probably originated in the classical belief that islanders were subject to the instability of the elements about them. Peter of Blois wrote to Richard, bishop of Syracuse, in the mid-twelfth century that "it is written ... all island

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[31]Stradling, folio B3.

[32]Fynes Moryson, unpublished chapters of *An Itinerary* (1617), Charles Hughes, ed., *Shakespeare's Europe* (London, 1903), p. 475.

[33]J[ohn] E[velyn], *The State of France* (London, 1652), prefatory letter, folio A5 verso.

[34]Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, Churchill Babington, ed. (London, 1865-1886), II, the text of the anonymous fifteenth-century translator, pp. 169-171.

[35]William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain* (1605), R. D. Dunn, ed. (Toronto, 1984), p. 19. On pp. 20-21 Camden also quoted Andrewe Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge* (1542), on the same matter. See pp. xii-xiii for Dunn's comments on the popularity of Higden's *Polychronicon*.

[36]James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1642 and 1650), Edward Arber, ed. (London, 1869), p. 65. Howell possibly alluded to certain ill-favoured propheceies of England regarding the Englishman's inconstancy in apparel that Higden recited, pp. 173-175.

peoples are generally faithless,"[37] and medieval explanations for the Englishman's flawed or unsteady character tended to follow this argument and blame the instability of the elements surrounding the island of England for the instability of the Englishman's character. In the twelfth century Peter of Celle believed that the element of water that surrounded England so affected the island's inhabitants that unsubstantial fantasies slid easily into their minds.[38] In the fourteenth century the poet John Gower believed that the influence of the moon upon a people would make them forever restless and "seche many londes straunge." It was, he declared, the moon's influence over the island of England that made the English "travaile in every londe."[39]

By the sixteenth century some authors suggested different explanations for the Englishman's unsteady character. In the mid-sixteenth century the anonymous author of *The Institucion of a Gentleman* tried to explain why Englishmen were so fascinated with novelties to the detriment of traditional English standards. He thought that perhaps ignorance was the reason gentlemen first accepted "straunge inuentions" and why English natures generally were so "prone & redy to forsake the old."[40] Other authors suggested that corruption by pride caused Englishmen to favour foreign novelties and fashions in preference to their traditional English heritage. The author of the early sixteenth-century poem *Treatyse of this Galaunt* blamed pride for the Englishman's fascination with new fangleness and the subsequent importation of the Frenchified gallant. He believed that pride had blinded and consumed his fellow Englishmen, and the author begged them to banish pride and return to their old goodness.[41] In 1565 John Hall chastised his countrymen for succumbing to pride and living like fools and apes. Hall maintained that the English people's addiction to new and "vayne fangles"

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[37]Peter of Blois to Richard, Bishop of Syracuse, mid-twelfth century, G. B. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy* (Rome, 1954), I, p. 220.

[38]Peter of Celle to Nicholas of St. Albans, *circa* 1178, R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), p. 146.

[39]John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Reinhold Pauli, ed. (London, 1857), III, pp. 109-110. Gower probably alluded to the moon's influence over the constantly shifting tides or waters surrounding England.

[40]*The Institucion of a Gentleman* (London, 1555), folio Giii - Giii verso.

[41]*Treatyse of this Galaunt* (1520?), F. J. Furnivall, ed., *Ballads from Manuscripts* (London, 1868-1872), I, pp. 445-453.

thoroughly earned them the "mocks and iapes" of other countries.[42] Although early and mid-sixteenth-century authors suggested ignorance or pride might be the reason their countrymen were so unsteady, many early modern authors tended to repeat medieval explanations for the Englishman's flawed character. Not quite sure sure why the English were so inconstant William Camden speculated that it might be because his island countrymen were all "*Lunares* or ... Moones men."[43] The Puritan book binder Robert Codrington discussed the flaw's origins in *A Discourse upon some Innovations of Habits and Dressings...* that he attached to Francis Hawkin's *Youth's Behaviour, or Decency in Conversation Amongst Men* in 1663. Despite pondering the origins of the Englishman's peculiar instability of character, Codrington decided to,

> leave it to men of more learning and leisure, to sound out the original cause of this giddy humour, whether it be from the changeable complection of the Climate, or the peculiar influence of some phantastical Planet .... Or be it that this Island having been called another World, and a Type, or as it were, the Contents to that great Chapter of the Universe; the ambitious Islander pretends a right, and a claim to all customs in the world elsewhere.[44]

A decade later Sir Thomas Baines informed Sir Heneage Finch that "The mutability of air in an island contributed to mutability of thought" thus, the English were "a changing fluctuating people by nature, increased by diet, with the addition of rashness to it."[45] In the mid-seventeenth century James Howell managed to express this belief far more picturesquely than either Codrington or Baines when he put into Lord Daniel von Wensin's mouth the words, "'tis well known, as the sea tumbleth perpetually about [Great Britain], so their braines do fluctuat in their noddles, which makes [the British] so variable and unsteady."[46]

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[42]John Hall, *The Court of Virtue* (1565), Russell A. Fraser, ed. (New Brunswick, 1961), pp. 351-352. See also Thomas Nashe, who blamed women corrupted by pride for prompting their men to adopt "newfangles from other Countries," *Christs Teares Over Ierusalem* (1593), R. B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (London, 1958), II, p. 141.

[43]Camden, p. 198.

[44][Robert Codrington], *A Discourse upon some Innovations of Habits and Dressings*, appended to Francis Hawkins, *Youths Behaviour, or Decency in Conversation Amongst Men* (London, eighth edition, 1663), pp. 54-55.

[45]Sir Thomas Baines to Sir Heneage Finch, June 1676, *HMC*, Finch, II, p. ix.

[46]James Howell, *A German Diet: Or, the Ballance of Europe* (London, 1653), pp. 53-54. Howell used the pretence of reporting the speeches of sundry German princes to express his own views on both English and European affairs.

For many moralists and satirists the Englishman's eclectic fashion sense often symbolized his unsteady character and fascination with novelties. In 1613 George Wither satirized the English people for preferring foreign wares to their own, even if native goods were of better quality. This "vainenesse" did not only rest in "meates" and apparel but also in all manner of goods and ideas. There were few items of "new deuised forraine trash" that the English would not imitate, and Wither succinctly used the fashionable gentleman's slavish habit of copying every new foreign fashion to express his disgust at his countrymen's imitative nature:

> The *Sunne* lights not a *Nation*
> That more addicteth *apish imitation*
> Then do we *English*: Should a stranger come
> And weare his doublet fastned to his bumme ....
> Most of our *Courtiers* would make much ado,
> But they would get into that fashion too.[47]

N. B. Harte notes in his essay "State Control of Dress and Social Change" that complaints about new-fangled fashions and people dressing above their station became a constant and repetitive theme among successive generations of English moralists; it was a characteristic of virtually every period prior to the Industrial Revolution.[48] In his eighteenth-century study of English fashion habits Joseph Strutt explained that English history abounded with continual strains of censure of the prevalent absurdities and luxuries of dress, and almost every class of writer expressed disapproval of the same.[49] From the fourteenth century onwards social critics constantly noted both the increase in the types of fashion available and the rate at which they changed; in an effort to reform what they considered an area of social disorder the English Parliament passed successive Acts of Apparel between 1337 and 1604.[50]

Like their medieval predecessors sixteenth-century moralists constantly berated the English over their inconstancy in fashion. William Harrison, like many of his

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[47]George Wither, *Abvses Stript, and Whipt* (London, 1613), Book II, "Satyre I," pp. 155-157. See pp. 150-157 for a full discusion of imitative English men and women.

[48]N. B. Harte, "State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England," in D. C. Coleman and A. H. John, eds., *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England* (London, 1976), p.141.

[49]Joseph Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England* (reprint of 1842 edition, London, 1970), II, p. 117.

[50]Harte, pp. 134-137.

contemporaries, believed that this inconstancy symbolized the moral decay of society; "Oh, how much cost is bestowed nowadays upon our bodies and how little upon our souls!"[51] Very often criticism of moral decay of English society also encompassed criticism of both the English delight in foreign fashions and the Englishman's inconstancy. In 1550 Thomas Becon chastised the Englishmen for the "vain and foolish light" fashions they affected. No other nationality was so vain in fashion as the English, for,

> Their coat must be made after the Italian fashion, their cloak after the use of the Spaniards, their gown after the manner of the Turks: their cap must be of the French fashion; and at the last their dagger must be Scottish, with a Venetian tassel of silk.[52]

"O what a monster and a beast of many heads is the Englishman now become!" he cried.[53] In 1549 Sir Thomas Smith related that serving men were no longer content to go about in their plain, locally-fashioned garments but must have the finest cloth for their coats and their hose "of the finest kersey and that of some strange dye as Flanders dye or some a French puke."[54] Even though the above authors (typical of both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) derided the misplaced use of fashion by social 'upstarts,' they appeared just as distressed, if not more so, by the adoption of foreign fashions by their faithless countrymen. Their sense of cultural and national pride appeared more affronted than their concern for local craftsmen and the clothing industry, or for the blurring of social distinctions through inappropriate dressing. As well as demonstrating their countryman's moral depravity they also demonstrated his faithlessness of character.

As the most visible manifestation of the Englishman's craving for novelty it is not surprising that writers often used the Englishman's choice and variety of fashion to characterize his flawed character. The most enduring and influential portrayal of the Englishman's nature that used his inconstancy in fashion to depict his fascination for

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[51] Harrison, p. 146.

[52] Thomas Becon, *The Jewel of Joy* (1550), John Ayre, ed., *The Catechism of Thomas Becon, S. T. P.* (Cambridge, 1844), p. 438.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] [Sir Thomas Smith], *A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm*, Mary Dewar, ed. (Charlottesville, 1969), pp. 80-81. For Dewar's argument that Sir Thomas Smith wrote this *Discourse*, written about 1549, see the introduction, especially p. xx.

novelties was Andrew Boorde's characterization of the English people in his *Introduction of Knowledge* (written about 1542). As William Bullein undoubtedly repopularized the image of the traveller-liar in *A Dialogue against the feuer Pestilence* (1564),[55] Boorde similarly repopularized the medieval belief in the Englishman's unstable character with his woodcut and witty verses. Beneath a drawing of a naked Englishman holding a length of cloth in one hand and a pair of tailor's shears in the other, and completely unable to decide what type of garment to fashion (Illustration II), Boorde wrote,

> I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
> Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were;
> For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that;
> Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.
> All new fashyons be plesaunt to me;
> I wyl haue them, whether I thryue or thee.[56]

Boorde was not concerned with the social aspect of the Englishman's inconstancy in fashion. It was the novelty in fashion that delighted (yet confused) the Englishman, not its potential for social distinction. Boorde's image of the indecisive Englishman, torn this way and that by the lure of novelty, proved immensely popular, and successive writers referred to it when discussing the Englishman's flawed character. "Wittie was that Painter," wrote Thomas Dekker in 1606, referring to Boorde, who drew the imitative Englishman stark naked with a pair of shears and a length of cloth because no one could decide his fashion but himself.[57]

After Boorde's example the Englishman's inconstancy in fashion continued to be a favourite way of portraying the propensity to sway with each new wind that blew across the Channel from the Continent. The anonymous author of *The Institucion of a Gentleman* (1555) believed that the Englishman's habit of daily changing the fashion of

[55]William Bullein, *A Dialogue against the feuer Pestilence* (1564), Mark W. Bullen and A. H. Bullen, eds. (London, 1888).

[56]Andrewe Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge* (written 1542), Frederick J. Furnivall, ed. (London, 1870), p. 116. Boorde dated the dedicatory to *Introduction of Knoweldge* 3 May 1542, although it was probably not printed until the mid-1550s. Some early modern authors referred to Boorde as a German, but he was English born; see Furnivall, pp. 36-37.

[57]Thomas Dekker, *The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London* (1606), Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (n.p., 1884-1886), II, p. 59. Apishness was the fifth of the seven contemporary sins Dekker allocated London. Harrison, p. 145; Lyly, p. 421; Camden, pp. 20-21; and Codrington, p. 54, are four more of the many authors who referred to Boorde's characterization of the indecisive Englishman.



¶ The fyrst chapter treateth of the naturall dysposicion of an Englyshman, and of the noble realme of England, & of the money that there is vsed.

¶ I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were;
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that;
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.
All new fashyons be plesaunt to me;
I wyl haue them, whether I thryue or thee.[2]

Illustration II: Andrew Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge* (written 1542)
Frederick J. Furnivall, ed. (London, 1840), p. 116.

his clothes revealed an "inconstancy, & wauering of minde, which thing is a great blemish to the honor of a gentleman."[58] He made it clear that fashion held great potential for the Englishman to indulge his love of novelty:

> The Inglysh man chaungeth daily the facion of hys garmentes, sumtime he delighteth in many gardes, weltes, pinckes and pounces, sum tyme agayne to the contrarye, he weareth hys garmentes as pleyn as a sacke, yet fayleth he not to chaunge also that pleynenes yf anye other newe fangle be inuented: this is the vanytie of his delyte.[59]

William Harrison called it the "fantastical folly of our nation," for the Englishman no sooner wore a garment for the first time when he was tempted to lay it aside for "some other trinket newly devised." Such was the English inconstancy in their habits of dress, Harrison complained, that "today there is none to the Spanish guise, tomorrow the French toys are most fine and delectable, ere long no such apparel as that which is after the High Almain" suits, until "except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see any so disguised as are my countrymen of England."[60] In 1580 John Lyly referred to Boorde's portrayal of the Englishman's inconstancy in fashion and stated that "The attire [Englishmen] use is rather led by the imitation of others than their own invention; so that there is nothing in England more constant than the inconstancy of attire."[61] Stubbes echoed Becon's lament that Englishmen had become monsters through their imitation of many countries' fashions:

> for most of our nouell Inuentions and new fangled fashions, rather deforme vs then adorne vs: disguise vs, then become vs; makyng vs rather, to resemble sauadge Beastes and stearne Monsters, then continent, sober and chaste Christians.[62]

Generally the Englishman's fault appeared manifested through his love of new fashions, and in this respect courtiers and 'gallants' often received particular criticism. Thomas Gainsford characterized some courtiers as a little too subject to "newfanglenes,"[63] and

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[58] *The Institucion of a Gentleman*, folios Jvii and Jviii .
[59] *Ibid.*, folio Jvii - Jvii verso.
[60] Harrison, pp. 145-146.
[61] Lyly, p. 421.
[62] Stubbes, folio Bvii verso.
[63] Thomas Gainsford, *The Rich Cabinet* (London, 1616), p. 19.

John Donne wrote a sharp satire on court life in the early seventeenth century, mentioning the court's preference for imported "gay painted things."[64]

Not only the fashionable gentleman delighted in novelty. The anonymous author of the late sixteenth century ballad "Fain Would I have a Pretty Thing" sought many items to pursue his suit with his lady, for "some do longe for pretye knackes, and some for strange devises."[65] Likewise in *The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke* (1609) Tabitha demanded of her suitor "fancies, playfellowes, as apes, Monkies, baboones, muss, fannes, receits."[66] Balladeers and satirists continued to provide Boorde's indecisive Englishmen with clothes throughout the seventeenth century:

> An English man or woman now
> Ile make excuse for neither,
> Composed are I know not how,
> of many shreds together;
> *Italian, Spaniard, French,* and *Dutch,*
> of each of these they haue a touch.
> *O monsters*
> *Neutrall monsters,*
> *leave these apish toyes.*[67]

Eglantine, a "fantastical" lady of fashion in the seventeenth-century drama *Rhodon and Iris*, delighted in "new fangl'd" fashion, and, of all fashions, she thought "change the best."[68] In the early seventeenth century Sir Simonds D'Ewes related the tale of the wife of one of the neighbouring gentry whose chief care it was to "adorne her bodie & satisfie the immoderate desires of her appetite;...shee hath seriouslie protested to mee, shee rather desired varietie of apparell & new fashioned; then rich & costlie." D'Ewes related the tale for its moral value; the lady's husband languished in debtor's prison while she cut her throat.[69] The merchant Leventhorpe Altham berated his nephew (whom he believed was too inconstant) for collecting a new hat at the haberdashers in 1663. Altham told his nephew that "itt was a little fantasticall for him [and] hee oughte not soe much to mynde

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[64]John Donne, "Satyre IIII," Herbert J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Poems of John Donne* (Oxford, 1912), I, p. 165.
[65]H. E. Rollins, ed., *Old English Ballads, 1553-1625* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 323.
[66]Robert Armin, *The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke* (London, 1609), folios F1 verso and F2.
[67]*The Phantastick age*, a ballad, printed for T. Lambert (London, 1634).
[68]Cited in Strutt, p. 121.
[69]Sir Simonds D'Ewes, "An Account of my Life, 1602-1636," Harleian 646/83 verso.

euery new fangled fashion." Affronted at his uncle's censure nephew Halton "flung away mumling something to himselfe."[70]

The Englishman's unsteadiness of character was not simply a rather curious, if annoying, phenomenon. Many Englishmen feared that it might precipitate instability within the nation's political, social and religious integrities. Ranulf Higden believed that curiosity drove many English abroad to haunt many lands, but along with curiosity the English were a people "apte moche to wylenes and decepcion, but importune a fore the dede, levenge li[gh]tly a thynge y-begunne." It was this characteristic, Higden continued, that made Pope Eugenius state that the English were an inconstant people, "apte to euery thynge."[71] A fifteenth-century Englishman, Sir Thomas Malory, also made a very specific connection between the Englishman's flawed character and his tendency for sedition in *Morte Darthur*. When Englishmen supported the rebellious Sir Mordred against their noble King Arthur, Malory commented, "Alas! thys ys a greate defaughte of us Englysshemen, for there may no thynge us please no terme." Thus, "the moste party of all Inglonde hylde wyth sir Mordred, for the people were so new-fangill."[72]

Sixteenth-century observers of the English character occasionally connected the Englishman's flawed character both to political and to religious instability within the country. In 1553 Cardinal Morone wrote that Pope Julius III believed that the English were "by nature fierce and unruly and given to change."[73] Several years later the Venetian ambassador to England, Michael Sociano, summarized the Englishman's character in a report to the Doge:

> The English are universally partial to novelty, hostile to foreigners, and not very friendly amongst themselves; they attempt to do everything that comes into their heads, just as if all that the imagination suggests could be easily executed; hence a

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[70]Leventhorpe Altham to his brother James Altham, 22 May 1663, Altham MSS II, f. 179, no. 212.

[71]Higden, p. 169.

[72]Sir Thomas Malory, *Morte Darthur*, Eugène Vinaver, ed., *Malory Works* (London, 1971), pp. 708-709. These remarks are Malory's own contribution rather than ideas from the French and English sources from which he borrowed; Vinaver, *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory* (Oxford, 1967), III, p. 1647. I owe this reference to Andrew Lynch of the University of Western Australia.

[73]Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Pole for Julius III, 21 December 1553, cited in G. B. Parks, "The First Italianate Englishman," *Studies in the Renaissance*, VIII (1961), p. 214 and note.

> greater number of insurrections have broken out in this country than in all the rest of the world .... From the same cause has arisen the change of faith.[74]

Perpetually anxious about political intrigue, Elizabeth and her privy councillors did not welcome the English people's predilection for novelties. Lacey Baldwin Smith argues in his *Treason in Tudor England* that the authorities were so paranoid about treason that they considered anything outside the 'norm' inherently treasonous because it might shatter the fragile harmony of the realm. In a society that was almost paranoid about "agreement of minds" the authorities considered novelties in any form, but especially in ideas that promoted 'diversities' of minds, closely associated with treason.[75] Novelties were abhorrent, disturbing and dangerous elements within society. Thomas Lodge's invective in the late sixteenth century against the devil of "Superfluous Inuention," or "Nouel-monger," for creating social disharmony and impiety dramatically illustrates this fear of novelty.[76] Similarly, the name of vice in a 1568 drama that demonstrated the punishments Englishmen could expect if they lived a licentious life was Nichol Newfangle.[77] In 1567 the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon warned the court of the Star Chamber about the importation of foreign translations because they created "diversytes of myndes" that would ultimately lead to the"vtter ruyne & destruction of mens bodies goods & Lands,"[78] but in 1569 wicked whispers, rather than seditious translations, enticed the "vulgar and common sort of people to fansy some noveltyes and changes of Lawes and rulers" and support the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland in their ill-fated rebellion.[79]

While Boorde used the lure of different fashions to personify the English craving for novelty, he also connected his countrymen's inconstancy of mind with more disturbing

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[74] *SP Ven.*, VII (1558-1580), p. 328. Report concerning King Philip of Spain, presented by Michiel Sociano (Surian), late Ambassador with his Majesty, to the most Serene Signory.

[75] Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Treason in Tudor England* (Princeton, 1986), particularly chapter III, "The Agreement of Its Minds."

[76] [Thomas Lodge], *Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse* (London, 1596), pp. 13-14.

[77] Ulpian Fulwell, *Like Will to Like*, John S. Farmer, ed., *The Dramatic Writings of Ulpian Fulwell* (London, 1906), pp. 1-54, produced between 1562-1568.

[78] "The Coppye of the L. Keepers oration in the Starre Chamber vttered before divers of the Counseyle & others the xxviiith daye of Nouember, An^{o} 1567," PRO SP 12/45/3.

[79] Draft of a declaration by Queen Elizabeth to her subjects regarding the suppression of the rebellion in the north, February? 1570, corrections in Sir William Cecil's hand, PRO SP 12/66/147 verso. Note the similarity to Malory's reasons why the English people decided to support Sir Mordred against King Arthur; Malory, *Malory Works*, p. 709.

behaviour. The Englishman sometimes meddled with matters not his concern, and this might compromise his loyalty to God and king:

> But I haue suche matters rolling in my pate,
> That I wyl speake and do, I cannot tell what;
> No man shall let me, but I wyl haue my mynde,
> And to father, mother, and freende, I wyl be vnkynde;
> I wyll folow myne owne mynd and myn old trade;
> Who shal let me, the deuyls nayles vnpared?[80]

"Treason & deceyt among them is vsed craftyly, the more pitie," continued Boorde, "for yf they were true wythin themselfs, thei nede not to feare although al nacions were set against them."[81] Like Higden, Malory and Sociano, Boorde believed that the Englishman's peculiar disposition to prefer curiosities before established institutions increased his likelihood to rebel. The English fascination with novelties undoubtedly increased in direct proportion to increased access to European imports. What a twentieth-century observer regards as a natural reaction to increased choice sixteenth-century observers regarded with horror as a socially destructive phenomenon. Even as late as 1673 a popular adage accounted those men who adopted novelties as dangers to the commonwealth.[82] In an attempt to explain changing attitudes and actions within society some writers turned to the convenient medieval explanation of the Englishman's naturally unsteady character. No wonder the Tudor and early Stuart authorities eyed returning travellers askance, for with them they might bring new ideas, 'diversities', which in a society so greatly addicted to novelty might precipitate its utter disintegration.

Some Englishmen believed that if their imitative countrymen were unsteady enough at home they could only be worse travelling abroad. The very philosophy of educational travel presupposed imitation, imitation of the best that the Continent had to offer so that the English state would eventually benefit and prosper. But increasingly during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries concerned Englishmen at home worried that imitative travellers brought home ideas and attitudes that could only damage English society. Both conduct literature and private letters advised the English youth against the

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[80]Boorde, p. 117.
[81]*Ibid.*, p. 119.
[82][Richard Head], *The Canting Academy* (London, 1673), p. 157.

lure of novelty while he was abroad. The second Earl of Essex advised the Earl of Rutland that during his travels he must not be caught with the novelty in manners or behaviour that was normally so pleasing to young men.[83] John Holles asked his son to be judicious in what he chose to learn abroad and not fall victim to the vice of "mimike or apish imitation [that] is commonly a young mans error."[84] He undoubtedly agreed with Robert Johnson who believed "our weaknes is prone to participate [in the vices abroad], which eyther flatter it with noueltie, or deceiue it with a glorious shew of vertue."[85] Men who travelled during their most vulnerable years were at especial risk, and some writers expressed anxiety about both the Englishman's imitative nature and the susceptibility of youth.[86] George Whetstone praised Sir Philip Sidney for abhorring "forrayne toyes" while travelling abroad as a green youth, preferring instead to set more store in sound knowledge. Taking care to remember the "bie-speache" that the Italianated Englishmen is a devil incarnate, the remarkable Sir Philip overcame both his youthfulness and his Englishness to resist the attractions of Italian vices.[87] Most young English travellers, lacking Sir Philip's discrimination, probably found the conflicting advice in conduct literature somewhat confusing; on the one hand they had to imitate the best ideas and manners they encountered, but on the other hand they had to ignore dangerous novelties. Unfortunately, many wide-eyed youths away from home for the first time in their lives predictably found the distinction difficult.

The author of *The Reformed Trauailer* (1606) stated that of the large number of Englishmen who flocked to France each year many "goe not to learne any vertue, but rather are caried away by some headdy new-fanglenes, and same [some?] of noueltie [who] at back-comming, prooueth to be nothing else but fantastike Fooles, Atheists, or superstitious monsters."[88] John Evelyn in the prefatory letter to *The State of France*

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[83]Earl of Essex to the Earl of Rutland, 1596, Harleian 813/7.

[84]John Holles, "Instructions for travell that my father gave me the 22 July 1614 ...", P. R. Seddon, ed., *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637, Thoroton Society Record Series*, XXXI (Nottingham, 1975), I, p. 52.

[85]Robert Johnson, *Essaies* (London, 1601), folio E3 verso.

[86]For example, Sir John Stradling.

[87]G[eorge] W[hetstone], *Sir Phillip Sidney, his honorable life, his valiant death, and true vertues* (London, 1586), folio B2.

[88]*The Reformed Trauailer*, folios A4 verso - B.

(1652) expressed strong doubts about educational travel for this reason. He believed that "the temptation of *Novelties*" was an instrumental cause why so many young men partook of the "unsetled extravagancy" of travel.[89] Richard Brathwaite suggested that the English public's admiration of fantastically clad "apish" travellers only encouraged Englishmen to hunt after novelties abroad; he admonished his audience that they could find the best things at home, "And not from other *Nations* borrowed."[90] Nicholas Breton similarly derided foolish travellers for bringing home nothing but fancy toys.[91] Sir John Stradling was remarkable for defending the flaw in English travellers. He argued in 1592 that English travellers could use their "no good inclination to a good end" in gaining knowledge abroad.[92]

Hobby-horses, gewgaws, apish gestures and foreign ruffles were not the worst vices the apish traveller might bring home with him. The traveller's love of novelty might transform him into Ascham's Italianate with all its attendant evils. In his *Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier* Robert Greene connected the Englishman's flaw with the importation of the Italianate. Greene used the device of a jury composed of ordinary Englishmen and women to judge between the traditional English gentleman, Clothbreeches, and the imported Italianate courtier, Velvetbreeches. When handing down its judgment the jury found in favour of Clothbreeches and stated,

> Veluetbreeches is an vpstart come out of *Italy*, begot of Pride, nursed vp by selfe loue, & brought into this country by his companion Nufanglenesse ... hee is but of late time a raiser of rents, & an enemy to the common-wealth.[93]

The Office of Christian Parents (1616) warned parents that if staid and sober companions did not accompany their sons abroad they would pick up all manner of vices, for "our

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[89]Evelyn, *The State of France*, prefatory letter, folio A6.

[90][Richard Brathwaite], *The Honest Ghost, Or A Voice from the Vault* (London, 1658), pp 117 and 156-157.

[91]Nicholas Breton, *An Olde Mans Lesson, and a Yovng Mans Loue* (1605), Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton* (Edinburgh, 1879), II, p. 10.

[92]Stradling, folio B3 verso.

[93]Robert Greene, *A Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier* (1592), Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene* (London, 1881-1886), XI, p. 294. This comment was one of Greene's additions to the original *Debate Betweene Pride and Lowlines* (London, n.d.), printed about 1570. Greene (following the example of the anonymous author of *The Debate Betweene Pride and Lowlines*) used the popular fashion comparison to style the traditional Englishman Clothbreeches and the imported Italianate character Velvetbreeches.

nation beeing apt to imitate all fashions, would soone in *Italie* be Italianate, that is, a deuill incarnate; in *Germany* be drunken, in *France* be fine and variable, in *Spaine* proud and insolent, and among the Turkes gather circumcision and all villanie."[94] In the same year John Deacon produced a similar list of corruptions when he criticized his fellow Englishmen for their habit of imitating foreigner's vices rather than their virtues. Deacon believed that all contact with foreign countries should be strictly limited, for an "inconsiderate conuersing with the contagious corruptions" of other countries, he argued, produced a variety of corruptions including the "Englese Italienato, e vn diabolo incarnato."[95]

Whatever the cause of the flaw, ignorance, fateful curiosity, or the unfortunate effects of the elements upon 'Islanders', it rendered the English traveller particularly vulnerable to the moral and cultural temptations of the Continent. English gentlemen in their vulnerable youth, their very natures predisposing them to imitate indiscriminately foreign fashions, manners and ideas, were at great risk once embarked on their travels. Supposedly returning from their European tours complete gentlemen who would be of great future benefit to the state, many travellers succumbed to their irresistible fascination with novelties and often returned home clothed in foreign finery, their moral and spiritual integrities compromised, and with a wholesome distaste for English life. Writers like Deacon and the author of *The Office of Christian Parents* reminded the English reading public of the corruptions young and imitative Englishmen faced abroad. A broad spectrum of literature constantly reinforced the image of the young English traveller "terriblie *Turkished* ... rufully *Romanized* ...treacherously *Italianized* ... spitefully *Spanished* ... fearefully *Frenchized* ... fantastically *Flanderized* ... huffingly *Hollandized* ... greedily *Germandized* [and] desperately *Danished*" through indiscriminate and unsupervised contact with foreign nationalities.[96]

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[94]*The Office of Christian Parents* (Cambridge, 1616), p. 155.
[95]John Deacon, *Tobacco Tortvred* (London, 1616), pp. 6 and 10.
[96]*Ibid.*, p. 10. This list is representative of many similar lists in early modern English literature.

Understandably detractors of educational travel cited this flaw in the Englishman's character to argue against English youth touring the Continent. Joseph Hall epitomized the arguments against educational travel because of the Englishman's fault. "We are still ready to vnder-value our owne, and admire forrainers," admonished Hall in 1617 in his book *Quo vadis? A Ivst Censvre of Travell as it is commonly vndertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation.* He equated his countrymen's faithlessness with a disease:[97]

> It is an humerous giddinesse to measure the goodnesse of any thing by the distance of miles, and where there is equalitie of worth, to neglect the neerest. I slander our Nation if it be not sicke of this disease....And if neerenes and presence bee the cause of our dislike, why doe wee not hate our selues, which are euer in owne bosomes?[98]

One of Hall's major arguments against educational travel was that the English were more prone than other nationalities to moral and religious corruption:

> our nature be like vnto fire, which if there be any infection in the roome, drawes it straight to it selfe: Or like vnto iet, which omitting all precious obiects, gathers vp strawes and dust. Ilanders haue been euer in an ill name.[99]

Joseph Hall argued that the Englishmen should not travel because their very natures attracted infection. He believed Englishmen should not encourage their ill natures by exposing them to foreign wickednesses; "Wee may bee bad enough at home, certainely we are the worse for our neighbours .... What mischiefe haue wee amongst vs that we haue not borrowed?"[100] In answering his own rhetorical question, Hall produced a long list of the fruit of his countrymen's curiosity and "idle gaddings" abroad, among which he included the arts of gluttony and dueling, the lawlessness of "wilde tongue" at the prince's counseling table, the "Art of dishonestie in practicall Machiauelisme," the "skill of ciuill and honourable hypocrisie," "vnnaturall villanie," "close Atheisme," and, continuing the association of the Englishman's unsteady character with civil disturbance, the curious and prophetic "bloudy and tragicall science of King-killing; the new diuinitie of disobedience and rebellion."[101] Few men returned better than they set out, wrote Hall;

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[97]Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 24.
[98]*Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
[99]*Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.
[100]*Ibid.*, pp. 75-76 and 79-81.
[101]*Ibid.*, pp. 75-80.

"he hath escaped well, that returnes but what he carried."[102] Yet in his condemnation of the Englishman's idle curiosity abroad Hall forgot his own delight and curiosity when he travelled abroad in the early years of the seventeenth century: "Lo, then euery thing taught me, euery thing delighted mee; so readie are wee to be affected with those forraine pleasures, which at home we should ouer-looke."[103]

Hall's invective could not surmount the outrage of William Rankins who wrote twenty years earlier amid the Elizabethan paranoia about conformity of social action and thought. Rankins based his *English Ape, The Italian imitation, the Footesteppes of Fraunce* (1588), as the title suggests, upon the premise that Englishmen could not resist imitating foreign faults. Despairing at the wickedness of contemporary English society, Rankins wondered how Boorde would portray the English women of the late-sixteenth century, women who resembled the courtesans of Venice or the monsters of Egypt rather than the matrons of England.[104] Blinded with Italian disguises and French fashions, English men and women bedecked themselves with the deformities of every nation. Rather than appear a people united by their common law and government, it seemed the English made every effort to depict the "prodigious spectacle" of nature's "contrary opinions." Even heathens, whom one might expect to embrace "such barbarous besottednsse," appeared cherishers of virtue and moderation when compared to the English.[105]

Given his concerns about imitative English society generally, it is not surprising Rankins had a very clear idea of the destructive potential of sending the imitative Englishman abroad. The condition of the imitative Englishman was so contemptuous that Rankins believed that there was no vice of particular note in any country that he failed to imitate. From Crete the apish traveller gained the vice of lying, from Italy the vice of flattery, from France the ability to boast, and from Scotland the ability to "cloake

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[102] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[103] Hall, *Epistles, The First Volume* (London, 1608), Decad. I, Epistle V, p. 36.

[104] W[illiam] R[ankins], *The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Footesteppes of Fraunce* (London, 1588), p. 21. Zera Fink, "Jaques and the Malcontent Traveller," *Philological Quarterly*, XIV (1935), pp. 239n and 247n, discusses Rankins' work with respect to the Italianated traveller.

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

the treachery of pretended treason." After gathering all these traits the traveller then "louingly [brought] his merchandize into his natiue Country, and there storeth with instruction the false affectors of this tedious trash."[106] Rankins sounded the alarm at England's "assaulted securitie," since this fancy for novelty among Englishmen had resulted in the importation of the Italianate. These cunning men, hatred for their native country growing in their "harmefull" hearts, became weeds within the beauty of English society:[107]

> Discouer their conditions, and you shall find them such as abhorre nature, and her diuine creation, & seek by some newe found arte to *Italianate* the course of their new ledde life. These *Machauillians,* studious in their destruction ... vndermine by pollicy, practise couertly, cloke cunningly, and willingly would confounde all quickly.[108]

Rankins' portrayal of the treacherous Machiavellian Italianate differed from Ascham's in one major respect; rather than the snares of Circe's enchantments the English traveller's innate love of novelty and new-fashioned ideas precipitated his corruption.

Rankins blamed the imitation and importation of foreign vices for the poisoning of English society. Irresponsible 'gardeners' dispersed the "manifest mischæfes" and "published impietie" of other countries throughout England, and, ape-like, the English imitated the "disordered deuises of forraine enormities, and follow the footesteeps of euery beaten path, though the indirectnes of the way ... bring them to an vnexpected confusion."[109] Rankins particularly focused on the destructive effects of imported ambition and pride on English society. Many Englishmen were so puffed up with ambition that they forgot their proper place in the social hierarchy. Imitated ambition fostered "vyle" dissention within society and was the source of all mischief. It promoted the ruin of cities, the overthrow of commonwealths, disturbed all estates and confused all peaceable governments.[110] English apishness also lay behind the importation of pride, which was the subversion of kingdoms. The English should blush at their folly that their

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[106] *Ibid.*
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[108] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[109] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

pride (borrowed from every "base inferiour climate" and governed by no religion or vertue) had brought them to the level of Nebuchadnezzar, a people transformed into savage beasts.[111] England, once the nurse of virtue and the wellspring of all wit, lay choking under her imported "vnsauory toyes."[112] Rankins pleaded with his 'bewitched' countrymen and women to mend their ways:

> Let neither *Venice* (whose vanities presents a world of woes): *Fraunce*, whose pride exceedes the *Persian* Monarchies, nor any forraigne Nation whatsoeuer, hewe downe thy florishing tree, and make thy beauty an habitation of wilde foules, and birdes of the ayre.[113]

Only when English men and women abandoned their imitated pride and ambition could they once again tread the paths of modesty and virtue.

The popularity of the negative images of the traveller relied heavily upon the English community's conviction that the English traveller faced inevitable corruption abroad. Corruptions and temptations abounded on the Continent; the courtesans, the invitations to dice and duels, the pleasing societies and depraved ideologies, they all lay in wait for the arrival of the English traveller. But corruptions and temptations had no power if the English traveller possessed the strength of character and the moral and spiritual fortitude to resist them. Unfortunately for the public reputation of educational travel, very few Englishmen appeared to trust their young compatriots abroad. The English traveller's youth predisposed him and his unsteady and flawed character condemned him to corruption by the vilest forces the Continent could muster. There was undoubtedly a degree of paranoia behind these fears, especially in Elizabethan England. Englishmen traditionally perceived themselves as a race apart from the Continent, 'islanders' preserved from European invasion (whether of armies, goods or ideas) by the protecting waters of the English Channel. But the English discovered themselves increasingly vulnerable to European ideas and influences as trade and general contact between nations increased. The confluence of strangers into the realm was disturbing enough, but the

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[111] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[112] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

perception that English society faced corruption by 'deformed' English travellers returning from their tours of the Continent both increased the criticism of educational travel and fostered the more threatening images of the educational traveller.

PART TWO

IMAGES OF THE EDUCATIONAL TRAVELLER IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

IV

The Devil Incarnate: The Italianated Traveller

> If any Englishman be infected with any misdemeanour they say with one mouth, 'He is Italianated'; so odious is that nation to this that the very man is no less hated for the name, than the country for the manners.[1]

In *The Scholemaster* Roger Ascham created the powerful and threatening image of the Italianated Englishman in order to attack the influence of Italianism within English society. Ascham argued that English travellers, corrupted by the vices of Italy, imported vicious beliefs and behaviour into English society. Perverted by the innumerable pleasures of Italy, the Italianated Englishman came home an Epicurean, a lover of pleasure, and a vain, proud man who condemned both marriage and virginity. The Italianate's immorality was not his most dangerous corruption, however, for he also came home an ambitious and irreligious Machiavellian schemer. In Italy the English traveller had learned the freedom to speak plainly against whomever he wished, any prince, any government, or, indeed, against God Himself.[2] This licence corrupted the traveller away from his natural allegiance to God and state. Once home the Italianate allied himself with the most desperate elements within society, whether mere discontents or Catholics, to further his own ambitions. Educational travel abroad supposedly matured the young Englishman into a profitable member of the commonwealth, yet the English traveller to

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[1]John Lyly, *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit, Euphues & His England* (1578 & 1580), Morris William Croll and Harry Clemons, eds. (New York, 1964), p. 295.

[2]Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570), Dr. Giles, ed., *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham* (London, 1864-1865), III, p. 166.

Italy inevitably relinquished all vestiges of learning, wisdom and integrity as he lost himself amid the vice of Circe's court. Ascham contended that there was no possible benefit in exposing the English gentleman to the inevitable corruptions of Italy:

> A young gentleman, thus bred up in this goodly school, to learn the next and ready way to sin, to have a busy head, a factious heart, a talkative tongue, fed with discoursing of factions, led to contemn God and his religion, shall come home into England but very ill taught, either to be an honest man himself, a quiet subject to his prince, or willing to serve God, under the obedience of true doctrine, or within the order of honest living.[3]

Ascham used the phrase *Inglese Italianato è un diablo incarnato* to personify the Italianated traveller,[4] and the epithet "devil incarnate" quickly became associated in English literature and letters with the concept of Ascham's English Italianate. Ascham's threatening image of the Italianated traveller was the first image of the educational traveller widely promoted throughout early modern English society, both through *The Scholemaster* and through the efforts of succeeding writers and dramatists, and its extensive exposure had an extremely negative effect on subsequent public comment about the practice of educational travel.

As a single identity Ascham's character of the Italianated Englishman was a new concept. Nevertheless, while the character was new its composite parts were not, for Ascham used established images and fears within English society to create the Italianate. This helps explain both the immediate acceptance of the Italianate by Englishmen as a potential threat to society and the strong anti-Italianism that emerged after *The Scholemaster's* publication. For many centuries Englishmen had believed Italy was a land of sinister and ruthless behaviour, populated with a people who were treacherous, immoral, impious and vicious. Although the English traditionally regarded the Italian character with some trepidation, many Englishmen perceived Italy as the intellectual and cultural centre of Europe. Yet even as Ascham wrote there were indications that Englishmen and women far from the centre of court resented the growing influence of

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

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Italian culture among English courtiers. Ascham also responded to anxieties about atheism and Machiavelli's works. Few people outside educated or court circles were aware of Machiavelli's works or the concept of atheism before 1570, yet Ascham used his knowledge of anxieties among a few Englishmen about both Machiavelli's policies and the threat posed to the stability of English society by atheism to bestow a particularly threatening aspect to his Italianated traveller. Ascham publicized both anti-Machiavellianism and atheism, introducing both concepts to a wide audience, and his sinister association of Machiavellianism and atheism with the Italianate's character grafted well onto the traditional view of the Italian's character.[5] The separate elements Ascham took to construct the devil incarnate, the Italianated Englishmen, were already present within society, some well known, some not. Ascham channelled these elements into a single dynamic and extremely threatening image that Elizabethans readily accepted.

In his tirade against Italianism Ascham used the proverb *Inglese Italianato è un diablo incarnato* and the epithet Italianate to personify the Italianated traveller. Although Ascham popularized both proverb and epithet, he drew them both from existing usage. The phrase *Inglese Italianato è un diablo incarnato* not only appeared in England prior to *The Scholemaster's* publication, but also variations of the proverb were popular in western Europe by the mid-sixteenth century. H. E. G. Rope argued in 1954 that the proverb pre-dated the sixteenth century and, unlike its use in *The Scholemaster*, referred not to Englishmen corrupted in morals and religion by Italy or Italian literature but to those English marauders and mercenaries, *condottieri,* who acquired an extremely bad name for cruelty and outrages in France and Italy during the fourteenth century.[6] In 1961 George Parks examined the proverb's origins in "The First Italianate Englishman" and established that, while the proverb made its first literary appearance in *The Scholemaster*, it occurred earlier in casual use. During the French war of 1545-1546 Sir William Paget

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[5]I discuss the connection between atheism and the Italianate in Chapter V.

[6]H. E. G. Rope, "The 'Italianate' Englishman," *The Month*, new series, XI (1954), pp. 93-94.

informed the Privy Council that one of the English captains had followed the Italian example of "pollyng and nyppyng" the poor soldiers' wages. Paget told the Council that the captain's behaviour exemplified the Italian proverb "vng Inglese Italianato e vng diavolo incarnato."[7] Parks believed Paget heard the saying on the Continent, as Ascham probably did during his time abroad as Sir Richard Morison's secretary between 1550 and 1553.[8] The proverb was certainly widespread in western Europe by the late 1560s. Ascham himself noted that the proverb was common,[9] and in January 1567 Edward Moorcroft commented to Sir William Cecil that no one would like Italy "unless he be Italizate, and the proverb says, *Anglus Italizatus demon incarnatus*, and so say the French and Germans of their countrymen."[10]

As the proverb *Inglese Italianato è un diablo incarnato* occurred prior to Ascham's use of it, so did the epithet Italianate occur but only very rarely. Parks believed it first appeared in print in the 1560 edition of Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*. Wilson criticized English travellers who corrupted their native language with French or Italian words; while one traveller talked "French English," another interrupted with "English Italienated." Wilson used the term Italianate in a different sense to Ascham, however, for he criticized travellers' affectation of obscure foreign words and phrases rather than for their moral corruption.[11] The only other usage appeared to be by Edward Moorcroft who, when quoting the devil incarnate proverb to Cecil in early 1567, also used the word

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[7]George B. Parks, "The First Italianate Englishman," *Studies in the Renaissance*, VIII (1961), pp. 199-200.
[8]*Ibid.*, p. 200.
[9]Ascham, p. 156.
[10]Edward Moorcroft to Sir William Cecil, 1 January 1567, *CSPF* (1566-1568), no. 879, p. 162. In *The Traveiler of Ierome Turler* (London, 1575), p. 66, Jerome Turler recounted the proverb as it related to Dutchmen.
[11]Parks, p. 200, and Thomas Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique* (1560), G. H. Mair, ed. (Oxford, 1909), p. 162. Englishmen frequently criticized the importation of foreign words and phrases into English. Critics believed that foreign words were often obscure and affected and argued that when the motive behind borrowing obscure words was vanity it only aggravated the crime. A sense of aggrieved nationalism might also prompt criticism, although R. F. Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language* (London, 1953), warns against exaggerating this sentiment (see especially Chapter IV, "The Inadequate Language, Part II"). Wilson's antagonism appeared inspired by irritation at the obscure and affected language travellers brought home with them tempered with at least a little nationalistic outrage. See also William Harrison, *The Description of England* (1587), Georges Edelen, ed. (New York, 1968), for a similar reaction, p. 416.

"Italizate" in conjunction with it.[12] Very few English men and women outside of educated or travelled circles knew either the proverb or the epithet prior to 1570, and Ascham's use of them in *The Scholemaster* popularized them both. Nonetheless, Ascham's successful association of the term Italianate with sinister and immoral behaviour relied less on his rhetoric than on well established negative views about the Italian character within English society. His association of the term Italianate with wickness and immorality proved popular because English society had long regarded the Italian character as crafty, deceitful and immoral.

When investigating the origins of Ascham's Italianate in his essay "The First Italianate Englishman," Parks concluded that Italy as a land of sinister and ruthless behaviour was a creation of the Elizabethan age, and that there was a time when Englishmen considered Italians to be like other people, not specialists in subtle forms of murder.[13] He believed it was a paradox that this "new" picture of Italy emerged and subsequently co-existed alongside the older picture of Italy as a model of manners.[14] Parks found only one forerunner of the Elizabethan character of the wicked, deceitful and conspiratorial Italian and Italianate. This characterization occurred in a warning in a letter by an unknown author to young George Throckmorton in 1551 to be wary of the "wily Italian practices" of the man with whom he would be dealing while in Rome.[15] Despite Parks' claim it is clear that the success of Ascham's image of the Italianated Englishman relied heavily on well established negative views of Italy and the Italian character within English society. The image of Italy as a land of vicious and subtle people was not an Elizabethan creation; if anything the picture of Italy as a model of manners was the more recent image.

As early as the fourteenth century English pilgrims commented on the evil nature of the people they found in Italy. Passing through Italy on his pilgrimage in 1344, one

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[12]Moorcroft to Cecil, 1 January 1567, *CSPF* (1566-1568), no. 879, p. 162; Parks, p. 209.
[13]Parks, p. 210.
[14]*Ibid.*, p. 199.
[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 210-211. The letter is from an unknown writer to George Throckmorton, [December] 1551, *CSPD*, Addenda 1547-1565, p. 409.

anonymous Englishman entered in his journal that, while the women of Rome were truly devout and very friendly towards pilgrims, "the men are crafty, Who rejoice to do evil, and delight in the frowardness of the wicked [Proverbs 2.14]."[16] During the Protestant Reformation the view of Italy as a land of impious, immoral and treacherous people spread rapidly throughout northern Europe,[17] and comments from sixteenth-century Englishmen before Elizabeth's accession indicate well established negative views of Italy and the Italian character. In repudiating the courtier's life-style, Sir Thomas Wyatt wrote that he would rather live simply on his country estates than sample the wines in Spain or travel to France:

> Nor I am not where Christ is given in prey
> For money, poison and treason at Rome,
> A common practice used night and day.[18]

In 1542 Andrew Boorde described the people of Lombardy as cunning deceivers of gentlemen, yeomen and knaves, who worked their mischief by policy, subtlety and craft; "the Lomberdes be so crafty, that one of them in a countrey is enough (as I haue heard many olde & wyse men say) to mar a whole countrey."[19] He later reported that during his stay in Rome he witnessed lechery, buggery, usury and deceit in every corner of the city.[20] One of Ascham's closest friends, Sir John Cheke, found Italy a country much esteemed in opinion, yet Italians deeply immoral; they honoured courtesans, considered the breaking of marriages a sport, admired gentlemen who committed murder and only condemned robbers if they did their task inefficiently.[21] Anxious friends warned travellers to be wary of the vice in this iniquitous country; in 1556 Anthony Viscount Montague hoped that the Earl of Devonshire could avoid the numerous evils that would

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[16]Cited in George B. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy* (Rome, 1954), I, p. 577.
[17]See Bonner Mitchell, *Rome in the High Renaissance* (Norman, 1973), pp. 107-108.
[18]Sir Thomas Wyatt, "Of the Courtier's Life, Written to John Poyntz" (written before 1542), Geoffrey Grigson, ed., *The Oxford Book of Satirical Verse* (Oxford, 1980), p. 17.
[19]Andrew Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge* (written 1542), Frederick J. Furnivall, ed. (London, 1870), pp. 186-187.
[20]Andrew Boorde, *The Seconde Boke of the Breuiary of helthe, named the Extrauagantes* (London, 1547), folio vi.
[21]Sir John Cheke to Sir William Petre, 22 July 1554, *CSPF* (1553-1558), no. 240, pp. 105-106.

be daily before his eyes in Italy,[22] while during the first years of Elizabeth's reign Thomas Windebank counselled William Cecil against sending his son to Italy, for although Italy had many commodities, young men faced great dangers in that country "by reason of the Inticements to pleasure & wantonnes that be there."[23] Even William Thomas' enthusiasm for Italy faltered somewhat when he described the vice prevalent in the country. He reported that the Venetians were a covetous and lecherous people, their society so riddled with vice that often only one brother in a family would marry while the others kept courtesans.[24] This snippet of information proved horrifying (and fascinating) enough for Ascham to repeat in *The Scholemaster*.[25] Armed with this knowledge, English travellers expected to find a society overwhelmed with prostitution and vicious living; Thomas Wilson reported in the mid-sixteenth century that Rome had as many harlots as there were "starres in the Element,"[26] while in 1567 Edward Moorcroft informed Cecil that the Italian's national vice was whoring.[27]

Alongside this image of a depraved Italian society existed an image of Italy as the intellectual and cultural centre of Europe. The spread of humanism enhanced the reputation of the Italian centres of learning, and works like Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (published in English in 1561 but available thirty years earlier in Italian) helped to establish Italy as the model of manners. Parks believed the publication of William Thomas' pro-Italian books, *A Historie of Italie* (1549) and *The Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer* (1550), marked the beginning of the "characteristic English adulation of

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[22]Anth. Visct. Montague to the Earl of Devonshire, 23 February 1556, *CSPD* (1547-1580), Mary, vol. 7, no. 8, p. 75.

[23]Thomas Windebank to Sir William Cecil, 18 November 1562, PRO SP 12/25/109.

[24]William Thomas, *The Historie of Italie* (London, 1549), pp. 83 verso to 85.

[25]Ascham, p. 164.

[26]Wilson, p. 127.

[27]Moorcroft to Cecil, 1 January 1567, *CSPF* (1566-1568), no. 879, p. 162. These attributes often appeared connected with southern Mediterranean peoples in general; see Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers* (London, 1983), p. 187; and John Barclay, *The Mirrovr of Mindes*, T. M[ay], trans. (London, 1631), p. 204, for an example of the belief that the vices of poisoning and lust were rife all over southern Mediterranean countries.

Italian cultivated society,"[28] although cultivated and highly-educated Englishmen had admired Italian culture since the fifteenth century. The legend of the queen of countries drew increasing numbers of English travellers to Italy during the second half of the sixteenth century. Trisander's plea to his father for permission to travel to Italy in *John Niccols Pilgrimage* (1581) undoubtedly echoed the pleas of scores of young Englishmen; "My feete doe couet to make haste to this noble land," he cried.[29] The "diuerse famouse" cities of Italy, wrote William Thomas enthusiastically in 1549, attracted thousands of scholars from across Europe each year, while those who preferred a more comfortable life could "haue in Italie what [they] can reasonablie desire."[30]

Nevertheless, the perception spread that the viciousness of Italy's present society tarnished the memory of Italy's past virtues. While Andrew Boorde believed Italy to be a "noble" country and praised the magnificent cities and countryside, he thought the inhabitants' behaviour was deeply immoral; "I dyd se lytle vertue in Rome, and much abhominable vyces, wherfore I dyde not lyke the fashion of the people."[31] Ascham admired Italian as a cultured language, second only to Greek and Latin, and respected ancient Rome's reputation as a place of learning and excellence, but he lamented the vice prevalent in contemporary Rome:

> I have always specially honoured [Rome]; because time was, when Italy and Rome have been to the great good of us that now live, the best breeders and bringers up of the worthiest men .... But now that time is gone; and though the place remain, yet the old and present manners do differ as far as black and white, as virtue and vice. Virtue once made that country mistress over all the world; vice now maketh that country slave to them that before were glad to serve it.[32]

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[28]George B. Parks, "The Genesis of Tudor Interest in Italian," *Modern Language Association Publications*, LXXVII (1962), p. 535.

[29]John Nichol, *John Niccols Pilgrimage* (London, 1581), folio A6.

[30]Thomas, pp. 2-3.

[31]Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge*, pp. 178 and 181.

[32]Ascham, pp. 148-149. See also Ascham's letter to John Sturm on the same matter, 4 April 1550, Maurice Addison Hatch, trans. and ed., "The Ascham Letters: An Annotated Translation of the Latin Correspondence contained in the Giles Edition of Ascham's Works," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1948, pp. 321-322.

Sixteenth-century Englishmen felt entirely comfortable combining an idealistic Italy with evil Italians.[33] The concept of Italy as a land of many beauties, comfortable climate, delicious fruits, magnificent cities and a tradition of scholarship and culture that rivalled any in Europe co-existed quite harmoniously in their minds with the concept of a people tainted with almost every vice imaginable. Thomas felt no contradiction in stating that, as the Italian nobility surpassed the nobility of other nations in temperance, modesty and virtue, so their fleshly appetites, unnatural heats and vicious habits passed all terms of reason and honesty.[34] When the young Englishman Stephen Powle travelled through Italy in 1580-1581, he followed established convention in a letter home to his brother by combining his admiration of the magnificence of city and countryside with his abhorrence of the people's behaviour. The land was fair, Powle informed his brother, but "poluted and Deformed inhabitante[s] with vicious behaviour" populated the countryside; "to saie in a word, I have found an evell people, and a good land."[35]

Ascham's attack on Italian travel and Italian influences in England properly began the reaction against Italianism in English society.[36] The influence of Italian culture in England had grown steadily since the reign of Henry VIII.[37] Italian musicians and dancing, fencing and riding masters found ready favour and employment at the Tudor court. Socially conscious English men and women followed Italian etiquette in everything from tournaments to fashion. Participation in Italian masques became a popular past-time at the Tudor court after their introduction by Henry VIII in 1512, and both Henry and Elizabeth regularly imported Italian actors into England.[38] Many English

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[33]John L. Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy* (Ithaca, New York, 1964), discusses the extreme range of opinions regarding Italy in Elizabethan England.

[34]Thomas, p. 4 verso.

[35]Stephen Powle to his elder brother, 20 June 1581, Tanner 309/19.

[36]George T. Buckley, *Atheism in the English Renaissance* (New York, [1932] 1965), pp. 37-38, briefly discusses Ascham's influence on the reaction against Italianism as it related to anti-Machiavellianism.

[37]Parks, "The Genesis of Tudor Interest in Italian," pp. 529-535; Parks traces the spread of Italian language, culture and manners in the English Court from the early sixteenth century. See also Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902).

[38]For a description of this masque see H. D. Traill, ed., *Social England* (London, 1895), III, p. 162. John Florio commented that almost all the musicians in Elizabeth's court were Italian, *Firste Fruites* (London, 1578), folio 18.

noblemen followed their example and employed Italian servants, musicians and jesters in their entourages.[39] Numerous editions of Sir Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* testify to the influence of Italian courtly etiquette during the last half of the sixteenth century. Those with some knowledge of Italian could also avail themselves of the numerous Italian treatises on conduct and civility and manuals on subjects ranging from fencing to cookery available in England in the second half of the century.

Although pre-eminently a language of the courtier every cultivated Elizabethan learned at least a few words of Italian, believing that it imparted polish and sophistication to their manner; in 1574 Hubert Languet jokingly remarked to Sir Philip Sidney that he thought it quite absurd that Englishmen made such a point of speaking Italian well.[40] Among the Elizabethans no subject spoke the language better than the queen herself. Taught Italian as a child, Elizabeth revelled in her ability to speak fluent Italian with both the foreign ambassadors to the English court and her English courtiers. John Florio remarked of Elizabeth that she both spoke Italian better than any in her realm and loved Italians.[41] Introducing the Count of Anolte to Sir Robert Cecil in 1599, the Earl of Nottingham not only thought that Anolte was the "properest and the best brought up gentleman" that he had ever met but also realized that Elizabeth would enjoy his company, "for he hath been brought up in Italy."[42] Apart from the conversation Elizabeth delighted in the Italian luxuries that diplomats and English travellers presented to her. The queen was so enchanted with the gift of perfumed Italian gloves that the Earl of Oxford presented her on his return from Italy that she had her portrait painted in them. Oxford also introduced Italian novelties like sweet bags, perfumed leather jerkins and costly washes into England. After the perfumed gloves achieved such a favourable reception at court,

[39]Einstein, especially Chapter II, "The Courtier."
[40]*Ibid.*, p. 99.
[41]Florio, *Firste Fruites*, folio 18; *Second Frvtes* (London, 1591), preface to the reader, not paginated.
[42]Earl of Nottingham to Sir Robert Cecil, 6 June 1599, *HMC*, Salisbury, part IX, pp. 194-195.

Londoners demanded a steady supply of Italian gloves and girdles embroidered with silk and gold thread.[43]

While Ascham was the first publicly to condemn Italianism as a threat to English society, a curious pamphlet printed about the same time as *The Scholemaster* indicates a deep resentment towards Italianism already established among some English men and women far from the centre of the court. Sometime between 1568 and 1570 an unknown author, undoubtedly unaware of *The Scholemaster*, privately printed a pamphlet called *The Debate Betweene Pride and Lowlines*.[44] *The Debate* was a confrontation between a traditional English gentleman, Clothbreeches, and an imported Italianate courtier, Velvetbreeches. These two breeches, one plain and simple, the other gaudy and proud, argued over which of them had the right to pre-eminence within England. The author portrayed the Italian-born Velvetbreeches as a proud and disdainful character who, despite his recent arrival in England, considered himself a far worthier character than Clothbreeches, whose simpleness he despised. As proof of his worthiness Velvetbreeches cited his heritage from a country that had been "Sometime the mistres of the world so wide: famous in learning and chiualry."[45] Velvetbreeches' arguments and posturing did not overawe his opponent, and Clothbreeches cursed whoever had imported Velvetbreeches into England.[46] Conforming to the contemporary belief that Italy's present vicious society tarnished its golden past, Clothbreeches refuted Velvetbreeches' claims of a superior heritage and argued that Italy had plainly lost the

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[43]Einstein, pp. 76-79; Eleanor Brewster, *Oxford and His Elizabethan Ladies* (Philadelphia, 1972), p. xxviii.

[44]J. Payne Collier, ed., *The Debate Betweene Pride and Lowlines* (London, 1841), p. viii, believed that the author was Francis Thynne, although the *DNB*, LVI, p. 365, refutes this, and there appears little reason to ascribe the work to Thynne. In his introduction to *The Debate* Collier stated his reasons for dating the printing of *The Debate* between 1568-1570. He believed that the pamphlet was not printed for sale, one reason being its obvious attack upon powerful court figures. Pollard and Redgrave think that the pamphlet was possibly printed in 1577, but most scholars are content to place the pamphlet's appearance at 1570, as does Clark, pp. 127 and 128n. After 1570 most authors used the words 'Italianate' and 'devil incarnate' to characterize the Italianate, yet the author of *The Debate* never used them. In a later version of this pamphlet by Robert Greene, *A Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier* (1592), the word Italianate appeared once; Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene M. A.* (London, 1881-1886), XI, p. 217.

[45]T., F., *The Debate Betweene Pride and Lowlines* (London, n.d.), folio Avii verso.

[46]*Ibid.*, folio Aviii.

"diademe imperiall."[47] Moreover, Clothbreeches deplored Velvetbreeches' subtlety and craft and condemned the vices that Velvetbreeches had imported into England to corrupt Englishmen's manners.[48] Rather than engage in battle to settle the issue of pre-eminence within English society, the two pair of breeches agreed to the narrator's suggestion that a jury of English men and women judge their case.

The author devoted the major portion of *The Debate* to the selection of the jury, using this device to depict the ordinary English citizen's resentment of the new Italianate gentleman and of Italianism among the nobility. As a recent arrival Velvetbreeches demurred about the presence of common people on the jury, for he felt that they were only slightly acquainted with him and could not understand his "woorthynesse, estate, ne countenaunce."[49] He understood only too well that commoners were likely to dislike him, as they ultimately paid for the Italianate lifestyles of their landlords through raised rents.[50] Velvetbreeches disliked the traditional gentry as well as the common people. He objected to the inclusion of the knight on the jury because he lived simply on his country estates and had no reason to raise his tenants' rents to support an ostentatious lifestyle; "Which thyng dooth not a litle me displease," Velvetbreeches grumbled irritably.[51] The narrator overruled Velvetbreeches' objections to the knight, and Velvetbreeches was also unsuccessful in trying to have the gentleman and the squire excluded from the jury. As Velvetbreeches objected to those members of English society who he felt would be biased against him, Clothbreeches objected to those jurors who he felt would support the Italianate Velvetbreeches. He found the tailor and the master of the gambling school unacceptable, as he did the master of the dancing school in whose establishment Clothbreeches' "arse he neuer shooke."[52] Obviously biased towards the traditional

[47] *Ibid.*, folio Aviii verso.
[48] *Ibid.*, folios Aviii verso and Biii verso.
[49] *Ibid.*, folio Bii verso.
[50] *Ibid.*, folios Bii verso, Dii, and Ev.
[51] *Ibid.*, folios Di verso - Dii.
[52] *Ibid.*, folio Ei.

Englishman, the narrator upheld most of Clothbreeches' objections and dismissed those of the imported Italianate.

When the narrator sent the jury to deliberate he commented that Clothbreeches' cause was so good "that needelie must he winne."[53] But as the jury deliberated, undoubtedly leaning in Clothbreeches' favour, Velvetbreeches confirmed his treacherous nature by dispatching assassins to destroy his rival. A group of six armed men descended upon Clothbreeches and berated him as a "weede of lowlines" for his audacity in maintaining his cause. Seizing the unfortunate Clothbreeches, they rent him into unrecognizable shreds.[54] At the sight of Clothbreeches' destruction the jury fled in terror, and the narrator woke from his dream in fright. Lest he offend any Italianates who chanced upon his pamphlet, the author carefully distanced his character of Velvetbreeches from any living person. He declared Velvetbreeches was only a figment of his "fantasicall" imagination, and therefore let "no man thinke him selfe spoken to."[55] Like William Harrison two decades later the anonymous author of *The Debate* clearly chose not to anger highly placed Italianates.[56] Despite the author's disclaimer, the pamphlet indicates a growing resentment among the more traditional and conservative members of English society at the increasing influence of Italianism among members of the Elizabethan court.

In *The Scholemaster* Roger Ascham took very traditional views of Italian immorality, subtlety and treachery and gave them a new association - Machiavellian. Although not the first English author to mention Machiavelli, Ascham was the first to endow his name with a sinister connotation.[57] Both Felix Raab and Edward Meyer have noted that the reaction

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[53] *Ibid.*, folio Fi.

[54] *Ibid.*, folio Fi verso.

[55] *Ibid.*, folio Fiv verso.

[56] Harrison, p. 115.

[57] A Scottish ballad, "A Rhime in defence of the Queen of Scots against the Earl of Murray," written in late 1568 used the word "Machivilian" in a sinister context, but it is highly unlikely that this ballad had a wide circulation, if any, within England; James Cranstoun, ed., *Satirical Poems of the Time the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1891), I, p. 73, and p. xii for Cranstoun's comments on the origins of the ballad. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, second edition, 1989), IX, p. 155, under the entry for Machiavel, states that in 1570 the Scot George Buchannon connected Machiavelli with impiety in his *Ane admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis mantenaris of the kingis grace authoritie* (the correct date of publication should be 1571). Interestingly, the printer for the first English edition of Buchannon's work was the man who printed *The Scholemaster*, John Day.

to Machiavelli in early modern England had very little to do with actual Machiavellian theory.[58] While Meyer unsuccessfully tried to correlate the origins of Machiavelli's English public image in the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century with the English translation of Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavel*,[59] it is more probable that the Elizabethan and early Stuart concept of the Machiavellian as subtle, crafty, immoral, impious and treacherous had a firm foundation in established beliefs about the nature of the Italian people. Only a small circle of intellectuals and court and government figures prior to 1570 knew of Machiavelli's works. The publication of *The Scholemaster* not only helped promote knowledge of Machiavelli but also helped to ensure the association of deceit, immorality and impiety with Machiavelli's name in the wider public arena. Ascham's association of Machiavelli with the sinister Italianated Englishman (based as it was on established prejudices about the Italian nature) was one of the major contributing factors to the late Elizabethan connection of Machiavelli with sinister and treacherous dealings.

Occasional references to Machiavelli and his works prior to 1570 occurred not only in the letters of well educated and travelled Englishmen but also in a few printed English works.[60] Although many of these references indicate qualified acceptance of Machiavelli's works, at least one Englishman, Reginald Pole, expressed considerable disquiet about Machiavelli's policies. In *The English Face of Machiavelli* Raab argued that Pole read Machiavelli's *The Prince* sometime during the 1520s or 1530s and, horrified by Machiavelli's attempt to remove the whole complex of political conduct from the jurisdiction of religious justification and formal theological sanction, effectively

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[58]Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli* (London, 1964), p. 77, and Edward Meyer, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama* (Weimar, 1897), pp. 99-156.

[59]For many years Meyer muddied the waters of scholarship on this subject, especially regarding his thesis that Stephen Patericke's English translation of Innocent Gentillet, *Contre-Machiavel* (translated 1577 but not published until 1602), was primarily responsible for the majority of anti-Machiavellian sentiment in Elizabethan drama. Raab finally laid this myth to rest in 1964, p. 56.

[60]Raab, Buckley, W. Gordon Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), and Mario Praz, "'The Politic Brain': Machiavelli and the Elizabethans," *The Flaming Heart* (New York, 1958), pp. 90-145, are some of the better studies on the reception of Machiavelli in Tudor England.

subordinating religion to political convenience, condemned him as an enemy of mankind and confederate of Satan.[61] Pole's antagonism to Machiavelli (and undoubtedly to the political and spiritual state of England) prompted him in 1540 to warn John Leghe against reading "the story of Nicolo Matchauello, which had already poisoned England and would poison all Christendom." Pole said he would do all he could to make men forget Machiavelli.[62] Despite Pole's antagonism, the few printed references to Machiavelli in England prior to *The Scholemaster* were generally favourable. One reference occurred in Morison's defense of the government's handling of the Pilgrimage of Grace, *A Remedy for Sedition* (1536). Morison referred to Machiavelli's dictum that there was nothing so apt to bring an unruly mob under control than the reverence inspired by some dignified man of authority.[63] Morison also mentioned Machiavelli and his works in a positive sense in *Apomaxis calcumniarum* (1536) and in *An Invective against the Great and Detestable Vice, Treason* (1539).[64] In his *Historie of Italie* William Thomas used Machiavelli's history of the Florentines as a base for his own account of the city. Thomas admired Machiavelli's work so much that he called him a notable and learned man, discarding all other histories of Florence in favour of Machiavelli's.[65]

By 1540 knowledge of Machiavelli's works existed within the small circle of the most highly educated Englishmen and, more than fittingly, in the prince's chamber itself. In February 1539 Harry Lord Morley wrote to Thomas Cromwell recommending Machiavelli's history of the Florentines. Morley thought Cromwell could also show *The Prince* to Henry VIII, for it "is surely a good thing for your Lordship and for our Sovereign Lord in Council."[66] References to Machiavelli also reached the English

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[61]Raab, pp. 30-31.

[62]John Legh to the Privy Council, 1540, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, XV, no. 721, p. 337.

[63]Sir Richard Morison, *A Remedy for Sedition* (1536), in David Sandler Berkowitz, ed., *Humanist Scholarship and Public Order* (Washington, 1984), p. 134.

[64]Berkowitz, p. 72.

[65]Thomas, p. 140.

[66]Harry Lord Morley to Thomas Cromwell, 13 February 1539, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, XIV, Part I, no. 285, p. 110.

authorities in the reports of foreign agents. In 1540 the Council received a report from Antwerp that cited one of Machiavelli's proverbs.[67] Edward VI possibly had a more thorough grounding in Machiavellian policy than his father. Raab suggested that William Thomas, author of *The Historie of Italie*, whispered Machiavellian realism into one of Edward VI's ears while his tutors and godfather, Ascham, Sir John Cheke and Archbishop Cranmer, whispered piety into the other.[68] The principal Elizabethan statesman, Sir William Cecil, received a copy of one of Machiavelli's discourses from Sir William Pickering in 1551 or 1552, although it is more than likely that he encountered Machiavellian theory earlier.[69]

As knowledge of Machiavelli spread through court and educated circles in the 1540s and 1550s, Ascham began to express some reservations regarding Machiavelli's policies. Although he may have read Machiavelli earlier, Ascham certainly studied him while a member of Morison's household at Augsburg in 1552.[70] It is ironic that the first Englishman to give Machiavelli's name a sinister connotation studied him in detail with the first Englishman to acknowledge his admiration of Machiavelli in print. During the 1550s Ascham mentioned his doubts regarding Machiavellian policy several times, foreshadowing his later remarks on Machiavellian policy in *The Scholemaster*. On his return from the Continent Ascham wrote *A Report and Discourse ... of the affaires and state of Germany* (written in the early 1550s and published posthumously[71]) in which he referred to unscrupulous "Machiavel's heads" in regard to German politicians.[72] Ascham's comments about Machiavelli's policies to Reginald Pole in 1555 undoubtedly found a receptive audience:

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[67]News from Antwerp, 17 March 1540, *ibid.*, XV, no. 356, p. 141.
[68]Raab, pp. 40-48 and 55. Ascham taught Edward penmanship.
[69]Sir William Pickering to Sir William Cecil, 15 December 1551, *CSPF* (1547-1553), no. 514, p. 204.
[70]Morison wrote to Sir William Cecil, 13 July 1552, that he read his household "Bernardine's [Ochine] Prediches for the tongue, and sometimes Machiavel," *CSPF* (1547-1553), no. 550, p. 216.
[71]Lawrence Ryan, *Roger Ascham* (Palo Alto, 1963), p. 157n, argues that no one published *A Report* until after Ascham's death.
[72]Ascham, *A Report*, *Works*, III, p. 59.

> For Machiavelli always with great power as you know but often not with a healthy judgement, seems in the opinion of many good men dishonestly to disparage the religion of our great Lord Christ, and also to mock impiously.[73]

Ascham's subsequent portrayal of the Machiavellian Italianate in *The Scholemaster* found an immediately sympathetic audience among those "many good men" within educated circles who already believed that Machiavelli lacked healthy judgement in his subordination of religion to political expediency.

Like the concept of the crafty, immoral and irreligious Italian prior to 1570, concern that immoral, irreligious and cunning Englishmen might use religion to advance their personal ambitions at the expense of their country's political stability existed prior to the publication of Ascham's *Scholemaster*. In 1569 the government suppressed a serious rebellion in the north of the realm. Immediately following the suppression of the rebellion the Earl of Sussex issued a proclamation condemning the actions of the rebel Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland and their confederates. Sussex summarized the plotters' intentions and actions in words and images that anticipated Ascham's treacherous Machiavellian Italianate in *The Scholemaster*. The Earls, he wrote, pretended,

> for conscience sake to seeke to refourme religion, where in deede it is manifestly knowen many of them neuer had care of conscience, or euer respected any religion, but continued a dissolute lyfe, vntyll at this present they were driuen to pretende a popishe holynesse, to put some false colour vpon their manifest treasons.[74]

After the publication of *The Scholemaster* Ascham's image of the wicked and seditious Italianate provided a convenient label for privy councillors already concerned about dissolute, irreligious and ambitious schemers. When the details of the Duke of Norfolk's plot to unseat Elizabeth became clear in early 1572, both accusers and accused soon began to throw about the epithet Italianate. Amid fears of assassination by the associates of Norfolk in late January, William Cecil received two warnings about Italianates who

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[73]Roger Ascham to Reginald Pole, 9 April 1555, Hatch, p. 619. Ascham made virtually the same comment to Sir William Petre in November 1553, *ibid.*, p. 562.

[74]"A Proclamation set foorth by Therle of Sussex," 28 November 1569, STC 8022.

might wish him harm. On 27 January Richard Beseley cautioned Cecil against accepting medicine from a physician recently returned from Italy, "lest perhappes he be Italionated."[75] Of more danger were the desperate Catholics and "Italionate atheistes" whom Archbishop Grindal believed posed a grave danger to both Elizabeth and her principal councillors.[76] Not only the accusers but the accused damned Italianates for their treacherous natures. The Duke of Norfolk demanded to meet his accusers face to face, one of whom, his former secretary William Barker, Norfolk called an "Italianfyd Inglyschemane."[77]

As privy councillors, informers and traitors threw about the accusation "Italianate" in early 1572, the epithet devil incarnate appeared firmly attached to travellers. Pride now corrupted so many English travellers, remarked George Gascoigne in this year, that "most men call them *Deuils incarnate.*"[78] The epithet devil incarnate became one of the most malicious pejoratives a man could receive during Elizabeth's reign. John Florio, the son of an Italian immigrant, published two popular dialogues demonstrating the translation of Italian into English and *vice versa* in 1578 and 1591. In his preface to the reader in *Second Frvtes* Florio wearily acknowledged the weapon critics would use against him for promoting the Italian language, noting that as he was an "Englishman in Italiane; I know they haue a knife at command to cut my throate, *Vn Inglese Italianato, e vn Diauolo incarnato.*"[79] George Whetstone, when praising Sir Philip Sidney's travels abroad, took care to point out that Sir Philip avoided vice while in Italy, knowing well the "bie-speache" that "An English-man that is Italionate: Doth lightly proue a Deuell

[75]Richard Beseley to Sir William Cecil, 27 January 1572, PRO SP 12/85/69.

[76]Archbishop Edmund Grindal to Sir William Cecil, 29 January 1572, PRO SP 12/85/73 verso. Note Grindal's easy association of Catholics and Italianated atheists in a plot against the state, an association suggested by Ascham, pp. 162-163.

[77]Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, to Elizabeth, 23 January 1572, Samuel Haynes, ed., *A Collection of State Papers* (London, 1740-1759), II, p. 170

[78]George Gascoigne, *Councel giuen to master Bartholmew Withipall* (1572), William Carew Hazlitt, ed., *The Complete Poems of George Gascoigne* (London, 1870), I, p. 375.

[79]John Florio, *Second Frvtes*, preface to the reader, not paginated.

incarnate."[80] Matthew Parker certainly considered the epithet damning enough to bestow on Reginald Pole. Publishing an account of the seventy archbishops of England in 1572, Matthew recounted Pole's corruption after his elevation to Cardinal in 1536 and commented, "I omit here the word which the Italians use to describe our Englishmen who are changed into their likeness, which they consider a great and monstrous metamorphosis contrary to both human and divine nature."[81] In the margin appeared the proverb Ascham popularized so quickly, *Anglus italianatus, Diabolus incarnatus*.[82] Even the simple term Italian applied to an Englishman could carry sinister connotations. In 1594 Thomas Nashe echoed John Lyly's remark, cited at the beginning of this chapter, when he wrote that, "It is nowe a priuie note amongst the better sort of men, when they would set a singular marke or brand on a notorious villaine, to say, he hath beene in *Italy*."[83]

Robert Greene, one of the most successful pamphleteers of Elizabethan England, was also one of the few self-confessed Italianates of the late sixteenth century. Indeed, had Greene lived twenty-five years earlier and incorporated seditious behaviour into his immoral life-style, Ascham might well have used him as his role model for the Italianated traveller. After living most of his adult life hand to mouth as a scurrilous pamphleteer, Greene repented of his ill-spent youth in a series of pamphlets written shortly before his death in September 1592 at the untimely age of thirty-four. Despite his father's careful instruction in his nonage to make himself a profitable member of the commonwealth, Greene confessed that he began to follow "the filthines of [his] owne desires" while still a tender youth. After a riotous time at university Greene decided to travel abroad, where he learned abominable habits of villainy in Italy and Spain.[84] Growing increasingly prone to

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[80]G[eorge] W[hetstone], *Sir Phillip Sidney, his honorable life, his valiant death, and true vertues* (London, 1586), folio B2.
[81]Parks, "The First Italianate Englishman," p. 213.
[82]*Ibid.*
[83]Thomas Nashe, *The Vnfortvnate Traveller* (1594), H. F. B. Brett-Smith, ed. (Oxford, 1927), p. 97.
[84]Robert Greene, *The Life and Death of Robert Greene Maister of Artes* (1592), *Works*, XII, pp. 171-172.

all types of mischief, Greene returned into England ruffled in the silks and the demeanour of a malcontent.[85] Young in years, but old in wickedness, Greene resolved that nothing profitable was bad and took as great delight in villainy as others did in honesty. He chose to earn his living as a professional writer of plays and "Loue Pamphlets,"[86] a profession of low status and worse reputation. Greene lived his adulthood among the quarrels and frays of the popular writers who scratched a living in the precincts of St. Paul's Cathedral, London's book-mart and nub of the literary profession, his days spent delighting in gluttony, drunkenness and, when able, dalliance with the local tavern-whores.[87] Gabriel Harvey, Greene's sworn enemy and literary rival, derided Greene for daily parading through the streets in the "borrowed & filched plumes of some little Italianated brauery."[88] Yet despite his willing confession to being an Italianate, Greene balked at the name devil incarnate, a label that held connotations of malicious evil as well as licentious living.[89] Greene vowed that, while he had smiled with the Italian and had held the viper's head in his hand, he had managed to stop its venom; "I am English borne, and I haue English thoughts, not a deuill incarnate because I am Italianate, but hating the pride of Italie, because I know their peeuishnes."[90] As he lay dying, Greene remembered those of his friends who had willingly denied the existence of God with him, and he begged them to repent and leave their pursuit of "Machiuilian pollicie" for the study of God's glory and greatness.[91]

The figure of the Italianated traveller figured prominently in the English reaction to Italianism after 1570, and both anti-Italianism and anti-Machiavellianism remained closely

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[85]The word malcontent became synonymous with Italianate in the late sixteenth century. See below, pp. 121-123.

[86]Greene, *Life and Death*, pp. 172-173.

[87]*Ibid.*, pp. 171-175. Charles Nicholl, *A Cup of News* (London, 1984), a biography of Thomas Nashe, brilliantly evokes the daily lives of these pamphleteers.

[88]Gabriel Harvey, *Fovre letters* (1592), Alexander B. Grosart, *The Works of Gabriel Harvey* (London, 1884), I, p. 187.

[89] In the late sixteenth century John Marston described devil incarnates as Englishmen who strutted the streets in vice, glorying in evil; *The Scovrge of Villanie. Three bookes of Satyres* (1598), Satire VII, A. H. Bullen, ed., *The Works of John Marston* (London, 1887), III, p. 345.

[90]Greene, *A Notable Discouery of Coosnage* (1591), *Works*, X, preface to the reader, p. 6.

[91]Greene, *Greens, Groats-worth of Wit* (1592), *Works*, XII, p. 142.

associated in the mind of the English public during the reign of Elizabeth.[92] Ascham's diatribe clearly influenced the anti-Italianism of John Lyly and William Harrison. Morris Croll argues that the teaching and tenor of John Lyly's *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578) were an offshoot of Ascham's *Scholemaster*.[93] Although Lyly concentrated on Italianism within English society, particularly at court, he castigated the Italianate traveller toward the end of *The Anatomy of Wit*. Using the device of a letter from Euphues to his friend in Italy, Lyly criticized the educational traveller who abandoned his studies for "deliciousness" in the company of ladies:

> It is now in every man's mouth that thou ... art so void of courtesy that thou hast almost forgotten common sense and humanity, having neither a care of religion (a thing too common in a courtier), neither regard of honesty or any virtuous behaviour.[94]

Once home in England these Italianated courtiers sought to win credit with their superiors by flattery, to wring wealth from their inferiors by force and to undermine their equals by fraud. As Italianated Englishmen replaced their piety and faith with policy and foresight, Lyly called upon them to mend their ways and embrace Christ, honesty and morality.[95] William Harrison continued Ascham's attack upon Italian travel and Italianism within English society in *The Description of England* (1587). No young man should travel to Italy, he argued, because most brought home nothing but atheism, infidelity and vicious conversation and behaviour. Caring nothing for God's word so long as they had the prince and the law on their side, Englishmen could easily recognize these Italianates by the finely apparelled pages who followed at their heels. Harrison feared he might offend highly placed Italianates if he said too much, yet he wished more Englishmen would question the presence of these Italianated Englishmen within English society.[96] Harrison

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[92]Zera Fink, "Jaques and the Malcontent Traveler," *Philological Quarterly*, XIV (1935), p. 243.
[93]Croll, pp. xxii-xxiii.
[94]*Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*, pp. 164-165.
[95]*Ibid.*, pp. 165-167.
[96]Harrison, p. 115.

derived his invective against Italianism directly from *The Scholemaster*, yet by the late 1580s the pure Italianate as depicted by Ascham had begun to modify.

Once Ascham launched the character of the Italianated traveller into the public arena it acquired a life and development of its own as it responded to changing ideas and fears within society. The character of the Italianated traveller became a popular villain of the Elizabethan stage, usually retaining an association with Machiavellian villainy, although the Machiavellian arch-villain (as distinct from the Italianated traveller) proved the more popular and durable character. In satire and drama the Italianate traveller was chiefly recognizable through two principal characteristics: vice always corrupted the Englishman into the Italianate, and the depth of this corruption enabled the traveller to dissemble and scheme against family, neighbour and state. The Italianated traveller became associated with the malcontent traveller in the literature and theatre of the 1580s and 1590s and later evolved into the corrupt traveller of early seventeenth-century popular verse and drama. Although rarely named an Italianate or malcontent, the corrupt traveller retained many of the Machiavellian Italianate's characteristics: his immorality, impiety, subtlety and dissembling nature. As the threat of Italianism faded after Elizabeth's reign,[97] the image of the corrupt and scheming traveller finally degenerated by the 1630s into a non-threatening figure of derision, the foolish Italianate traveller.[98] Despite the Italianate's eventual transformation into a foolish character, during the final two decades of the sixteenth century it retained many threatening characteristics.

Towards the end of the 1580s the Italianate traveller acquired a slightly more dangerous image than previously. Clearly still direct derivatives from Ascham's Italianated traveller, the Italianates of William Rankins and Thomas Lodge became even more malevolent figures than Ascham's Italianate as both authors detailed the destructiveness of the Italianated traveller within English society. William Rankins

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[97] Anti-Italianism rapidly lost its force as French culture became more influential among the upper classes.

[98] It is possible to trace some aspects of the culturally disaffected traveller back to the Italianate, see Chapter VIII.

discussed in detail the destructiveness of the English Italian in *The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Footesteppes of Fraunce* (1586). Abhorring nature and its divine creation, these Italianates studied methods of mischief and destruction like true Machiavellians.[99] Rankins emphasized the destructive power within English society of the Italianate's viciousness, pride and ambition, and castigated the English for their willing acceptance of this evil. He closely associated the importation of the Italianate and his vices of ambition and pride with the English fascination for novelties and believed that the Italianate's vices would precipitate the utter destruction of society.[100]

In his discussion of the incarnate devils of his age in 1596 Thomas Lodge endued his character of Scandal and Detraction with all the attributes of Ascham's Italianate, although he did not specifically name the vice Italianate. A widely travelled devil, Scandal and Detraction spoke many languages, read Machiavelli, embraced atheism and enticed discontented men into conspiracies. His daily companions, in fact, were disobedience and rebellion.[101] He generally affected a surly attitude in his daily demeanour, skulking through the back alleys of St. Paul's with heavy and superstitious looks, his left hand continually on his dagger while he plotted mischief against his neighbour.[102] Scandal and Discontent was particularly malevolent because he hated his country, his prince and the privy councillors, not because he could find any fault with them but from "meere innated and corrupt villanie."[103]

Both Rankins and Lodge illustrate one of the modifications that the image of the Italianate traveller underwent during the 1580s and 1590s, as the term and concept of malcontent became synonymous with the Italianate traveller.[104] Rankins noted the "newe found name" of malcontent associated with Italianate in *The English Ape* in 1586, and

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[99]W[illiam] R[ankins], *The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Footesteppes of Fraunce* (London, 1588), p. 5.
[100]*Ibid.*, pp. 2-8.
[101][Thomas Lodge], *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse* (London, 1596), p. 18.
[102]*Ibid.*, p. 17.
[103]*Ibid.*
[104]See Fink, pp. 237-252.

Lodge called his devil of Scandal and Detraction a "right malecontent" in 1596.[105] The malcontent contributed several new characteristics to the character of the established Italianate. As well as a corrupt and irreligious schemer, the malcontent was a discontented, sad man, disillusioned with life and with England in particular.[106] Like John Marston's malcontent traveller, Bruto, the malcontent Englishman dressed in black rather than the usual flamboyant colours of the Elizabethan courtier and affected a grave and sombre attitude:

> Look, look, with what a discontented grace
> Bruto the traveller doth sadly pace
> 'Long Westminster![107]

His corruption abroad caused the malcontent's melancholy and his deep discontent with life itself.[108] Wrapped in his melancholy and his sombre clothes, the malcontent traveller combined his vicious and immoral behaviour with a grave and discontented demeanor.[109] Naturally this affectation lent itself to the satirist's pen, and numerous characters like Marston's sad Bruto appeared in late Elizabethan and early Stuart literature.

The malcontent grafted well onto the established Italianate character who was perverted by vice. Bruto lost all his learning in Venice after he became corrupted by pleasure. Along with his melancholy and black clothes Bruto brought home cosmetics, poisons, Naples' pox, "Frenchman's dalliance" and haughty pride from Spain. Shakespeare's sad Italianate traveller Jaques is perhaps the best known melancholic traveller of early modern English literature. Jaques explained that his melancholy was the final product of the contemplations of his travels, yet melancholy was not the worst of the vices he brought home with him. Jaques' leige lord accused him of carrying home,

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[105] *Ibid.*, p. 247n; Rankins, p. 8; Lodge, p. 17.

[106] In this the malcontent forms one of the manifestations of the traveller as a cultural and national traitor.

[107] Marston, *Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image: And Certain Satires* (1598), Satire II, *Works*, III, p. 274.

[108] Fink, p. 245.

[109] See Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady* (East Lansing, 1965), pp. 73-76, for his discussion of melancholy, malcontents and the traveller. The Italianate traveller, he states, was the immediate cause of the melancholia in English life and literature. L. C. Knights, *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (Harmondsworth, 1962), Appendix B, pp. 261-274, also includes a discussion of seventeenth-century melancholy.

> ... all th' embossed sores and headed evils
> That thou with licence of free foot hast caught
> Wouldst thou disgorge into the general world.[110]

Bruto and Jaques were not comical characters; despite their melancholy and "sad array" they carried enough corruptions and harboured enough schemes to disrupt English society. As English writers often associated the character of the Italianate with anti-Machiavellianism, so the character of the malcontent often suffered from the same association; Marston's "damn'd Machiavelian" was also a "haughty malcontent."[111]

Neither Bruto nor Jaques confined their collection of vices to Italy, and this illustrates another innovation of the malcontent and one that marked the evolution of the Italianate traveller into the more generally corrupted traveller of early Stuart England. The Italianate traveller was no longer corrupted only by the pleasures of Italy. While Italy generally remained the most vicious of all countries, France, Germany, the Low Countries and Spain also contributed their vices to the Italianate-cum-malcontent's collection of vices. Both Bruto and Jaques travelled many countries, and Lodge's devil incarnate and malcontent, Scandal and Detraction, sucked in the vices of many provinces as he travelled through them.[112] Thomas Nashe's melancholy traveller acquired his gloom in France,[113] while Rankins' corrupted Englishmen blinded themselves with Italian disguises and disfigured themselves with French fashions.[114] Although the characters of corrupt travellers during the seventeenth century tended to gather their vices from many countries, Italy retained a powerful reputation for tempting the young traveller to indulge in sexual promiscurity.

By the late sixteenth century but more noticeable in the early seventeenth century the immoral, dangerous and often Machiavellian Italianated traveller evolved into the utterly polluted and corrupt traveller of popular verse and drama. Although rarely named as

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[110]William Shakespeare, *As You Like It* (produced 1599), Act II, scene vii.
[111]Marston, *Pilgmalion's Image*, Satire II, *Works*, III, pp. 272-273.
[112]Lodge, p. 17.
[113]Nashe, p. 95.
[114]Rankins, p. 3.

Italianate, this character still exhibited many of the attributes of Ascham's Italianate. The most recognizable elements of the Italianate in the image of the corrupted traveller was the very depth of his corruption and the threat he posed to society. In Samuel Daniel's *The Qveenes Arcadia* (produced in 1605) the corrupt traveller Colax completely poisoned England's goodness with the infections he brought home from abroad.[115] *The Qveenes Arcadia* was unusual because Daniel also presented a female corrupted traveller, Techne, accomplice to Colax. As Colax corrupted Englishmen, so Techne corrupted Englishwomen away from the "plaine Art of honest huswifery."[116] Both characters exhibited strong shades of Machiavellian subtlety, although Daniel never explicitly connected their scheming to Machiavellian policy. George Chapman's Antonio in *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fooles* (produced in 1619) was another corrupt traveller who displayed elements of the Machiavellian Italianate. Corrupted from his previously honest nature by his travels through Italy, Antonio was a cunning and mischievous character who constantly plotted the deceit and ruin of others. Like Colax, Antonio was capable of infecting the whole country with his corruptions.[117] Although the characters of corrupt travellers in early seventeenth-century drama continued to demonstrate Machiavellian tendencies into the early 1630s, they gradually became less sinister as playwrights invested them with increasing overtones of ridicule.

The gradual evolution of the Italianate from a threatening figure into an object of derision began as early as the 1570s. During this decade Gabriel Harvey caricatured the Earl of Oxford after his return from Italy with this derogatory verse:

> In deede most frivolous; not a looke but Italish allwaies.
> His cringeinge side necke, eies glauncinge, fisnamy smirkinge,
> With forefinger kisse and brave embrace to y^{e} footewarde.
> Largbellid kodpeasid dubletts, unkodpeasid halfehose ....

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[115]Samuel Daniel, *The Qveenes Arcadia*, Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel* (London, 1885), III, pp. 227-228.

[116]*Ibid.*, p. 228.

[117]George Chapman, *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fooles* (London, 1619), p. 32.

A litell apish hat chowchd faste to y^{e} pate like an oister.[118]

Works like Thomas Nashe's novel *The Vnfortunate Traveller* (1594) continued the denigration of the Italianated traveller, although Nashe's Italianated traveller still held very threatening overtones. He brought home with him atheism, epicurism, and the arts of whoring, poisoning and sodomy.[119] Nevertheless, the character also carried elements of foolishness. Italy taught the traveller to "kis his hand like an ape, cringe his necke like a starueling, and play at hey passe repasse come aloft when he salutes a man."[120] Works of derisive satire those by like Harvey and Nashe foreshadowed the eventual evolution of the Italianated traveller from dangerous Italianate to corrupt traveller and finally to the foolish Italianate traveller in the popular literature of the seventeenth century. During the first three decades of the seventeenth century the figure of the dangerous corrupted traveller gradually evolved into a figure of derision, yet he often retained some of his threatening characteristics; the audience's laughter must occasionally have been a little uneasy. Sometimes this was exactly the reaction a playwright wanted. Chapman meant characters like the wicked Antonio in his "Comicall Morall" play *Two Wise Men* to persuade the audience to relinquish the "incarnate Divells" of the age.[121] Another transitionary character from corrupt and dangerous Italianate to foolish Italianate traveller was Petrutio in Shakerly Marmion's comedy *The Antiquary* (produced in 1635). Although a foolish character whose "spungy brain [had] suck'd the dregs of all the folly" he had encountered abroad, Petrutio still demonstrated evil tendencies. Despite his pretty

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[118]Gabriel Harvey, *Letter-book of Gabriel Harvey*, Edward John Long Scott, ed. (London, 1883-1884), p. 98. There is some debate whether Harvey satirized Oxford in this verse or criticized undergraduates at Cambridge for their reading of French and Italian translations. Sidney Lee, *The French Renaissance in England* (Oxford, 1910), p. 61, believed Harvey criticized university students, but Einstein, p. 165, and most recently Donald J. McGinn, *Thomas Nashe* (Boston, 1981), pp. 107-108, believe Harvey meant to satirize Oxford. Both Einstein and McGinn note that Harvey's contemporaries believed that he satirized Oxford.

[119]Nashe, p. 96.

[120]*Ibid.*

[121]Chapman, p. 102.

manners, Petrutio was "A Siren above, But below a very serpent," and was capable of disowning his very father to suit his needs.[122]

Petrutio was one of the last instances of the Italianate or corrupt traveller to display markedly threatening characteristics in the literature of the seventeenth century. By the 1630s the corrupt traveller in drama had lost most of the connotations with Ascham's Italianate; if the Italianate survived at all it was as an object of derision. Sir Politick Would-bee, a foolish Italianate traveller in Ben Jonson's *Volpone or the Foxe* (produced in 1606), was a completely non-threatening caricature of the Machiavellian Italianate. Sir Politick Would-bee taught Machiavellian policy to Peregrine, a gentleman traveller, to help him through his travels, yet Jonson gave Sir Politick no threatening overtones and both characters were faintly ridiculous.[123] John Cooke's character of Stains in *Greene's Tu Quoque* (produced in 1611) and George Chapman and James Shirley's character of Freshwater in *The Ball* (produced in 1632) had no threatening overtones at all. They were very foolish Italianate travellers, coxcombs rather than Machiavellians, and they enabled an audience to laugh unreservedly.

The Italianate remained virtually ignored in conduct literature, although the image of the Italianate had faded by the time manuals on travel began to appear in quantity in the seventeenth century.[124] Only the very occasional warning against Italianates appeared. In one of these instances Bartholomew Batty cautioned parents that their children risked becoming Italianates if they travelled abroad without a governor, as that "worthie man" Ascham had warned.[125] Authors generally continued to characterize the Italian nature in traditional terms. Sir John Stradling's instructions for the Earl of Bedford in 1592 totally

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[122]Shakerly Marmion, *The Antiquary* (produced 1635), James Maidment and W. H. Logan, eds., *The Dramatic Works of Shackerley Marmion* (Edinburgh, 1875), pp. 202 and 210-211. Maidment and Logan used a variant spelling of Shakerly in the title of their book.

[123]Ben Jonson, *Volpone or the Foxe* (produced 1606), C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, eds., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925-1952), V, pp. 89-90.

[124]Some authors of seventeenth-century conduct literature did mention Italianated travellers but they normally referred to the cultural disaffection of English travellers rather than their moral corruption in the tradition of Ascham's Italianate. James Howell's use of the term Italianated traveller in *A German Diet: Or, the Balance of Europe* (London, 1653), p. 3, is one example of this.

[125]Bartholomew Batty, *The Christian mans Closet*, William Lowth, trans. (London, 1581), p. 52.

ignored the current reaction against the Italianate or malcontent, so often the butt of late sixteenth-century satire and the politic villain in popular drama, and depicted Italy in a thoroughly conventional manner by naming Italy the queen of countries, but the Italian close and malicious.[126] Sir Thomas Palmer's description of Italy in 1606 is one of the notable exceptions to this. Either the image of the Italianate that Ascham created or the anti-Machiavellianism rampant in England by this date modified his traditional description of Italy. Although many praised Italy for its courts and universities, a fact that attracted most Englishmen abroad to visit it, "yet the inconueniences and corruptions, that are mixed with the ciuilitie of that Countrey, may other wayes perswade men of iudgement."[127] Palmer warned that travellers faced almost inevitable corruption in Italy:

> let them beware of *Rome*, the Forge of euery policie, that setteth Princes at oddes ... the tempter of Subiects to ciuil dissensions, & the seller of all wickednes and heathenish impieties, or the machediuell of euill policies and practises.[128]

For a brief period after 1570 Ascham's image of the Machiavellian Italianate directly affected perceptions of traitorous Englishmen at the highest levels of England's administration. Concerned authorities often endowed suspected persons and practises with the epithet Italian or Italianate. Moralists continued Ascham's invective against Italianism and Italianates, especially during the 1580s and 1590s. The image of the Italianated traveller in moralistic tracts, satire, and popular prose pamphlets reached a wide audience spanning the court to literate servants and tradesmen.[129] If the image of the Italianated traveller briefly worried privy councillors and concerned moralists, it served to entertain the the greater population of London. Popular literature and drama popularized knowledge of the practice of educational travel and promoted the image of the educational traveller among the lower orders of English society, but the image it promoted was overwhelmingly negative. For ordinary Londoners one of the few places in which

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[126]Sir John Stradling, *A Direction for Trauailers* (London, 1592), folios B4 and C2 verso - C3.

[127]Sir Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606), p. 42.

[128]*Ibid.*, p. 44.

[129]Clark, pp. 17-25, for the audience reached by pamphlet literature.

they came in contact with the image of the educational traveller was the public theatre. For the 16,000 to 24,000 Londoners who paid a penny each to attend the public theatres each week in late Elizabethan England the predominant image of the educational traveller presented to them was that of the wicked Italianate; occasionally foolish, always corrupt.[130] The Italianate was good theatre; he appealed to a population traditionally xenophobic and resentful of the Italian craftsmen and artisans who catered for the expensive tastes of the court to the cost of local workers. Unable either to read or to afford printed material, the ordinary Londoner probably had little knowledge of the arguments in favour of educational traveller; the predominant images of the educational traveller presented to the lower orders in the city were the wicked Italianate and the corrupt and the foolish traveller. Always capable of attacking foreigners who ventured into the back ways of London, the mob also expressed its scorn of any Italianated or Frenchified Englishman who walked their alleys with derisive voices and the occasional raised fist.

Both the reaction against Italianism and the popularity of the image of the Italianate for almost fifty years after the publication of *The Scholemaster* relied on many interrelated factors. The excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570 helped focus attention on Italy, especially Rome, as England's enemy at the precise time of *The Scholemaster's* appearance. Traditional xenophobia, commercial jealousies and resentment of the ostentatious life-style of the new Italianate gentleman stoked the anger of the lower orders in society. Among more educated Englishmen the effects of a growing national consciousness, puritanism and the reaction both against some of the innovations in

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[130]Peter Burke, "Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century London," Barry Reay, ed., *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1985), pp. 39-40, for the type and numbers of Londoners attending the public theatres in 1600. In 1599 Thomas Platter noted that in London two or three plays ran daily at two o'clock in the afternoon; Leonard R. N. Ashley, ed., *Elizabethan Popular Culture* (Bowling Green, 1988), p. 7. In 1600 so many unlicenced theatres and actors lured "the people dayly from their trade and worke to mispend their tyme" that the Privy Council attempted to restrict the numbers of both theatres and actors; minutes of the Privy Council, 22 June 1600, *APC*, XXX (1599-1600), pp. 395-398.

society that Italianates represented,[131] and against many of the social upstarts who aped the manners and actions of highly placed Italianates at court in order to gain preferment fueled the indignation of the moralists and satirists.[132] At the very foundation of the success of the image of the devil incarnate, the Italianated traveller, lay the ingrained belief that beneath Italy's thin veneer of brilliant literary, artistic and courtly refinements seethed a dangerous combination of lust, violence, murder, impiety and treachery.

The image of the Italianate traveller remained viable only as long as the spectre of Italianism remained a threat in English society. Even as early as the 1580s, as indicated in the development of the malcontent, popular writers, satirists and moralists noted the corruptions travellers acquired in other countries as well as Italy. France, Spain, Germany and even the Low Countries all contributed to the corruption of the Englishman into the Italianate. The pronounced influence of Italian culture in England waned significantly after the early seventeenth century, and reaction against French influence in society again became the issue for moralists and nationally conscious Englishmen; during the early seventeenth century critics of educational travel shifted the brunt of their criticism from the Italianization to the Frenchification of the traveller.[133] The decline in the influence of Italian culture in England coincided with a trend for many travellers to confine their tours to France, Germany and the Low Countries.[134] The cost of extending a son's tour into Italy was prohibitive for many families, especially those from the lesser

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[131] Such as the growth of a city and courtly life-style as opposed to the simpler country life-style of the traditional English gentleman. Clothbreeches is a good example of what many authors defined as the traditional English gentleman; *The Debate* and *A Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier*.

[132] Thomas Nashe's upstart in *Pierce Penilesse his Svpplication to the Divell* (1592) was a traveller and a malcontent who refused to talk in anything but Italian; R. B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (Oxford, 1958), I, pp 168-169. In 1592 Robert Greene published *A Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier*, a pointed satire against "malapart vpstart[s]," men who advanced themselves from their lowly origins through "Italian deuises"; *Works*, XI, p. 232. Greene based the entire pamphlet on *The Debate Betweene Pride and Lowlines*.

[133] Lewis Einstein observed that by the early seventeenth century the Italian influence in England was stationary, if not actually waning; "the want of fresh vigor to reënforce its claims, perhaps no less than the attacks of the moralists, had brought it to a standstill." French and Spanish cultural influences, then growing in strength, filled the vacuum; p. 175. See also Zera Fink, "Anti-Foreign Sentiment in Tudor and Early Stuart Literature," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1931, pp. 245-246.

[134] Especially to the academies in France.

gentry and the professional classes. Although many young gentlemen retained great hopes of extending their tours to Italy, their parents' finances, fears of the physical dangers of travelling in Italy, remnants of a traditional distrust of the immorality of the Italians and, not the least, restrictions by the English government on travel to Italy reduced the proportion of English travellers who ventured across the Alps. By the second half of the seventeenth century France assumed the mantle of the greatest corrupter of English travellers abroad and the Frenchified traveller, rather than the Italianated traveller, became the butt of the satirists and moralists' pens.

Not only did Ascham help to initiate the reaction against Italianism within England, but also his attack on Italian travel began the public concern and criticism of the practice of educational travel that lasted throughout the seventeenth century. His vivid and powerful imagery of the wicked and dangerous Italianated traveller focused public attention both on the growing practice of educational travel and on the possibility that through his corruption abroad the traveller might prove a threat to the stability of society and state. Educational travel attracted little public comment before 1570, and the few opinions expressed in print were generally favourable. Individuals expressed some reservations about the practice, but their criticisms were muted and voiced only privately. *The Scholemaster* ensured that the first image of the educational traveller to reach a wide audience in England was extraordinarily negative. After 1570 moralists, pamphleteers and dramatists extensively promoted the image of the wicked and corrupt Italianated traveller throughout a wide section of society; most literate Englishmen and women were exposed to it, and popular theatre promoted the image among the illiterate. While Ascham's attack on Italian travel in *The Scholemaster* triggered widespread public concern over educational travel, his image of the Italianated traveller ensured the widespread association of corruption with the educational traveller.

V

'A Monster Covered with Man's Shape': The Atheist Traveller

> The third enemies that encountreth with him that travaileth be divells clothed in fleshe, monsters covered with mans shape: pollitique serpente in womanlie & effeminate manners, which be in a worde Atheists for the voidnes of religion, & infernall spiritte for the vilenes of their life; whoe ... account religion but relicks of the ancient Ethnicks pollicies to make Commonwealths more flourishinge, & to keepe men in awe of Magistrates.[1]

Both civil and ecclesiastical authorities expressed deep anxiety about the threat of atheism within English society during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The authorities repeatedly voiced their concern that atheism or unbelief would infect the English people to such an extent that they would ignore both divine and civil law and that the commonwealth of England would plunge into godless chaos. Adam Hill's impassioned words in a sermon that he preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1593 are representative of the concern about the destructive potential of widespread atheism. Hill argued that atheists were traitors to their prince, rebels to their country, poison to their family and a plague to their friends. Furthermore, he believed that atheism was so widespread that it would inevitably plunge England into a state of general, fearful and everlasting destruction; "My heart trembleth, and my eyes shed teares to see the faintnesse of my selfe and my bretheren, that this sinne of Atheisme openly committed is not openly reproued, that others may feare."[2] Into this generalized and often vaguely defined fear of atheism Roger Ascham introduced the threatening figure of the Machiavellian, Italianated

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[1] Stephen Powle to unknown, mid-1581, letter entitled "In dispraise of trauaile, & confutation of Atheisme," Tanner 309/32 verso. Powle believed the first two enemies were Turks and Jews.

[2] Adam Hill, *The Crie of England* (London, 1595), pp. 32-33 and 36-37. Preached at St. Paul's Cross in September 1593.

and atheistical traveller in 1570. Not only did Ascham's vivid imagery ensure the association of atheism with travellers, but also his clear definition of the Italianated atheist influenced discussion of atheism and subsequent definitions of atheists outside official rhetoric for many decades thereafter.

To understand why the image of the traveller corrupted by atheism proved so threatening it is necessary to establish that civil and ecclesiastical authorities and many educated laymen not only believed atheism existed, but they also believed it constituted a major threat to the continued existence of ordered English society. The prospect of impiety, even total unbelief, within English society haunted the English government well before *The Scholemaster's* publication in 1570. As early as 1549 Edward VI sat and listened to Hugh Latimer warn about the dangers of unbelief in England. Latimer believed that many Englishmen did not believe in the immortality of man's soul or the existence of heaven and hell; "O Lord, what a weighty matter is this! What a lamentable thing in a christian commonwealth!"[3] The authorities believed that the presence of totally irreligious elements within the community posed as great a threat to the social and political stability of England as the presence of politically seditious elements. Both political and religious authorities closely associated irreligion with anti-social and criminal behaviour and believed that the social order would collapse if unbelief undermined religion (the fear of God and His judgement in the afterlife). Religious faith was the necessary foundation of social order; only God-fearing citizens could possibly be law-abiding citizens. The Elizabethan authorities relied more on the fear of God's judgement in the next world than fear of the civil magistrate in the present one to keep English men and women from criminal activities.[4] The religious commitment of the English subjects deeply concerned Elizabeth, her Privy Council and the English Church during the second half of the

[3]Hugh Latimer's fifth sermon preached before Edward VI, 5 April 1549, George Elwes Corrie, ed., *Sermons by Hugh Latimer* (Cambridge, 1844), p. 187. See also the fourth sermon, pp. 164-165, for Latimer's mention of a most wicked man who did not believe in man's immortal soul.

[4]See David Wootton, ed., *Divine Right and Democracy* (Harmondsworth, 1986), p. 60; and Wootton, "Lucien Febvre and the Problem of Unbelief in the Early Modern Period," *The Journal of Modern History*, LX (1988), p. 712.

sixteenth century. Queen, Council and Church were well aware that the religious settlement of 1559 lacked widespread support within English society, many of whom were confused and resentful at the upheavals in the Church during the previous thirty years. In 1569 Sir Walter Mildmay wrote that the safety of the Queen's life and the preservation of the state of religion were the "two principall pillers" upon which the whole state of the commonwealth depended; if the authorities neglected either one, then "we canne looke for nothing but ruine and desolation."[5] If fear of God diminished, then so would fear of the prince and the magistrate; destruction of the social order might well follow.

Many Englishmen believed that the diversity of religious opinions within England was one of the principal reasons for the growth of atheism; they feared that bickering between various religious sects, all of whom claimed to be the sole recipients of divine truth, seriously weakened the credibility of Christianity.[6] Past upheavals in the English church caused an understandable confusion among parishioners and local clergymen alike, no doubt contributing to the "divison of the people in every shyre by deversity of Opiniones in the matter of Relligion."[7] Among the numerous pieces of advice given Elizabeth on her accession was the warning from one unknown writer to deal with the case of religion warily and with great cunning, not only in the effort to reform religion but also to maintain her subjects' respect in it.[8] While changes in the church confused some men, others appeared heartily sick of the whole business of shifting religious allegiances.

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[5]Sir Walter Mildmay to Sir William Cecil, 8 September 1569, PRO SP 12/58/169.

[6]George Buckley argued that a strong influence for religious unbelief in England during the last half of the sixteenth century was the warfare between the numerous religious sects, *Atheism in the English Renaissance* (New York, [1932] 1965), pp. 43-60. In the early seventeenth century Francis Bacon wrote that one cause of atheism was the presence of numerous divisions in religion within a society; while one main division created zeal, many divisions created atheism; Francis Bacon, "Of Atheism," *The Works of Sir Francis Bacon*, James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Heath, eds. (London, 1868-1890), VI, p. 414.

[7]Treatise headed "A necessary consideration of the Perillous state of thys tyme," 7 June 1569, PRO SP 12/51/16.

[8]Treatise headed "The Distresses of the Commonwelth, with the meanes to remedy them," 1558, PRO SP 12/1/150 verso.

There were some men so "glutted" with God's word, wrote Goddred Gylby in 1561, that they were ready to vomit it all out and become Epicures and atheists.[9]

Keith Thomas, while he disagrees with Lawrence Stone's conclusion that the Elizabethan age was the period of greatest religious indifference before the twentieth century, nevertheless believes that "a substantial proportion of the population regarded organized religion with an attitude which varied from cold indifference to frank hostility."[10] Concern among the authorities about the degree of indifference and hostility among the English people certainly appeared to increase in the years following Elizabeth's accession to the throne. During the 1560s many privy councillors and members of their immediate circle worried about the religious commitment of the English people. In October 1564 the Privy Council requested the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England to classify local officials according to their religious commitment - favourable, indifferent (of "no religion") or "hinderers and adversaries" (Catholics). The replies could hardly have reassured the Council for the bishops reported that almost half of the local officials of the country were either indifferent or hostile to the fate of the English church.[11] Some councillors feared that the English subjects lived, as John Strype expressed it, "dissolutely, vainly and luxuriously, with little Fear of God, and Care of Honesty, and in a Neglect of that Honour and Obedience that was due to [the Queen]."[12] Sir John Mason, the Treasurer of the Queen's chamber, driven by his concern that a weakening in religious commitment among the English people would lead to social chaos, warned William Cecil in 1564 that the fear of God, "whereby all things were wont too be kept in indifferent order, is in effect gon."[13] Just prior to the northern rebellion of 1569 Cecil was uncomfortably aware that in many ways coldness and indifference undermined

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[9]G[oddred] G[ylby], trans., *An Epistle or letter of Exhortation ... [of] Cicero* (London, 1561), Gylby's epistle to the reader, folio Aii.

[10]Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth, 1984), p. 204.

[11]Mary Bateson, ed., "A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564," *The Camden Miscellany*, IX (1895), pp. 1-83.

[12]John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (London, 1711), Book II, Chapter 17, p. 147.

[13]Sir John Mason to Sir William Cecil, 8 March 1564, Lord Burghley Papers, Lansdowne 7/item 77.

the state of religion in England. Not only radical groups like the Baptists but also increasing numbers of deriders of religion, irreligious subjects and Epicures all seriously weakened one of the principal pillars of the realm. As coldness in the true service of God increased, the people's regard for civil law diminished and the "inferior" estates lost their fear and reverence for their superiors.[14] It is worth emphasizing that Ascham, an intimate of many of these men, wrote *The Scholemaster* during this time of growing uncertainty and concern during the 1560s and undoubtedly reacted to the fears about him.

The authorities' concern about the spiritual commitment of the English people increased noticeably during 1572-1574. The principal causes of this were, naturally, the rebellions and plots to unseat Elizabeth in the years 1569-1572 and the papal bull that excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth in 1570. Nevertheless, amid this heightened anxiety about the loyalty of English Catholics concern about atheism also increased. Ascham's threatening imagery of the scheming Machiavellian and Italianated atheist undoubtedly aggravated this concern. Indeed, his influence is evident in Archbishop Edmund Grindal's warning to Cecil in 1572 to beware of "Italionate atheistes" who might threaten his life.[15] By 1572 many Englishmen believed that atheism comprised one of the major religious persuasions within English society. A document presented to William Cecil in that year argued that atheists constituted one of the three principal religious affiliations of England:

> The realm is divided into three parties, the Papist, the Atheist, and the Protestant. All three are alike favoured; the first and second because, being many, we dare not displease them; the third because, having religion, we fear to displease God in them. All three are blamed, the Papist as a traitor, the Atheist as godless, the Protestant as a precisian. The last should not be feared, as he obeys in God's fear; the other two know no obedience.[16]

A charge of atheism at this time of heightened official anxiety could severely damage a man's reputation. In 1572 the poet George Gascoigne felt it prudent to flee England after

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[14]Sir William Cecil, "A Short Memoryall of the State of the Realme," 1569 (before the northern rebellion), Samuel Haynes, ed., *A Collection of State Papers* (London, 1740-1759), I, pp. 585-586.

[15]Archbishop Edmund Grindal to Sir William Cecil, 29 January 1572, PRO SP 12/85/73 verso.

[16]1572?, *CSPD*, Addenda, Elizabeth (1566-1579), vol. 21, no. 121, p. 439.

an anonymous petition to the Privy Council accused him of being, among other charges, "a Spie, Atheist and godlesse personne."[17] William Cecil remained constantly apprehensive about the spiritual commitment of the English people during the early 1570s. In 1574 he echoed his remarks of 1569 about the diversity of religious opinion weakening the state of religion within England when he commented to Thomas Coppley that nowhere else in Christendom could one find such a variety of religious offenders as in the "shipp" of England, "blasphemors, heretyks, irreligious, advowtrors and such lyk."[18]

The belief that atheists formed a significant faction within English society continued to be popular during the remainder of the late sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century. The Bishop of St. Davids, Marmaduke Middleton, reported to Sir Francis Walsingham in 1583 that while few Catholics lived in his diocese, atheism infected many people who lived vicious lives; even the Catholics had little success in converting them.[19] In an effort to gain the support of James I, the Catholics of England presented the new king with a petition on his succession to the English throne. The Catholics believed that the four major religious persuasions present in England were Puritanism, Catholicism, Protestantism and atheism. Mirroring previous explanations for the cause of atheism, the Catholics cited the "brawles and Contentions in matters of fayth" within England for causing men to embrace atheism.[20] Elizabethan and early Stuart churchmen worried continually about the presence of atheists and malcontents within their parishes.[21] Writing in the late sixteenth century, the Reverend Richard Greenham

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[17]This petition successfully prevented Gascoigne from taking his place as elected M.P. for Midhurst, May? 1572, PRO SP 12/86/235.

[18]Sir William Cecil to Thomas Coppley, 28 December 1574, PRO SP 12/99/31.

[19]Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop of St. Davids, to Sir Francis Walsingham, 16 September 1583, PRO SP 12/162/54.

[20]The Catholics of England to James I, April? 1603, PRO SP 14/1/110.

[21]For instance John Jackson, preacher at Melsonby church, near Richmond, to William Waad, 24 May 1597, *CSPD*, Elizabeth (1595-1597), vol. 263, no. 52, p. 418; Edmond Hopwood to Thomas Sothworth, 29 July 1608, *HMC*, Kenyon, Appendix, Part IV, p. 14; and William Cotton, Bishop of Exeter, to [Sir Thomas?] Lake, 24 January 1618, PRO SP 14/95/71. Also note Marmaduke Middleton's remarks cited above.

observed that some men believed atheism to be more dangerous than Catholicism in contemporary England.[22] Jeremy Corderoy dedicated his 1608 dialogue on atheism to Lord Ellesmore, Lord Chancellor and privy councillor, believing Ellesmore appreciated the danger atheists posed to society through his daily experience of their offences in the court of Star Chamber and in Chancery.[23] Perhaps the concerns about atheism held by many of the Englishmen about him prompted the Spanish ambassador, Count Gondomar, to report in 1617 that of approximately 3.6 million English people he believed 900,000 were atheists.[24] While concern about atheism at official levels seemed to decline a little during the middle of the seventeenth century, in the late seventeenth century the conviction that atheism was widespread within the community led both Houses of Parliament to debate an act designed to punish and suppress those convicted of atheism, blasphemy or profanity.[25] This continuing anxiety about the danger from atheists not only kept the issue of atheism alive within the English community, but it also helped to bolster the image of the traveller corrupted by atheism.

In all these expressions of concern about the destructive potential of atheism within English society there usually appears a degree of ambiguity or uncertainty about what exactly early modern Englishmen meant by the word they bandied about so freely. Atheist, or atheism, could be a word of very general abuse, used both by Protestants and by Catholics to condemn their religious opponents. Individuals found the term useful for maligning personal enemies; in 1631 Sir Simonds D'Ewes called Sir Nicholas Hyde a "true malicious Atheist" for unjustly fining him £20 at a time of great personal distress.[26]

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[22]Richard Greenham, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithfvll Servant of Iesvs Christ M. Richard Greenham*, Henry Holland, ed. (London, fifth edition, 1612), p. 3 (written before 1594). Thomas Fuller repeated Greenham's warning in 1642, *The Holy State and the Profane State* (1642), Maximilian Graff Walten, ed. (New York, 1966), II, p. 383.

[23]Jeremy Corderoy, *A Warning for Worldlings* (London, 1608), "Epistle Dedicatorie," folio A3 verso.

[24]Cited in Martin J. Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England* (Stanford, 1962), p. 83. Although this is a rather dubious report, it does illustrate the belief held by many men that atheists composed one of the major religious persuasions in England.

[25]Debated between 1666 and 1697, *House of Lords Journals*, XII-XVI; *HMC*, Eighth Report, Lords, Report and Appendix (Part I), Calender of the House of Lords Main Papers, items 80 and 92; *The Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, new series (London, 1965), III, item 1217. Parliament eventually passed the bill in 1697, although it dropped the word atheism from the wording of the act, 9 William .3. c. 35.

[26]Sir Simonds D'Ewes, "An Account of my Life from 1602-1636," Harleian 646/143 verso.

Thomas Fuller demonstrated the broadness of the term when in 1642 he began his essay on atheism with the acknowledgement that "The word *Atheist* is of a very large extent," before giving details of at least nine different categories of religious offenders who qualified for the epithet.[27] Any deviation from theological orthodoxy, particularly towards unitarianism or pantheism, might lead to the accusation of atheism.[28] Moralists and divines sometimes labelled non-Christians, particularly Jews and Moslems, atheists because they did not worship the true God. Other definitions of atheists included wicked and immoral men, hypocrites, and "nominal" Protestants who claimed to believe in God but who denied him in their manner of living.[29] The term atheism appeared as an ambiguous and all-encompassing concept in a draft of an act to produce a uniform translation of the Bible, written sometime between 1558 and 1566. The draft act indicated official concern that numerous unauthorized translations of the Bible about England precipitated a dangerous increase of "papistrie and Atheisme."[30] Occasionally the term atheist appeared to refer to Catholicism. Some disgruntled Fellows of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, brought a rather vague charge of atheism against their Master, Dr. John Caius, in 1566. Driven either by resentment of Dr. Caius' harsh disciplinary measures or by rumours that he might be working towards a restoration of Catholic doctrine, the Fellows accused their master of atheism, an accusation that caused the Archbishop of Canterbury some considerable concern.[31]

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[27]Fuller, II, pp. 378-383. For various early modern definitions of atheism see Thomas Nashe, *Christs Teares Over Jerusalem* (1593), R. B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (London, 1958), II, pp. 117-121 particularly; John Dove, *A Confvtation of Atheisme* (London, 1605), pp. 1-6; John Wingfield, *Atheisme Close and Open, Anatomized* (London, 1634), Part II, pp. 20-21; and John Weemes, *A Treatise of the Fovre Degenerate Sonnes* (London, 1636), pp. 5-6.

[28]G. E. Aylmer, "Unbelief in Seventeenth-Century England," in Donald Pennington and K. Thomas, eds., *Puritans and Revolutionaries* (Oxford, 1978), p. 24. See also Ernest A. Strathmann, *Sir Walter Ralegh, A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism* (New York, 1951), Chapter III, "Elizabethan Meanings of 'Atheism'," pp. 61-97; Michael Hunter, "The Problem of 'Atheism' in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, no. 35 (1985), pp. 135-157; Wootton, "Lucien Febvre and the Problem of Unbelief;" and Thomas, pp. 198-205.

[29]Dove, p. 1; Wingfield, pp. 20-21; Thomas Jackson, *Londons New-Yeeres Gift* (London, 1609), folios 17 verso - 18 (Jackson preached this sermon at St Paul's Cross, 1 January 1607).

[30]Draft of "An Act for reducing of diversities of Bibles," written between 1558 and 1565, Main Papers of the House of Lords (catalogued for 1558), manuscripts are catalogued chronologically and not foliated.

[31]Matthew Parker to Sir William Cecil, 4 January 1566, John Bruce, ed., *Correspondence of Matthew Parker* (Cambridge, 1853), pp. 251-252; also see the *DNB's* entry for Caius, VIII, p. 223.

Despite the vagueness of mid-sixteenth-century usage of the word atheism, Ascham was very specific in his definition of the Italianated and atheistical traveller. The pleasures, vices and vanities of Italy corrupted the English traveller away from all fear of God and judgement in the afterlife so that he subsequently scorned God's word and hated all God-fearing men. The Italianate was particularly dangerous because he combined his impiety with Machiavellian ambition. Like a true Machiavellian, the Italianate laughed inwardly at both Protestantism and Catholicism but did not balk at professing belief in any creed if it might bring him profit. Driven by his desire for personal profit, the unprincipled and impious Italianate allied himself with discontented elements in England, principally Catholics, and plotted with them to destroy by sword and fire all their enemies. Both the Italianated traveller's impiety and his Machiavellian scheming threatened the stability of English state and society. His scorn for divine law and his dedication to personal profit at the expense of the state's best interests destroyed the Italianated atheist's allegiance to prince and community.[32] During the remainder of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century the image of the atheistical traveller remained principally one of a man corrupted by pleasure and vice who chose to disregard God and the possibility of an afterlife in an attempt to justify his pleasures in this one. Although the principal reason for this association was Ascham's precise definition of the Italianated and atheistical traveller, the traveller's reputation for moral corruption abroad also helped foster and reinforce the image of the traveller corrupted to atheism through vice. During the last three decades of the sixteenth century the image of the atheistical traveller remained closely allied with the image of the Italianated traveller, but, as the spectre of the Italianate faded during the early seventeenth century, the image of the atheistical traveller became associated with the morally corrupt traveller and occasionally with the foolish traveller.

[32]Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570), Dr. Giles, ed., *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham* (London, 1864-1865), III, pp. 161-166.

In *The Scholemaster* Ascham clearly associated Machiavelli with atheism.[33] During the remainder of the sixteenth century and throughout most of the seventeenth century many men, rightly or wrongly, believed that Machiavellianism embodied atheism. If Machiavelli was not the inventor of atheism, then he was at least the "polisher" of its principles.[34] Stephen Powle's description of the atheist, cited at the beginning of this chapter, clearly connected atheism with English popular perceptions of Machiavellian principles and appears strongly influenced by Ascham's portrayal of the Machiavellian Italianate atheist. Powle's atheists believed that religion was simply a policy devised by the ancients to keep men in awe of civil magistrates and to ensure the well-being of the commonwealth.[35] They asserted "preachings to be but pratings of friers & monkes; & the sacramente to be but iuglinge maskes to dazell the eyes of the simple."[36] Ascham's influence is also evident in the continuing connection between the devil incarnate, atheism and Machiavellianism during the late sixteenth century. T. Bowes, the English translator of Pierre La Primaudaye's *The Second Part of the French Academie* (1594), portrayed atheists as a "rabble of ... deuils incarnate," who practised the precepts of the Machiavelli. That "monster," argued Bowes, had spread his "deadly branches" of atheism over so many countries that men everywhere continually practised his precepts.[37]

Italy traditionally had a reputation as a centre of corruption and impiety among Englishmen, but its reputation as the principal breeding ground of atheism intensified after *The Scholemaster's* publication. During the remainder of the sixteenth century authors like William Harrison and John Lyly continued to promote Ascham's image of

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[33]*Ibid.*, pp. 162-163. Ascham had privately connected Machiavelli with impiety for at least a decade previously; see his comments to Sir William Petre in November 1553 and to Reginald Pole in April 1555, Maurice A. Hatch, trans. and ed., "The Ascham Letters: An Annotated Translation of the Latin Correspondence contained in the Giles Edition of Ascham's Works," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1948, pp. 562 and 619.

[34]William Struther, *A Looking Glasse for Princes and People* (Edinburgh, 1632), p. 93.

[35]See Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, pp. 161-163.

[36]Powle, "In dispraise of trauaile," Tanner 309/32 verso. Powle used virtually the same words to describe the Italian's nature to his brother; Stephen Powle to his elder brother, 20 June 1581, Tanner 309/19.

[37]Pierre La Primaudaye, *The Second Part of the French Academie*, T. Bowes, trans. (London, 1594), translator's "Dedicatory," folios a3 verso - a4. See Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli* (London, 1964), and Buckley, particularly Chapter III, for the early modern connection between Machiavelli and atheism.

the English traveller's corruption to atheism through the pleasures available in Italy.[38] By the end of the sixteenth century the image of the Italianated atheist was so strong it occasionally changed men's opinions regarding Italian travel. William Cecil enthusiastically supported the possibility of Italian travel for his eldest son in 1562-1563 yet changed his mind when his youngest son, Robert, set off on his tour in 1584. Presenting Robert with a set of precepts for the well ordering of his life, Cecil advised him not to let his sons travel beyond the Alps, "for they shall learn nothing but pride, blasphemy and atheism."[39] In the seventeenth century Thomas Fuller reminded his readers of Ascham's warning about Italian travel and cautioned travellers to beware of Italian atheism.[40] After the mid-seventeenth century the danger to travellers of Italian atheism began to disappear from conduct literature, as warnings to beware of atheism applied more generally to the Continent, but Italy retained a firm reputation for atheism among individuals. When William Trumball wrote a description of Italy for Sir Richard Harrison in 1665, he remarked rather casually that the Italian religion was nothing but show, for all the "great ones" were atheists, while the "poor and ignorant" were simply superstitious.[41] During the next year Sir Heneage Finch cautioned his son, Daniel, to preserve his reputation as a serious man while in Italy, "and be assured that 'tis no part of the wisdome of Italy to bee a sceptick in religion."[42] Gilbert Burnet wrote in 1687 that intellectuals in Italy doubted all things more from a principle of atheism than from a desire to investigate matters of controversy.[43] By the second half of the seventeenth century the spectre of the wicked Italianate was long dead, and men could afford the occasional jest

[38]William Harrison, *The Description of England* (1587), Georges Edelen, ed. (New York, 1968); John Lyly, *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit* (1578), Morris William Croll and Harry Clemons, eds, *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit, Euphues & His England* (New York, 1964). See discussion below, pp. 143-144.

[39]Sir William Cecil to Thomas Windebank, 10 October 1562, PRO SP 12/25/16, and same to same, 16 November 1562, PRO SP 12/25/102, for Cecil's wish that Thomas visit Italy. Sir William Cecil to Robert Cecil, 1584, "Certain Precepts for the Well Ordering of a Man's Life," L. B. Wright, ed., *Advice to a Son* (Ithaca, 1962), p. 11, for his advice not to pass the Alps.

[40]Fuller, II, pp. 159 and 160. Despite his reference to Ascham's arguments in *The Scholemaster,* Fuller did not use Ascham's image of the Italianate.

[41]William Trumbull to Sir Richard Harrison, 19 February 1665, *HMC*, Downshire, I, Part I, p. 4.

[42]Sir Heneage Finch to Daniel Finch, 7/17 December 1666, *HMC*, Finch, I, p. 446.

[43][Gilbert Burnet], *Three Letters Concerning the Present State of Italy* ([London], 1688), p. 7.

about Italian atheism. In 1672 Denis de Repas suggested, rather tongue-in-cheek, to Sir Edward Harley that the best way to abolish Catholicism in England was to send every English Catholic to Italy for three months; "I am confident and would lay twenty to one that at their return, they would be either good Protestants or Atheists."[44]

Apart from Ascham's impact on public perceptions of the traveller, his definition of the Italianated atheist markedly influenced succeeding sermons and essays on atheism generally. Preachers and laymen alike subsequently copied Ascham's arguments and definitions of the Italianated atheist from *The Scholemaster* when expressing their concern about the religious integrity of their countrymen. Thomas Palfreyman copied directly from Ascham when he condemned Italianated atheists in *The Treatise of Heavenly Philosophie* (1578).[45] In 1605 John Dove noted the various types of men popularly termed atheists. He labelled pagans, infidels and idolators atheists because they were ignorant of the true God, albeit religious in their own way. A second type of atheist openly derided and scoffed at God, while a third type only professed religion so far as it brought him profit.[46] Ascham's influence is evident in Dove's fourth type of atheist, a Machiavellian Italianate:

> I meane them which haue turned *Moses* into *Machiauel*: Their Diuinitie is policye, their zeale is Atheisme, and their God is the deuill. These *English Italianat* and deuils incarnat, doe holde these damnable opinions: That there was no creation of the world, that there shall be no day of iudgement, no resurrection, no immortallitye of the soule, no hell ... Finally, they holde that the Scriptures were deuised by men, onely for policye sake, to maintaine peace in states and Kingdomes, to keep subiects in obedience to lawes, and loyaltie to Magistrates.[47]

Ascham's harangue against Italianated atheists strongly influenced both Thomas Jackson and John Hull's essays on atheism. Like John Dove, Jackson connected the most harmful of the numerous atheists he believed thronged England with Ascham's image of

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[44]Denis de Repas to [Sir Edward Harley], 13 September 1672, *HMC*, Portland, Part II, volume III, p. 333.
[45]Thomas Palfreyman, *The Treatise of Heavenly Philosophie* (London, 1578), p. 703; Ascham, pp. 161-162.
[46]Dove, pp. 1-5.
[47]*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

the devil incarnate and the Italianated Englishman.[48] In 1610 John Hull cited Ascham when he argued that Italian translations within England created many Catholics, atheists and Epicures.[49] It is difficult to know if every one of these authors were acquainted with Ascham's *Scholemaster* first-hand, or if some of them copied from their contemporaries rather than from Ascham, yet they do demonstrate the impact that Ascham's image of the Italianated atheist made on general discussion of atheism well into the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

If Ascham's image of the Machiavellian Italianate atheist affected general images of the atheist to this degree, then it probably had an equal impact on anxieties regarding travellers and atheism. As long as the image of the Machiavellian and Italianated traveller remained strong within the public imagination, then the image of the traveller corrupted by atheism continued to be closely allied with it. In *Euphues: An Anatomy of Wit* (1578) John Lyly continued Ascham's image of the English traveller who lost all religious principles and honest behaviour after his corruption by pleasure in Italy. Lyly's character of Philautus, corrupted by the pleasure of ladies' company, forgot all common sense, humanity, honesty and care of religion as policy and foresight replaced piety and faith.[50] In 1587 William Harrison carefully outlined the ungodly opinions of English travellers to Italy who brought home nothing but atheism, infidelity, vicious conversation and proud behaviour. The Machiavellian Italianated traveller believed that faith and truth were useless principles if they hindered his ambitions, and he only demonstrated forgiveness after he had exacted a full revenge. The Italianate considered any man who lost his possessions, or even his life, for religious principles a stupid fool. The Italianate summarized his religious principles with the words, "I care not ... what you talk to me of God, so long as I may have the prince and the laws of the realm on my side."[51] Like

[48]Thomas Jackson, folios 17 verso - 18.
[49]John Hull, *Saint Peters Prophesie of These Last Daies* (London, 1610), p. 127.
[50]Lyly, pp. 164-165. In *Euphues and His England*, published two years later, Lyly further criticized Englishmen who travelled abroad for fashions's sake and returned home without any piety, Croll, p. 226.
[51]Harrison, pp. 114-115.

Harrison's Italianated and atheistical travellers, Jeremy Corderoy's traveller of 1608 not only demonstrated the strong link that many Englishmen believed bonded Machiavellian policy with atheism but also illustrated the popular belief that loss of religious commitment would result in social chaos. Experience of the world abroad taught Corderoy's traveller that,

> God, Conscience, and Religion, haue bin things inuented by the Polititians of this world, to keepe men within the compasse of humane lawes, for feare of future punishment after this life, whom otherwise, no feare or punishment in this life only, could restraine from breaking all lawes.[52]

Thomas Lodge also combined the vices of Machiavellianism and atheism in his malcontent, incarnate devil Scandal and Detraction. A seasoned traveller, Scandal and Detraction undoubtedly imbibed his Machiavellianism and atheism along with all the other corruptions he learned while travelling abroad.[53]

Late sixteenth-century public opinion saddled the English educational traveller with a reputation for the loss of his spiritual commitment while abroad, and the image of the spiritually barren traveller continued through the seventeenth century beyond the demise of the image of the Machiavellian Italianate. A popular late sixteenth-and early seventeenth-century letter of advice for travellers observed that it was a "vulgar scandall of *Trauellers* that few returne more religious than they went out,"[54] and many Englishmen believed that this 'scandalous' conduct on the part of English travellers continued through the seventeenth century. In 1656 Richard Lowther wrote to his father that the English students in the French university town of Saumur had the worst reputation both for slackness in religion and for debauchery. A year later Margaret Cavendish, the Duchess of Newcastle, maintained that popular opinion accounted all travellers atheistical, "indeed Travellers have as Great Courage as Souldiers have, and 'tis

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[52]Corderoy, p. 12.

[53][Thomas Lodge], *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse* (London, 1596), p. 17.

[54]Fulke Greville, "Of Trauell," *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes* (London, 1633), p. 295. For the debate over the authorship of this letter see above, p. 60n.

believed as Little Religion."[55] During the same decade Gilbert Burnet declared that the threat of travellers converting to Catholicism abroad had completely disappeared; instead few travellers avoided falling victim to the pest of atheism that raged across Europe, "since there is, in this depraved compound of a man, a farre stronger byasse to atheisme than to popery."[56] When Francis Osborne wrote a set of precepts for his son's tour abroad in the mid-seventeenth century, he expressed severe doubts about the overall benefits of educational travel. Although many people promoted educational travel as the best "accomplisher" of youth and gentry, Osborne warned his son that in his own general experience travel was the greatest debaucher of youth, adding affectation to folly and atheism.[57] By the end of the seventeenth century popular images of the spiritually barren traveller commonly associated atheism with the morally corrupt traveller.

Due both to the strong public image of the corrupt Italianate that endured well into the seventeenth century and to the well-established belief that many English travellers succumbed to moral corruption abroad, the preeminent reasons given for the corruption of Englishmen into irreligion or atheism were the corruptive powers of pleasure and vice. "*Atheisme* groweth of the extremitie of vice," wrote Thomas Fitzherbert in 1610,[58] and corruption by vice was one of the more readily identifiable failings of educational travellers in the seventeenth century. Corrupted by pleasure and vice rather than by free or radical thought and literature, the traveller embraced atheism in an attempt to justify his depraved lifestyle. In the "Preface to the Reader" of *A Warning for Wordlings* Corderoy explained that atheists' "loue of pleasures, and setled resolution to enioy all the pleasures and commodities of this present life without controlement, causeth the knowledge of God to be ... hatefull vnto them."[59] Thus corruption by pleasure and vice abroad might turn

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[55]Richard Lowther to Sir John Lowther, 27 February 1656, Lowther, D/Lons/L "Stray Letters 1600-1699"; Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Orations of Divers Sorts, Accomodated to Divers Places* (London, 1662), p. 137.

[56]Gilbert Burnet, *Thoughts on Education* (London, 1761), p. 91, written in the late 1660s.

[57]Francis Osborne, *Advice to a Son* (1656), Wright, p. 72.

[58]Thomas Fitzherbert, *The Second Part of a Treatise Concerning Policy, and Religion* (Douai?, 1610), p. 74.

[59]Corderoy, preface to the reader, not paginated.

the traveller from God. The Italianate Robert Greene confessed that during his time in Florence he spent his time in vanities, gradually slipping into a pattern of life in which he considered Epicures were philosophers and atheists were religious.[60] Joseph Hall advised the Earl of Essex early in the seventeenth century not to lose himself in a loose and filthy life while abroad and bring home some "idle Puppet in a boxe" instead of reverence to God.[61] Although Ascham's direct influence waned with the demise of the public image of the Machiavellian Italianated traveller after 1630, Englishmen continued to blame pleasure for corrupting travellers into atheism throughout the rest of the seventeenth century. In 1678 Jean Gailhard cautioned his readers to avoid atheistical men abroad, "who notoriously do give themselves to vice, who live as if there was no God, or *whose God is their belly*," in case their sickness infected and destroyed the soul of the young traveller.[62] The anonymous author of *Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman ... Now in His Travells* (1688) criticized young gentlemen who returned from their tours ignorant, immoral and extravagant; "they have only commenced Masters of that hellish and black Art of Debauchery, Irreligion and Profaneness."[63] Pleasures and vices corrupted these men into nothing more than wicked and irreligious "Sparks and Blades."[64]

Although corruption by vice remained the principal reason Englishmen believed travellers embraced atheism, some Englishmen suggested other reasons why their countrymen so readily forgot their religious commitment abroad. In mid-1581 Stephen Powle argued that atheism rather than the arguments between Catholics, Protestants, Lutherans, "Zuinglians, & suche like" was one of the principal religious dangers which

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[60]Robert Greene, *Greene's Farewell to Folly* (1591), A. B. Grosart, ed., *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene M. A.* (London, 1881-1886), IX, p. 238.

[61]Joseph Hall to the Earl of Essex, before 1608, *Epistles, The First Volume* (London, 1608), I, Decad. I, Epistle IIX, p. 82.

[62]Jean Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1678), p. 87.

[63]*A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman Of an Honourable Family Now in His Travels Beyond the Seas* (London, 1688), "Dedicatory," not paginated.

[64]*Ibid.*, pp. 6 and 8.

the traveller faced abroad.[65] This was a remarkably powerful statement about the relative lack of danger from Catholicism abroad at a time when the activities of the Jesuits Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons in England, as well as the growth of Catholic seminaries abroad, frightened Elizabeth and her Privy Council badly enough to issue a proclamation in early January 1581 recalling home every English student currently abroad on the Continent. Powle himself undoubtedly cut his tour short because of this proclamation.[66] Powle believed that the infinite number of religions and sects the traveller encountered abroad confused him, striking such a wavering into his heart that his religious commitment wavered also.[67] Jeremy Corderoy's atheistical traveller learned his Machiavellian and atheistical doctrines through experience of the world and observing the wickedness of other men rather than through personal corruption. The traveller observed that men abroad did not let religion hinder their pleasures or profit and also noted that God did not appear to punish these men who lived in continual prosperity. His observations convinced him that there was no God and that religion was nothing but a device of politicians to keep the masses in order.[68] Sir John Harington's "Lewd Paulus" also embraced atheism because of the worldly experience he gained through travel.[69] Rather than the confusion of religions or cynical experience, Thomas Culpeper believed the traveller's lack of sound companions precipitated his loss of piety. Remote from parents and sound advice, the traveller was unlikely to meet with people who would encourage him in his piety, and irreligious companions might persuade him to forsake either his religion or his piety.[70] Osborne told his son not to visit foreign churches, lest

[65]Powle, "In dispraise of trauaile," Tanner 309/30 verso.

[66]Proclamation dated 10 January 1581 recalling all English students from abroad and forbidding the harbouring of Jesuits, STC 8127. Parents and friends had ten days to notify the appropriate authorities of the names of students abroad, and the students had to be home within four months.

[67]Powle, "In dispraise of trauaile," Tanner 309/30.

[68]Corderoy, pp. 12, 30 and 37.

[69]Sir John Harington, "Against Paulus an Atheist," manuscript of 408 epigrams, 1605, British Literary Manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. V.a. 249, p. 86.

[70]T[homas] C[ulpeper], *Morall Discourses and Essayes* (London, 1655), p. 68.

the zeal and austerity of the "preciser" sort of churchmen lead him to discover defects in his own religion and eventually drive him upon the rock of atheism.[71]

The remarks in the *Letter of Advice* suggested that affected atheism became rather fashionable within certain circles, particularly those revolving about the "sparks and blades" of high society, and other authors of the mid-to late seventeenth century confirmed this. When promoting the establishment of a courtly academy in England in 1649 to halt the numbers of young Englishmen travelling abroad, Sir Balthazar Gerbier lamented the evil company into which many young men fell. Among these depraved companions who boasted of their extraordinary wit, young gentlemen heard nothing but infernal opinions and learned to delight in talk of atheism.[72] It had come to pass, wrote William Ramesay twenty-three years later, that society did not account any man a gentleman who did not blaspheme his maker, deny the existence of God, and declare himself a downright atheist. The acquisition of a flashy droll wit and a small amount of learning inclined many fashionable men towards atheism.[73] Gilbert Burnet believed that atheism flourished in Europe because all the wits abroad counted "it their glory, to turn the mysterys of faith, scriptures, and piety in ridicule."[74] The eager young English gentleman, travelling to acquire that vital social gloss necessary to enhance career and social prospects, easily fell victim to this somewhat affected yet fashionable atheism and returned home "with an impudent Contempt of Religion, and all Things which are sacred; looking upon all Forms of Divine Worship, and Exercise of Piety and Devotion, as so many Grimaces to impose upon silly People, to draw them to give Esteem and Respect."[75]

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[71]Osborne, p. 77.

[72]Sir Balthazar Gerbier, *The Interpreter of the Academie for Forrain Langvages ... The First Part* (London, 1649), p. 5; Gerbier, *The Interpreter of the Academie for Forrain Langvages ... Concerning Military Architectvre, or Fortifications* (n.p., 1649?), pp. 2-3.

[73][William Ramesay], *The Gentleman's Companion* (London, 1672), p. 17.

[74]Burnet, *Thoughts on Education*, p. 91.

[75]Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, "A Dialogue ... of the want of respect due to Age", *The Miscellaneous Works* (London, second edition, 1751), p. 292, written between 1667 and 1674.

Conduct literature warned travellers to eschew atheism abroad but offered little defense against it. Atheism and error lurked underneath the fairest flowers, cautioned Henry Peacham, and the traveller must take care to keep his mind free from poison.[76] A common piece of advice insisted that the youth left England with a solid grounding in religion. Once abroad he should avoid with all haste those who scoffed at religion, or, if drawn into contact, retreat into pious contemplation. Late in the seventeenth century Stephen Penton counselled the young traveller to avoid those skeptics in religion; "Above all things, if you see others Atheistical and careless, do you double your own private Devotions; for Fear, keep your Soul diligently, and secure the Blessing of Him whom Wind and Sea obey."[77] Stephen Powle suggested in 1581 that travellers be skilful in the art of logic so that they might confound the atheists with reason,[78] but by the time conduct manuals began to appear regularly in the seventeenth century, most authors generally distrusted their readers' powers of reason and believed that a clean pair of heels proved the traveller's best defense against atheism. Conduct manuals also advised the traveller to display prominently their uncorrupted and unspotted religion before their family and friends on their return home.[79]

After Ascham introduced the possibility that travellers might come home with their spiritual integrity compromised to the point of losing it altogether, the image of the atheistical traveller retained threatening aspects into the first decades of the seventeenth century and remained viable throughout the century. English authorities, churchmen and concerned moralists feared that atheists had the potential to destroy society. They believed that an atheist, having neither bridle of conscience nor fear of God, had no respect for his word, his honour, or for any laws, whether human or divine. All that mattered to him was his own private ambitions, desires and pleasures; as long as he had

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[76]Henry Peacham, *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman* (1634), G. S. Gordon, ed. (Oxford, 1906), p. 237.
[77][Stephen Penton], *New Instructions to the Guardian* (London, 1694), p. 107.
[78]Powle, "In dispraise of trauaile," Tanner 309/30.
[79]Sir Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606), p. 129.

security in these he did not care about God's word. By persuading himself that the soul died with the body, the atheist did not fear the judgement of an afterlife and indulged in the pleasures and ambitions of the present life without qualm. Both secular and clerical moralists believed that by breaking the bonds of religion, atheists also broke the bonds of human law. In 1610 Thomas Fitzherbert summarized the fears of moralists and authorities:

> in all things [the atheist prefers] his priuate commoditie, and pleasure, before the publike good: wherevpon it followeth, that whereas *Atheisme* infecteth the commonwelth, there is no more ciuill societie amongst the parts, and members thereof, then amongst brute beastes. For whiles euerie one seeketh his owne priuate good, without respect of the publike, all become for the most part treacherous, & perfidious, one towards an other: whereby there is neither anie true friendshipp amongst them, nor care of conuenant, or promise, nor respect of fidelity, nor regard of oath, nor consequently any common welth.[80]

General discussion at official and community level about the dangers of atheism only heightened concern about the traveller's spiritual integrity. Whether the traveller was corrupted into atheism by his addiction to pleasure, his experience of the world or his confusion caused by the squabbling of the various religious sects that he encountered abroad, he returned home with the potential to initiate the utter disintegration of English society. Prepared to ignore both divine and civil law, the atheistical traveller schemed against his family, community and state in order to further his own ambitions and pleasures. Even at best the atheistical traveller might eventually infect the community with his doubt. Many Englishmen believed that if atheism was left unchecked it would eventually bring the commonwealth of England to a fearful and everlasting destruction.[81] Although the image of the atheistical traveller lost its connotations with the wicked Italianate after the 1630s and became attached to the image of the foppish gentleman of fashion, it was still a concept that deeply concerned moralists and churchmen.

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[80] Fitzherbert, p. 71.
[81] Hill, pp. 32-33 and 36-37.

VI

A Poisoned and Evil Subject: The Catholic Traveller

> But I must tell thee one thing, and marke the same diligently, In trauelling thou must needes fall in the company of Papistes, take heede they deceiue thee not: and when thou commest to *Rome*, suffer not thy selfe to be seduced, for they wil make thee beleeue (vnlesse thou stand stedfaste in thy fayth) that the Bishop of *Rome* is the vniuersall head ouer the Church of God.[1]

The image of the traveller corrupted by Catholicism differed from other early modern images of the traveller in many respects. Unlike the image of the Italianate or the atheist, the image of the Catholic traveller did not depend on Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster* for its appearance, nor was its continued existence reliant on the public debate and comment over educational travel initiated by *The Scholemaster*. Although popular literature and drama, moral treatises and general literature extensively promoted all the other images of the traveller, they completely ignored the image of the Catholic traveller. This single image of the traveller never became a recognizable image in the public imagination. Approximately half the books and essays of advice on travel ignored the dangers that Catholicism supposedly posed to the spiritual integrity of the educational traveller, and most family correspondences did not indicate any significant anxiety that relatives might convert while abroad. The fear that the traveller might convert to Catholicism while on the Continent and so return home a politically unreliable (if not treacherous) subject remained largely confined to a very specific section of English society - the government. However, the results of this fear had very considerable ramifications for travellers and their families. To a significant extent, the image of a nervous, suspicious and retributive

[1]John Nichols, *John Niccols Pilgrimage* (London, 1581), folio A8 verso.

state concerned travellers and their families more than the traveller's spiritual welfare and integrity.

Although sixteenth century civil authorities worried about atheism within English society, they never transferred this concern to English travellers abroad. The overwhelming anxiety for the authorities was the spectre of the English traveller corrupted by Catholicism. In the early seventeenth century Sir Francis Bacon noted the direction of official anxiety in a letter to his friend Tobie Matthew, recently placed in custody for converting to Catholicism while travelling in Italy. Superstition was far worse than atheism, wrote Bacon, for "how much it is less evil to have no opinion of God at all, than such as is impious towards his divine majesty and goodness."[2] Since the break with Rome during the 1530s the English authorities worried about the possibility that educational travellers might compromise their political allegiance through conversion to Catholicism. This suspicion deepened markedly during the 1570s and 1580s and continued throughout the seventeenth century. Official concern about the political reliability of Catholic subjects generally, and travellers corrupted by Catholicism particularly, intensified after a papal bull excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth in 1570. The papal bull excommunicated Elizabeth as a heretic and deposed her as a bastard; it absolved English subjects from their allegiance to Elizabeth and encouraged them to disobey her and conspire against her rule. The bull forced committed Catholics to choose between their religious faith and their secular loyalties; it also forced Elizabeth and her government to consider all Catholics inherently treacherous. During the 1570s and 1580s state suspicion of travellers who journeyed through Catholic territories deepened as heightened sensitivity about the dangers of Catholicism increased the English government's fear that the English Protestant traveller might convert to Catholicism abroad.

The English authorities did not regard educational travel suspiciously for the sole reason that Protestant travellers might convert to Catholicism abroad. They also feared

[2]Sir Francis Bacon to Tobie Matthew, late 1607 or early 1608, James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Heath, eds., *The Works of Sir Francis Bacon* (London, 1868-1890), XI, p. 10.

that the practice of educational travel provided an ideal cover for young Catholic Englishmen to pass across to the Catholic colleges and seminaries on the Continent and for Jesuits missionary priests to enter England undetected. The landing of the Jesuit priests Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons in June 1580 not only marked an increase in Catholic efforts to return England to the Catholic fold, it also marked an increase in the Elizabethan government's suspicion of educational travellers and an increase in their attempts to control and restrict the movement of travellers abroad.[3] Within six months of Campion and Parsons' landing Elizabeth and her Council demanded from travellers' families the names of all students currently abroad, and required all English students abroad to return to England within four months.[4] At the end of this four-month period intelligence reports listed those students who had not complied with the recall and were still in the English college at Rome;[5] in December of 1581 the Council knew of over 170 young men (and some women) who were abroad without licence.[6] In June 1582 the Council also had a list compiled of licences issued to sundry noblemen and gentlemen to travel abroad since February 1573,[7] and the next month received intelligence about the numbers of Englishmen abroad who were not in the colleges and seminaries.[8] Even as late as 1591 the Council continued to receive reports of the effectiveness, or lack thereof, of the proclamation of January 1581 recalling all students home.[9]

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[3] After 1570 the government increased controls on Catholics leaving the country. In 1571 a draft bill against departing the realm without licence, obviously slanted towards recusants, detailed the punishments for leaving the country without licence, PRO SP 12/77/207-235. Parliament included the basic thrust of this draft in a statute against fugitives, 13 Elizabeth, cap. III.

[4] "A Proclamation for reuocation of Students from beyond the seas, and against the reteining of Jesuites," 10 January 1581, STC 8127.

[5] The names of all English scholars in the seminary of Rome, and in Rome, Rheims, Paris and Douai, and of those who departed Rome 18 April 1579 in the company of Campion and Parsons, April? 1581, PRO SP 12/148/234-235.

[6] "A collection of the names of such persons in several dioceses, as have children or others belonging to them, that now remain in the parts beyond seas," December 1581, PRO SP 12/150/176-184 verso. This list provided detailed information on the social rank of the families concerned, the sons' places of residence, and how long they had been abroad without licence.

[7] List and particulars of licences granted to sundry noblemen and gentlemen to travel beyond the seas, from 28 February 1573 to 12 June 1582, PRO SP 12/154/9-12.

[8] 3 July 1582, *CSPF*, Elizabeth (1582), no. 137, pp. 133-134.

[9] Unknown to the Privy Council, 1591?, *CSPD*, Elizabeth (1591-1594), vol. 240, no. 138, p. 158, regarding the delinquency of the inhabitants of Lancashire and Cheshire. The report noted in part that Catholics educated most youths and that no one had executed the proclamation recalling students from abroad.

By the early seventeenth century intelligence received by the Council from English agents abroad suggested that substantial numbers of Englishmen managed to make their way to the Catholic seminaries and colleges on the Continent despite the best efforts of the authorities.[10] A secret report from Douai in 1602 put the number of Englishmen in the English colleges in Flanders, Rome and Spain at nearly 500, while two years later, during a debate in Commons over the education of recusants' children, the Speaker of the House claimed that 2,000 youths under 16 had gone abroad without licence during the past two years.[11] The information received by the Council on the numbers of Englishmen who managed to travel to the seminaries abroad did not get any more reassuring over the next two decades. In 1625 further intelligence suggested that the Englishmen in the seminaries of the Low Countries alone numbered 630.[12] The Council suspected that many of these Englishmen had travelled to the seminaries disguised as educational travellers. From the late sixteenth century the Privy Council continually sought information on the number of young gentlemen sent abroad "vnder Coulor to Learne Languages," on one occasion asking the Lords Lieutenant of Sussex in 1593 to list the names of the sons of gentlemen and their tutors sent abroad from their county for educational purposes during the previous seven years.[13]

There is little doubt that the practice of educational travel provided the ideal cover for Catholics to send their sons abroad to the seminaries or for missionary priests to re-enter England as the sons of gentlemen returning from their tours. Although the English government had probably recognized the possibility of Catholics using the cover of educational travel to go abroad since the mid-sixteenth century, they officially noted the practice in 1591 in a proclamation for the remedy of treasons plotted by Jesuits. In part

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[10]John Bossy discusses the role of the seminaries, colleges and nunneries on the Continent in the education of English Catholics throughout *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London, 1975). Also see Arnold Oskar Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1967), especially Chapter I, pp. 92-121, for a similar discussion.

[11]Information forwarded by Richard, Bishop of London, to Sir Robert Cecil, 27 April 1602, *CSPD*, Elizabeth (1601-1603), vol. 283, no. 86.II, pp. 181-182; report by the Speaker of the House of Commons, 6 February 1606, *Journals of the House of Commons*, I (1548-1628), p. 264.

[12]List of the English seminaries and monasteries in the Provinces of the Netherlands and the diocese of the Bishop of Leige, with the names of the principal persons there living, 1625?, PRO SP 16/13/45-46.

[13]Privy Council to the Lord Admiral and Lords Lieutenant of Sussex, 31 December 1593, Harleian 703/72-72 verso.

the proclamation stated that "These traitors have come indisguised some as ... gentlemen who have been to see the world, in order that they may not be taken for monks, Jesuits, or popish students." The Council worried that many of these traitors infiltrated the families of the nobility and gentry, reconciling many to the Church of Rome.[14] During the late sixteenth century the Council warned officials in coastal counties to be alert for gentlemen who pretended to travel for languages and education, but who actually travelled to the seminaries to become enemies of the state, a matter of "noe small inconvenience."[15] Intelligence reports received from English spies abroad in 1598 reinforced official fears about these false educational travellers:

> There daily go from England young scholars and gentlemen's sons, on pretence of learning the languages, to Denmark and Holland, whence they privately pass to Spain, Lyons, or Rome, enter the colleges, become priests or Jesuits, return to England, and win others to send their sons.[16]

The Privy Council believed that when these treacherous educational travellers returned home they sowed the seeds of discontented and rebellious humours, prompting English subjects to attempt the most horrible practices against the queen.[17] In 1613 the Council received continual reports of numerous ships carrying children towards Spain and Portugal under pretence of learning the language, but in reality enemies of the state corrupted them in "dangerous doctrine ... as may afterwardes make them pernitious to their owne country."[18] The occasional success of port officials in apprehending some Catholic youths leaving the country disguised as educational travellers increased fears

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[14] 18 October 1591,"Proclamation by the Queen for remedy of the treasons which ... have been plotted by seminaries and Jesuits," *CSPD*, Elizabeth, vol. 240, no. 42, p. 112-114. In 1551 Thomas Vavasour reassured Sir William Cecil that he was not wavering in religion because he wanted to travel abroad to study medicine; Vavasour to Cecil, 23 October 1551, *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum* (New York, 1974), vol. 2, no. 61, p. 4. See also Peter Vannes' report to the Privy Council on Englishmen who repaired to Italy under pretext of studying languages and seeing countries, 5 April 1551, *CSPF*, Edward VI (1547-1553), no. 313, p. 82; also same to same, 23 May 1551, *ibid.*, no. 354, p. 110.

[15] Privy Council to the Lord Admiral and Lords Lieutenant of Sussex, 31 December 1593, Harleian 703/72.

[16] Intercepted letter between Don Juan d'Idiaques to Sir Thomas Englefield (on behalf of the King of Spain to the Catholics of England), cited in Thomas Honyman's report to Sir William Cecil, 7 May 1598, *CSPD*, Elizabeth (1598-1601), vol. 267, no. 7.I, pp. 46-48. This letter stated that each of the two seminaries in Spain had 100 Englishmen resident. See also Thomas Fuller's comments in 1655 on the disguises Catholics used to slip through the ports; Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain* (1655), James Nichols, ed. (London, third edition, 1842), II, pp. 488-489.

[17] Privy Council to officers of the ports of Sussex, 28 November 1599, Harleian 703/ 113 verso.

[18] Privy Council to the mayor and officers of the town and port of Bristol, 7 June 1613, *APC* (1613-1614), pp. 69-70. The Council sent another letter of the same tenor to the mayor and officers of the town and port of Barstable on the same day, *ibid.*, p. 70.

among the authorities. In July 1595 the mayor of Chester detained two young men, George Huxley and Thomas Cauze, who claimed to be travelling abroad for the languages but were probably headed for one of the English colleges abroad.[19] The Privy Council often sent Catholic youths caught by port officials when attempting to leave or re-enter England for re-education with a Protestant schoolmaster at their parents' expense.[20] Despite some official success in apprehending these illegal educational travellers at the point of departure, many Catholics managed to get to their destination abroad as the numbers of Englishmen in the English colleges and seminaries abroad indicate. The matter remained of great concern throughout the seventeenth century and monarchs, Councils and Parliaments continued to try to prevent Catholics leaving the country on educational travellers' licences.

The spiritual (and therefore political) integrity of genuine Protestant travellers concerned the English government almost as deeply as the prospect of Catholics using the cover of educational travel to reach the seminaries abroad. During the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century reports from agents and ambassadors abroad as well as the behaviour of some travellers led the authorities to fear that a number of dangers threatened to compromise the spiritual integrities of young and naive travellers. Young Englishmen whose curiosity led them into Catholic churches or into dangerous theological disputes with Catholic priests might fail to maintain their religious allegiance. The subtle and wily persuasions of Jesuits could prove more dangerous than the curiosity of Protestant travellers. Other circumstances threatened to trap the Protestant traveller into renouncing his faith. The panic of a death-bed could precipitate a conversion, while imprisonment and torture by the Inquisition might force a traveller to recant his Protestant faith. Official concern about the spiritual integrity of the educational traveller abroad peaked during early Stuart England but remained a constant concern throughout the

[19]Foulke Aldersey, mayor of Chester, to Sir William Cecil, 19 July 1595, *CSPD*, Elizabeth (1595-1597), vol. 253, no.s 22 and 22.I., pp. 74-75.

[20]The Privy Council sent a young Catholic youth Henry Brettam to Mr. Leech at Hornechurch, Essex, for a "good and godly educacion" for which the Council billed Henry's father £15 per annum; Privy Council to George Brettam, 28 April 1590, *APC*, XIX (1590), pp. 87-88. See also *APC*, XXIV (1592-1593), pp. 25-26 and 56, and *APC*, XXXII (1601-1604), pp. 159-160, for further instances of young Catholic travellers apprehended at the ports and sent for re-education at their families' expense.

seventeenth century. The possibility that unwary, uncertain and irresponsible Protestant Englishmen might convert to Catholicism abroad concerned the government deeply. When these converts returned home the authorities could do little else but view them as politically unreliable subjects.

The reports of agents and ambassadors abroad probably troubled the Council most of all. In the late sixteenth century these reports suggested that the Inquisition posed a major danger to Englishmen abroad. In 1582 an intelligence report received by the Privy Council emphasized the extreme danger to travellers from the Inquisition; "no man of what religion soever can set foot upon the mountain, but he is taken." Between the end of May and the beginning of July 1582 the Inquisition caught at least fifteen men in Italy, luckier travellers managed to escape from the country. The report ended with the warning, "the world on this side of the sea is now hard for Englishmen."[21] Information received during the early 1590s indicated that if the Inquisition caught a traveller then the unlucky man indeed found the world hard. The Inquisition imprisoned and tortured the English divine Edward Aglionbie for three years in the early 1590s, trying to make him renounce his allegiance to Queen Elizabeth and swear to the pope's supremacy.[22] According to a newsletter written in 1595 the Holy Office in Rome was less lenient to a "wretched" Englishman whom they sentenced to torture and death by burning for refusing to convert.[23] Imprisonment, torture and burning appeared to win relatively few Englishmen for the Roman Church, and during the early seventeenth century the Privy Council began to receive unsettling reports of a change in tactics by the Catholic Church in Rome.

In 1605 Sir Henry Wotton, English ambassador to the court of Venice, wrote to Sir Robert Cecil concerning the danger to Englishmen abroad from the "foul contagion" of Catholicism. Wotton believed this problem concerned him more particularly than any other of James' diplomats abroad because he served in Italy "where the root of that evil

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[21]3 July 1582, *CSPF*, Elizabeth (1582), no. 137, p. 134.
[22]Petition of Edward Aglionbie to Elizabeth I, May 1592, *HMC*, Salisbury, part IV, pp. 203-204.
[23]Newsletter from Rome, 24 June 1595, *HMC*, Salisbury, part V, p. 258.

doth lie." Wotton notified Cecil of a change in the treatment of Protestant travellers in Rome during the papacy of Clement VIII. Previously Protestant travellers to Rome had gone in fear of their lives, but Clement VIII's policy was to welcome Protestants to Rome rather than force them into disguise or hiding due to fear of torture and imprisonment. Now Catholic priests used "invitation and allurement" to attract Protestants into conversation. As the priests gained the confidence of the traveller they worked "upon every discontentment in the [traveller] and upon every outward scandal at home, deriding, commiserating, and running through all affections; catching first the fancy, and by that the judgement and conscience." Friendship rather than terror was the order of the day, and Wotton believed these policies would continue under Paul V who was simply a "creature of Clement."[24] Wotton's later reports supported his initial anxieties. In 1608 Wotton further informed Cecil that the Jesuits planned to target noble travellers for particular attention. Wotton warned Cecil of attempts by Jesuits to separate young English noblemen from their tutors, afterwards treating the young travellers with much respect and kindness in their efforts to win the vulnerable young Englishmen over to Catholicism.[25] The actual abduction of two tutors in 1608 and 1609, Edward Lichfield and John Mole, heightened official anxiety in England. Edward Lichfield, imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1609, eventually succumbed to the persuasions of his captors and converted to Catholicism.[26] A year earlier the Inquisition had seized John Mole, tutor to William Cecil's great-grandson, William Lord Roos. During an extended and well-publicized confinement Mole became a virtual martyr to the Protestant cause for resisting all efforts to persuade him to convert to Catholicism. For thirty years Mole remained "at soule-surgery in the Inquisition," defying all enticements to convert before he eventually died of old age at eighty-one.[27] In 1621, then in his third posting as ambassador in

[24]Sir Henry Wotton to Sir Robert Cecil, 18 August 1605, Logan Pearsall Smith, ed., *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford, 1907), I, pp. 330-333.

[25]Wotton to Sir Robert Cecil, 18 June 1609, Smith, I, pp. 456-457.

[26]*Ibid.*, and 457n. Mr. Lane was another English tutor seized during 1609; *SP Ven.*, XI (1607-1610), p. xxxv. The Inquisition also seized two German tutors during 1609; Wotton to Cecil, 18 June 1609, Smith, I, p. 457.

[27]John Pory to Sir Dudley Carleton, 3 January 1610, PRO SP 14/52/1, for the comment about Mole's soul surgery in the Inquisition. See Smith, II, p. 473; Fuller, III, pp. 232-233; and R. W. Lightbown, "The Protestant Confessor, or the Tragic History of Mr Molle," in Edward Chaney and Peter Mack, eds.,

Venice, Wotton further claimed that Catholics paid particular attention to the medical students in Padua because they were "the fittest to work afterwards upon others at home;" through their profession doctors had access to many families at all hours of the day and night.[28]

Cecil also received unsettling information from the English ambassador to the Spanish king, Sir Charles Cornwallis. In 1605 Cornwallis, writing only two months before Wotton wrote from Venice, warned Cecil that the Jesuits posed a major danger to English Protestant travellers in Spain. These vulnerable young men often could not maintain their religious commitment when faced with the persuasive arguments of Jesuit priests. Cornwallis believed that the rector of the English College in Valladolid, Father Joseph Creswell (and later Father Richard Walpole), and many of the other English Jesuits resident there took great efforts to persuade young Englishmen to convert. According to Cornwallis' report, Father Creswell and his colleagues had some success, for Cornwallis claimed that several of the young men attached to his embassy wavered in their Protestant commitment due to Creswell's efforts.[29] Cornwallis managed to shore up the faith of the young men in his entourage, but his chaplain succumbed to the persuasions of the Jesuits (and a terrifying thunderstorm) during a two-week visit to the University of Salamanca.[30] The arguments of persuasive Jesuits did not pose the only danger to unwary English travellers in Spain. Cornwallis also informed Cecil that the habit of some Englishmen of attending Catholic ceremonies had bred in "some younger People a more Coldness of Affection to the Religion they formerlie professed, and a more Inclination to hearken to

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England and the Continental Renaissance (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 239-256, for biographical information on John Mole.

[28]Wotton to Sir George Calvert, 8/18 July 1621, Smith, II, p. 214. Wotton pointed out that many of these students were Catholics before they set out; nevertheless, the danger to Protestant medical students, many of whom attended the Paduan school, remained. See A. Lytton Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers* (London, 1964), Chapter VI, "The University of Padua," pp. 110-125 generally and p. 111 particularly, for the Protestant Englishmen studying in Padua during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[29]Sir Charles Cornwallis to Sir Robert Cecil, 2 June 1605, Sir Ralph Winwood, ed., *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I* (London, 1725), II, p. 76. Cornwallis addressed this letter to Lord Viscount Cranborne, a title Cecil held between 20 August 1604 and 4 May 1605 when James created him Earl of Salisbury. The title Lord Viscount Cranborne subsequently passed to Robert Cecil's son, William. Far away in Spain, Cornwallis obviously did not know of Cecil's elevation to Earl of Salisbury.

[30]Sir Charles Cornwallis to Sir Robert Cecil, 18 August and 15 September 1605, Winwood, II, pp. 109 and 136. Cornwallis now addressed Cecil as the Earl of Salisbury.

[Catholicism]." Cornwallis believed that sometimes the mere sight of Catholic ceremonies was enough to induce young Englishmen to waver in their religious allegiance.[31]

The irresponsible behaviour of many travellers and actual conversion of some Englishmen to Catholicism while abroad only served to reinforce the Privy Council's concern about the spiritual commitment of English travellers. In 1605 Cornwallis had warned Cecil about the dangers of young and impressionable Englishmen attending Catholic ceremonies while abroad. Indeed, it appears that some English travellers found it difficult to forgo indulging their curiosity about the Catholic faith; often they could not resist the opportunity of attending mass or debating theology with Jesuits. Nicholas Girlington, a member of Lincoln's Inn, attended mass when he travelled through France in the early seventeenth century. Girlington believed the Catholic mass was so delightful that no man could help but admire the magnificent pomp and ceremony; in contrast he thought the Huguenots were "coupt up in barnes."[32] Others were more irresponsible. Curiosity, intellectual or otherwise, drove some travellers to engage Jesuits in potentially dangerous theological disputes. Stephen Powle sought out Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons when they travelled through Geneva on their way to England in 1580. Powle argued well into the night with these "cunninge and learned doctors," afterwards breakfasting with them and accompanying them a mile or two out of the city on their journey.[33] When Fynes Moryson travelled in Italy during the late sixteenth century he disguised himself as a Frenchman and detoured to Siena to discuss theology with the Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine. Bellarmine agreed to meet him, but circumstances forced Moryson to miss the interview and rejoin his travelling companions continuing their journey through Italy.[34] Despite Joseph Hall's stand on the dangers posed to

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[31]Sir Charles Cornwallis to Sir Robert Cecil, 18 August 1605, Winwood, II, p. 109.

[32]Girlington returned to England in 1602, John Manningham, *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple 1602-1603*, Robert Parker Sorlien, ed. (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1976), pp. 153-154, entry for December 1602.

[33]Stephen Powle, "A Meditation on His Life," Tanner 309/81; Rev. J. H. Pollen, S. J., ed., "The Memoirs of Father Persons," *Catholic Record Society*, II (1906), pp. 198-199; Evelyn Waugh, *Edmund Campion* (London, third edition, 1961), p. 86. Powle made a favourable impression on both Campion and Parsons.

[34]Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London, 1617), Part I, Booke 2, Chapter 2, p. 142.

educational travellers by Jesuits in *Quo vadis?* in 1617, in the early seventeenth century he cheerfully wrangled with an aging Jesuit while travelling abroad; Hall admitted the exercise was an adventure in boldness rather than wisdom.[35] The English authorities did not have to rely their spies abroad to inform them of this worrying conduct on the part of English travellers. Girlington did not hesitate to tell his friends about his experience, and both Moryson and Hall freely admitted their behaviour in works published during the first two decades of the seventeenth century.[36] Stephen Powle, perhaps prudently, kept his friendly discussions with Campion and Parsons to himself.

Inevitably this kind of behaviour, as well as the efforts of some Catholic priests, led to the conversion of a relatively small number of Protestant travellers. Tobie Matthew's conversion to Catholicism while travelling abroad was one of the best known cases in early Stuart England. Matthew succumbed to Catholicism while in Italy, although it was not the persuasions of Catholic theologians that first turned his mind to the Catholic faith but an almost miraculous preservation from death and the sweet litanies sung by children under his window in Naples.[37] The extremity of a death-bed also prompted some Englishman to reconcile themselves to the Catholic Church. In areas controlled by the Inquisition physicians and apothecaries had to inform the Inquisition if they discovered a patient was a Protestant, and they could no longer treat him. No matter how adroitly a traveller might avoid the Inquisition and the Jesuits while he was healthy, if he fell sick then priests hastened to his bedside to offer him confession and instruction in the Catholic faith. Fynes Moryson believed even the most fervent Protestant was extremely vulnerable at this point, for "Men ready to die can ill dissemble, neither is any waight so heauy, as that of a wounded conscience."[38] Sir Henry Wotton's nephew Pickering succumbed to the persuasions of the Jesuits in Spain when on his death-bed, although he had been, according to the Jesuit records, the "most tenacious of the corrupt religion

[35]Joseph Hall to Sir Thomas Chaloner, before 1608, *Epistles, The First Volume* (London, 1608), I, Decad. I, Epistle V, p. 40.

[36]Thomas Coryate also freely admitted he stayed at a Jesuit college while in Speyer, Germany; *Coryats Crudities* (1611), introduction by William M. Schutte (London, 1978), p. 520.

[37]Tobie Matthew to Dame Mary Gage, 1611, Arnold Harris Mathew and Annette Calthrop, *The Life of Sir Tobie Matthew* (London, 1907), p. 76.

[38]Moryson, Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 2, p. 20.

which from his tender youth he had imbibed." Father Walpole, then rector of the Jesuit College at Valladolid, took full advantage of the extremity of Pickering's final illness to convert him.[39] Sir Thomas Palmer, travelling through Spain in the early seventeenth century, also converted to Catholicism before he died of small pox in Valladolid. The English Jesuits arranged his funeral ceremony, which all the Englishmen currently residing in Valladolid attended.[40] Many instances of lesser known Englishmen than Matthew, Pickering or Palmer converting also occurred.[41] Robert Venner, the son of a farmer, travelled abroad in 1605 after completing university and converted to Catholicism while in France, partly through reading and partly through the persuasions of a French priest.[42] Some travellers' examinations reveal that one of their exiled countrymen had converted them to Catholicism. In the early seventeenth century John Healy confessed that during his travels in France and Italy he had occasionally heard mass, but that he was not a Catholic until he accepted absolution from an English Capuchin monk named Wiseman he met in Florence.[43]

All this information filtering back to the state authorities via intelligence and diplomatic reports, interrogations, vague rumours and travellers' accounts resulted in making the government not only extremely sensitive about the dangers of Catholicism but also extremely sensitive about the religious commitment and political allegiance of English travellers abroad. The authorities suspected educational travellers on two grounds. Firstly, the educational traveller might in reality be the son of a recusant family heading for one of the seminaries on the Continent or be a fanatical missionary priest returning to England to foster Catholicism and disloyalty to the monarch. Secondly, any traveller not firmly entrenched in Protestant doctrine might succumb to the persuasive arguments of Catholics abroad. In the eyes of the authorities that made him a politically unreliable

[39]Cited in Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London, 1914), p. 81.

[40]Sir Charles Cornwallis to Sir Robert Cecil, 17 July 1605, Winwood, II, p. 95. This Sir Thomas Palmer was not the author of *An Essay of the Meanes how to make out Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable.*

[41]Evident in the many records of travellers' examinations in the State Papers.

[42]Earl of Bath to Sir Robert Cecil, 29 November 1609, PRO SP 14/49/113. The port authorities arrested Venner after he refused the oaths of supremacy and allegiance on his return. See note 96 regarding the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

[43]The fourth examination of John Healey, 17 April 1606, PRO SP 14/20/80.

subject capable of treacherous acts against state and monarch. After the high drama of the Gunpowder Plot James I took a very personal interest in the spiritual corruption of educational travellers abroad. In 1616 he wrote to Sir Henry Wotton that,

> many of the Gentry, and others of Our Kingdoms, under pretence of Travel for their experience, do pass the *Alpes*, and not contenting themselves to remain in *Lombardy* or *Tuscany*, to gain the language there, do daily flock to *Rome*, out of vanity and curiosity to see the Antiquities of that City; Where falling into the company of Priests and Jesuites, or other ill disposed persons, they are not only corrupted with their Doctrine, but poysoned with their Positions, and so return again into their Countrys, both averse to Religion, and ill-affected to Our State and Government.[44]

Undoubtedly the reports of James' ambassadors abroad in the first decade of his reign, particularly those from Wotton and Cornwallis, only fueled his anxiety. State suspicion of Englishmen studying abroad, sometimes well-founded, rebounded on educational travel to the detriment of the genuine traveller. Strict licensing procedures and port controls often inconvenienced the traveller, but most educational travellers were more concerned with avoiding state suspicion that they might be Catholics or, worse, missionary priests. To avoid any taint of suspicion travellers or their parents generally took great care to "procure leave & liking of such as are in place of Authoritie" before they set out.[45] Indeed, such precautions were obligatory. Travellers had to prove their religious and political allegiance before they could successfully apply for a travel licence, as Fynes Moryson reminded would-be travellers;

> [you] must obtaine leaue of the Magistrate, as the custome is in *England*, where none but Merchants may without leaue goe out of the Iland, to the end that suspected persons may bee kept at home, lest being not well instructed in the true religion, they should bee seduced by Papists.[46]

To a very real extent, the image of a nervous and retributive state emerged as a greater concern for families than the actual spectre of Catholicism on the Continent.

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[44]James I to Sir Henry Wotton, 7 December 1616, Sir Henry Wotton, *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (London, fourth edition, 1685), pp. 483-484.

[45]Bishop of Winchester's application to Sir Robert Cecil for a travel licence for his son, 29 November 1609, PRO SP 14/49/112.

[46]Moryson, Part III, Booke 1, Chapter I, p. 3. Numerous proclamations and commissions detailed the duties of both travellers and port officials regarding travel licences. Letters Patent to the Earl of Northampton, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, giving him authority to administer certain oaths to all persons going beyond seas, 10 October 1608, PRO SP 14/37/37; Commission to Lord Zouche, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, to appoint deputies for granting licences for Englishmen to go beyond sea, 9 August 1615, PRO 14/81/71-74 verso; and proclamation of Charles I, 25 May 1630, granting Patrick Craford and Mathew Birkenhead the office of Clerk for writing passports, STC 8949, are a few of the many documents that detail the procedures for granting licences and for examining travellers.

During the sixteenth century printed advice for educational travellers virtually ignored the possibility travellers might be tempted or coerced to convert to Catholicism, but during the seventeenth century conduct literature paid more attention to the dangers of Catholicism. From the turn of the seventeenth century a generation of travellers with experience of the dangers of Catholicism abroad began to publish their accounts and advice and, coupled with increased official attempts during the reigns of James I and Charles I to enforce licensing procedures and port controls relating to travellers, fostered increased attention to the Catholic threat in published advice. Nevertheless, at least half the books and essays of advice on travel printed in early modern England completely ignored the dangers Catholicism posed to the spiritual integrity of the educational traveller.[47] For every author who promoted the image of the traveller corrupted to Catholicism, another author completely ignored it.

A few travel accounts and some conduct books publicized the image of the unwary and vulnerable Protestant traveller imprisoned by the Inquisition or trapped into converting to Catholicism by the cunning arguments of Jesuits. Some authors of conduct literature believed the subtle and sophisticated arguments of the Jesuits comprised the major danger to the faith of the English Protestant traveller abroad; in his early seventeenth-century essay on travel Robert Dallington warned that the Jesuits were "vnderminders and inueiglers of greene wits, seducers of men in matter of faith, & subuerters of men in matter of State."[48] Eighty years later travellers continued to receive warnings about the persuasive arguments of priests. The anonymous author of *A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman ... Now in his Travells* (1688) gave his traveller detailed

[47] Among others, Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Wherin Those Primitive Circvmstances be Examined, which are Necessarie for the Training vp of children, either for skill in Their booke, or health in Their bodie* (1581), Robert Herbert Quick, ed. (London, 1888); Sir John Stradling, *A Direction for Trauailers* (London, 1592); Francis Bacon, "Of Travel," *Works*, VI, pp. 417-418; Robert Johnson, *Essaies* (London, 1601); [Sir John Melton], *A Sixe-Folde Politician* (London, 1609); Anthony Stafford, *Meditations, and resolutions, moral, divine, politicall. Century I* (London, 1612); and Benjamin Foster, ed. and printer, *Profitable Instructions* (London, 1633), did not exhibit any concern that the traveller might convert to Catholicism. Many authors gave advice to revere God, but they intended this primarily as a bulwark against moral corruption rather than spiritual corruption.

[48] Robert Dallington, *A Method for Trauell* (London, 1605?), folio B2. Curiously, although Dallington warned travellers never to speak to Jesuits in conversation, he thought they should attend their sermons, for the Jesuits were wise and excellent speakers, *ibid.*

advice on the arguments Catholics used to seduce young nobles away from their religious allegiance. There had been too many perverted already, the author lamented, and warned that young gentlemen of quality were particular targets:

> you'l be in danger of meeting with many *Brokers* of *Villany*, whose Trade and Business it is to pervert, and do live upon the Spoils and Ruins of *Young Gentlemen*; insomuch that scarce any Person of your Quality can travel into *Foreign Parts*, but he shall be mightily caress'd, and treated with so much respect and civility, as if it were a pleasure to be *seduced*. We know very well what *Stratagems* are used by some Men, to undermine the sacred *Foundations* of the *Doctrin* and *Worship* of the *Church* of *England*.[49]

Other authors warned travellers away from Jesuits' works as well as their persons. In 1678 Jean Gailhard cautioned tutors to keep their charges well clear of books written by Jesuits that might lead the traveller into sinful practices and unsound opinions.[50]

No author promoted the image of dangerous Jesuits waiting on the Continent to seduce young English travellers away from their spiritual allegiance as diligently as Joseph Hall did in *Quo vadis?* Hall warned that the Jesuits knew the name of every young Englishmen of note who crossed the seas and missed no opportunity to persuade them away from the Church of England. When the Jesuits first made contact with a young English traveller they did not speak of religious matters; only after the Jesuits had won the confidence of the traveller did they slowly begin to "bestow some witty scoffes vpon those parts of our religion, which lie most open to aduantage." The Jesuits then invited the impressionable traveller to one of the comfortable English colleges where the Society welcomed him with "more then ordinarie courtesie," and where there was always a priest who claimed kinship of family or nationality with the traveller. Once the Jesuits had undermined the strength of the traveller's Protestant commitment and gained his confidence, one of their sweetest talkers completed the seduction of the youth away from his religious allegiance.[51] Hall believed the youthfulness and curiosity of young English travellers predisposed them to corruption by cunning Jesuits, and pleaded with parents not to send their young sons into "those places which are professedly infectious, whose

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[49] *A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman Of an Honourable Family, Now in His Travels Beyond the Seas* (London, 1688), pp. 63-64.

[50] Jean Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1678), p. 71.

[51] Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? A Ivst Censvre of Travell as it is commonly vndertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation* (London, 1617), pp. 54-56.

very goodnesse is either impietie, or superstition."[52] Hall's scenario of cunning Jesuits who used friendliness rather than force to convert travellers was very similar to the one Wotton portrayed for Robert Cecil in 1605 and 1609.

The sweet arguments of hospitable Jesuits did not pose the only danger to travellers abroad. Hall also feared that the gaudy magnificence of the Catholic churches and the proud majesty of their ceremonies could easily capture the hearts of youthful and naive travellers; "That Curtizan of *Rome* ... sets out her selfe to sale in the most tempting fashion."[53] The majesty of the Protestant religion lay in the heart rather than in outward show, and Hall believed youthful travellers would compare it unfavourably with the rich shrines, garish alters and stately processions of the Catholic Church.[54] Should these "desperate factors of *Rome*" fail in their attempts to persuade Englishmen to convert, then Hall warned they might well take advantage of a traveller's death-bed to effect a conversion. Hall believed priests employed magical illusions and "deuillish incantations" learned from the Prince of Darkness himself in order to frighten desperately ill Protestant travellers into accepting the Catholic faith.[55] There were few young gentlemen who could resist the arguments and tricks of devil-inspired priests when faced with the imminent prospect of death. Hall's remarks about the influence of the magnificence of Catholic ceremonies on wonder-struck Protestants and the panic of death-bed reconciliations further recalls the information contained in the reports to the Privy Council by Wotton and Cornwallis a decade earlier.

Joseph Hall wrote *Quo vadis?* during 1616-1617 when James I and his Council were particularly worried about the dangers posed by Jesuits to the spiritual integrity of educational travellers,[56] and it is hard not to believe that anxieties prevalent in official circles influenced Hall's account of the dangers youthful travellers faced abroad. Not only did he reflect James, Cornwallis and Wotton's fears regarding English travellers

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[52] *Ibid.*, p. 11 and pp. 5-15 generally.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-68.
[56] As indicated by James' letter to Wotton in December 1616, and by numerous letters to port offocials during this decade; James I to Wotton, 7 December 1616, Wotton, *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, pp. 483-484.

abroad, Hall also promoted the government's tight licensing procedures for travellers, a particular concern for James and his Council since the early years of his reign. Hall even wished that the authorities would institute stricter regulations than were currently in place, for "Good lawes are the hedges of the Common-wealth."[57] However, Hall noted what must have been a common problem with the licensing regulations - their enforcement once the traveller had left England. Hall believed that many young men commonly disregarded the conditions of their licence once they reached the Continent, both debating with Jesuits (or other dangerous persons) and travelling to forbidden territories.[58] Hall was undoubtedly well aware of this long-standing problem. In January 1597 one of Hall's friends Sir Thomas Chaloner observed to the Earl of Essex that "such a rabble of English roam now in Italy that it would seem as though the English laws did not forbid the voyage."[59] Hall served as chaplain to Prince Henry and enjoyed the favour of both the Prince and his father;[60] it is highly likely that he was well acquainted with the fears of James and his councillors about the spiritual commitment of English travellers abroad. Under these circumstances, *Quo vadis?* not only reflected Hall's personal opinions, but it probably also served as a vehicle for official anxieties and policies.

The conduct manuals and essays on travel that considered the possibility that travellers might be tempted to convert to Catholicism commonly advised young Englishmen that their best defense was a thorough foundation in the Protestant faith (a defense that they also cited against atheism). Robert Dallington believed that a strong foundation in religion in youthful travellers would help them counter the effect of the various ideas they would encounter in their discussions abroad. As all innovation was dangerous in the state, so innovation of religion in the smaller commonwealth of the man was equally dangerous, for the man who was of one religion in his youth, and another in his

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[57] Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 85-86.
[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.
[59] [Sir Thomas Chaloner] to the Earl of Essex, 8 January 1597, *HMC*, Salisbury (Hatfield), part VII, p. 10..
[60] According to Sir Balthazar Gerbier, Prince Henry supported the establishment of an academy in England to prevent the flow of Englishmen abroad, "where it proved costly to their souls many times as much as to their bodies;" Sir Balthazar Gerbier, "Project for an Academy Royal in England," John Gutch, ed., *Collectanea Curiosa* (Oxford, 1781), I, pp. 212-213.

manhood, would likely be of neither in his age.[61] Thomas Fuller warned that those who travelled unsettled in their religion might well be "ravish'd at the sight of the first Popish Church they enter into," yet if the youths travelled well grounded in the Protestant religion, the fooleries of the Catholic church would serve only to strengthen their faith.[62] The character of Aretocles in *The Reformed Trauailer* (1606) claimed that he withstood the fair promises and alluring persuasions of Catholics abroad through his solid religious foundation.[63] According to the elderly bishop in Edward Hyde's dialogue on education one of the arguments used by the Catholics abroad to undermine the resolution of Protestant travellers was that the Church of England had no firmer foundation than Henry VIII's lust. Consequently, the bishop maintained that travellers should receive thorough instruction in the history of their religion before they ventured abroad.[64] The author of *A Letter of Advice* followed this principle in his advice for travellers. Believing it was next to impossible for English gentlemen of quality to avoid "Brokers of Villainy" who tried to pervert them from their religion, the author provided his readers with a history of the Church of England and an explanation of its doctrine. The author also provided the traveller with a description of the principles and practices of the Roman Church so that he might sate his curiosity before departure. Finally, the author of *A Letter of Advice* listed the arguments the traveller could expect to encounter from Catholics so that he might prepare himself.[65] The amount of space devoted in *A Letter of Advice* to providing the young gentlemen with a thorough foundation in Protestantism so he could ignore the arguments of Catholics was unusual for the second half of the seventeenth century. Normally the advice to travel well grounded in Protestantism during the second half of the century only appeared, as it did in Edward Leigh's *Three Diatribes* (1671), as a brief piece of rote advice inherited from previous generations of conduct manuals.[66]

[61] Dallington, folio B verso.

[62] Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State and the Profane State*, Maximilian Graff Walten, ed. (New York, 1966), II, p. 159.

[63] H., W., *The Reformed Trauailer* (London, 1606), folio C4.

[64] Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, "A Dialogue concerning Education," *The Miscellaneous Works* (London, second edition, 1751), p. 334.

[65] *A Letter of Advice...*, pp. 67-95.

[66] Edward Leigh, *Three Diatribes* (1671), Andrew Lang, ed., *Social England Illustrated* (Westminster, 1903), p. 416.

Occasionally authors also cautioned travellers not to initiate any arguments on the subject of religion. Such arguments, they warned, resulted only in danger for the English traveller.[67]

Some authors warned travellers that attendance at Catholic masses could be dangerous physically as well as spiritually. Fynes Moryson noted that many travellers attended the Catholic masses abroad from curiosity or even for entertainment, as they would attend the theatre. Yet he emphasized the physical danger to the Protestant traveller if he indulged in this curiosity and advised the traveller to make a good pretence of crossing himself with holy water rather than risk the Inquisition by refusing to participate in the ceremony; Moryson deeply disapproved of an inordinate desire for martyrdom in the traveller.[68] On the other hand, Sir Thomas Palmer argued that travellers who persuaded themselves that outward reverence to idols and hobgoblins did not matter if they kept their hearts pure to God actually incurred the wrath of God, who would not forget the hypocrisy of those who bowed before such "trash."[69] The contradictory advice of Moryson and Palmer suggests that if travellers who read them both still wished to indulge their curiosity about the Catholic church, they had to make the very difficult choice between risking the earthly retributions of the Inquisition or earning more heavenly retributions in the afterlife. Moryson also provided his readers with some practical advice for avoiding the Inquisition. In the late sixteenth century some travellers had apparently tried to avoid the Inquisition in Rome by affecting bizarre and colourful clothes. The rationale behind this behaviour was that anyone affecting such remarkable dress could hardly desire to pass unnoticed and was therefore unlikely to be a Protestant desperately trying to hide in the shadows.[70] Moryson, however, remembered an English friend who employed this

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[67]Gailhard, pp. 78-79; and Thomas Gainsford, *The Rich Cabinet* (London, 1616), p. 149.

[68]Moryson, Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 2, p. 32.

[69]Sir Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make out Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606), p. 51.

[70]Sir Henry Wotton successfully employed this practice in the late sixteenth century. Wotton entered Rome with a mighty blue feather stuck in a black hat, reasoning that people would take him for a simpleton rather than an Englishman; Sir Henry Wotton to Lord Zouche, 8 May 1592, Smith, I, pp. 271-272. Thomas Nashe's hero in *The Vnfortvnate Traveller*, Jack Wilton, also employed these tactics, but with far unhappier results; Thomas Nashe, *The Vnfortvnate Traveller* (1594), H. F. B. Brett-Smith, ed. (Oxford, 1927), p. 77.

device. Not only did he draw the gaze of ordinary Italians but of the Jesuits as well, and the traveller barely escaped from their enquiries.[71] Rather than affect flamboyant fashions, the pragmatic Moryson advised travellers to make every pretence of going to mass and to change their dwelling place frequently, for priests often took the names of foreigners staying at inns.[72]

The image of the traveller corrupted by Catholicism completely failed to make any noticeable impact in popular literature. Although official anxieties prompted much of the reaction in those works of conduct literature that mentioned the Catholic threat to Englishmen abroad, they made almost no impact on popular literature. Rare exceptions occurred at periods of peak anxiety. John Nichols raised the issue of young travellers perverted by the arguments of Catholics in his 1581 dialogue *John Niccols Pilgrimage.* Written amid the heightened anxiety after the landing of Campion and Parsons in 1580, the dialogue used the excuse of a young man's request to travel abroad for his father to launch into a diatribe about the depravity of the papacy. The dialogue was less concerned with the threat faced by travellers abroad than with exposing the wickedness of the Roman Church and countering the teachings of Jesuits in England.[73] Almost thirty years later Ben Jonson briefly mentioned the issue of obtaining a licence to travel abroad in *Volpone or the Foxe* (1607) after Parliament had extensively debated the issue during 1606-1607.[74] Apart from extremely rare instances it is difficult to find the image of the Catholic traveller outside conduct literature. Popular literature promoted every image of the traveller except that of the traveller corrupted by Catholicism. The authors of popular verse, drama and prose, constantly sensitive to public sentiment, obviously never believed the image of the Catholic traveller had enough popular appeal to become a marketable image.

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[71]Moryson, Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 2, p. 30.

[72]*Ibid.*, p. 31.

[73]Nichols, preface to the reader, not paginated.

[74]Ben Jonson, *Volpone or the Foxe* (1607), C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, eds., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925-1952), V, p. 46; *House of Lords Journals*, II (1578-1614), May 1606, pp. 422, 426-431, June - July 1607, pp. 524, 525 and 536. On 9 July 1607 James and his Council issued a proclamation for persmission to pass over the seas that outlined the procedures necessary to obtain a licence, STC 8401.

Travellers themselves tended to worry more about the political aspects than the spiritual dangers of travelling through Catholic territories. The image of a relentless Inquisition that imprisoned, tortured and burned unlucky Protestants caused travellers more anxiety than any fear that they might fall victim to the subtle persuasions of wily Jesuits. As the testimony of men like Powle, Hall and Moryson indicates, many English travellers possibly viewed Jesuits more as an irresistible challenge than a threat to their spiritual integrities.[75] Foreign newsletters, reports from men like Wotton and Moryson and the experiences of a few unfortunate travellers like Edward Aglionbie probably tended to exacerbate travellers fears about the Inquisition. Published material tended to encourage this fear. Some, like John Eliot's *Orthoepia Gallica* (1593) that warned that "passe once Venice, the inquisition is there euerywhere,"[76] promoted the fear that the Inquisition, particularly in Italy, proved a particular hazard for travellers. Consequently, it is not strange to find that prospective travellers expressed some concern about avoiding the Inquisition. Travellers eagerly gleaned what information they could about the activities of the Inquisition, seeking news of safe passages through dangerous territories. When William Bedell heard that an acquaintance Nathaniel Fletcher had recently returned from Italy, he wrote to his friend Samuel Ward to discover Fletcher's route home, "for it is told mee that the Inquisition ys in Millaine, & that yf a man duck not lowe at euery Crosse he may be cast in prison & brought in perill of life."[77] James Howell, traveller and author of advice literature for travellers, exhibited similar curiosity in 1635 when he wrote to a friend recently returned from abroad, "I am big with desire to meet you, and to mingle a days discours with you, if noo two, how you escap'd the claws of the Inquisition."[78] Protestant travellers also took extra care if they carried Protestant devotional books through areas controlled by the Inquisition. John Bargrave recalled how the court of guard stopped and searched his person and luggage in Reggio in 1667 and, discovering

[75]See above, pp. 160-161.
[76]John Eliot, *Orthoepia Gallica: Eliots Frvits for the French* (London, 1593), p. 43.
[77]Willaim Bedell to Samuel Ward, early seventeenth century, Tanner 75/17.
[78]James Howell to Mr. G. Stone, 30 November 1635, *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ* (London, second edition, 1650), p. 105.

several small books, escorted him to the Inquisition. Fortunately for Bargrave, the Father Inquisitor proved to be a genial and very courteous grey friar, who privately thought that his orders to trouble travellers were slightly malicious and gave Bargrave a licence to carry the books through Italy.[79] In the mid-seventeenth century Sir Ralph Verney worried about carrying an English bible and a small book or two of devotion into Italy. He had heard that not only would the books be confiscated, but that he might be put to "very greate trouble about them."[80] Fear of the consequences of carrying Protestant books through Catholic territories prompted Sir Francis Osborne in 1656 to remind his son not to carry prohibited books through Catholic Europe.[81]

Discussions of the dangers from Catholicism abroad in various works of conduct literature and occasional travel accounts did not appear to reflect any significant anxiety within the general community. It is sometimes difficult to assess how deeply parents and friends feared for their sons' spiritual integrity abroad because of the lack of surviving documentary evidence. More parents cautioned sons personally than wrote them precepts; if a son did receive written instructions then often these did not survive his tour. Nevertheless, the evidence available indicates families generally exhibited little concern that Catholic priests might attempt to persuade (or coerce) their sons away from the teachings of the Church of England while abroad.[82] Families and travellers undoubtedly knew of the potential dangers posed by the Inquisition and Catholic priests, but they also knew sensible precautions would negate most of the risks. Sons often received advice to revere God, but parents normally intended this as a bulwark against idleness and moral corruption rather than religious conversion; in 1561 William Cecil advised his son Thomas to attend his devotions daily to preserve him "at all times from the danger of

[79]John Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals*, James Craigie Robertson, ed. (Westminster, 1867), pp. 57-58. Bargrave visited Europe several times during the second half of the seventeenth century, sometimes acting as a tutor to travelling Englishmen. The Father Inquisitor spoke to Bargrave in Latin so the guards would not understand his words.

[80]Sir Ralph Verney to Dr. Kirton, 1650, Frances Parthenope Verney and Margaret M. Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family* (London, 1892-1899), III, pp. 39-40.

[81]Francis Osborne, *Advice to a Son* (1656), L. B. Wright, ed., *Advice to a Son* (Ithaca, 1962), p. 76.

[82]Despite Fynes Moryson's statement that he addressed the issue of the dangers of Catholicism abroad because of the fears of "Parents, Friends ... as well priuate as publike Common-wealths-men"; Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 1, p. 7. Moryson himself stated that travellers faced little danger from Catholics abroad, and the fear that travellers might concert to Catholicism abroad appeared principally confined to "publike Common-wealths-men."

committing any horrible sin and from other bodily harms whereunto you are subject."[83] Even the most devout families failed to demonstrate any concern about Catholicism on the Continent. The pious Sir Simonds D'Ewes managed only the brief advice to his brother, Richard, to return safe in both soul and body; of the two, D'Ewes worried more about the safety of Richard's body than of his soul.[84] The correspondences of the Cecil (1560s), Powle, Sidney, Holles, Lowther and Butler families, among others, completely fail to demonstrate any concern that their respective family members planning a tour or actually travelling abroad might convert to Catholicism.[85] In the early 1580s Bartholomew Batty advised parents to send their sons abroad only after "great aduisement, counsel, and consideration."[86] Few Protestant parents would have neglected this process; the consequences of conversion were too grave for them to risk sending a son abroad if they suspected his religious steadfastness. It was extremely unlikely that any parents seriously considered sending their son abroad if they suspected he might waver in his commitment to the Church of England, yet the large numbers of Englishmen participating in the tour abroad by the 1630s suggests that few parents seriously doubted their sons' ability to withstand the temptations of the Catholic faith. Despite the occasionally sensationalist report in conduct literature and traveller's accounts, most Englishmen travelled reasonably safely. Many parents probably shared Fynes Moryson's faith that mature Englishmen,

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[83]Sir William Cecil's advice to Thomas, Wright, p. 3. Also see Mary, Countess of Westmorland, to her son Sir Francis Fane, 1 September 1631, Sir Francis Fane's Copybook, British Literary Manuscripts from the Folger Shakespeare Library, V.a. 180, not foliated. Mary advised her son to read the word of God to animate in him a love of virtue and a hatred of vice.

[84]Sir Simonds D'Ewes to Richard D'Ewes, 12 May 1638, Harleian 379/57. D'Ewes worried most of his adult life about the continuation of his family line in the absence of surviving sons, fearing that if Richard died abroad then the family name would die with him; Simonds D'Ewes to Richard, 1638, Harleian 379/58.

[85]Correspondence between Sir William Cecil, Thomas Windebank and Thomas Cecil, 1561-1562, State Papers, various volumes; Stephen Powle to various family members and friends, 1570s and 1580s, Rawlinson D 913, various folios, Tanner 309, various folios; letters to Robert Sidney from his father, Sir Henry, and brother, Sir Philip, in the late sixteenth century, Albert Feuillerat, ed., *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, 1962), III, various pages, and Arthur Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State ... Written and Collected by Sir Henry Sydney* (London, 1746), I, various pages; John Holles to his son, John, P. R. Seddon, ed., *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637, Thoroton Society Record Series*, XXXI (Nottingham, 1975), p. 51-136; correspondence between Sir John Lowther, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Richard Lowther during the 1650s, Lowther, D/Lons/L "Stray Letters 1600-1699," and Sir John Lowther and his grandson John Lowther during the 1670s, *ibid.*, D/Lons/L "Letters 1562-1674"; correspondence between James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormond, his wife, and their son Thomas, Earl of Ossory, regarding Thomas' son James Butler's possible travels abroad, *HMC*, Ormonde, new series, IV, p. 168 ff.

[86]Bartholomew Batty, *The Christian mans Closet*, William Lowth, trans. (London, 1581), pp. 51-52 verso.

well-instructed in Protestantism before they left England, easily withstood enticements to convert to the Catholic faith.[87]

Notwithstanding a general lack of substantial anxiety within the community, evidence of parental and friendly concern occurred occasionally. In June 1620 Charles Edmond's father warned him to return the same man in religious principles, while twelve years later Sir Thomas Roe advised Sir Frances Fane to eschew the idolatry of Italy and to hold firm to his Protestant principles.[88] Sir Thomas Browne occasionally reminded his young son Thomas to hold firm to his Protestant religion while travelling through France in 1660-1661, although it appears Thomas' extreme youth (about fourteen) influenced his father's warnings. Sir Thomas never repeated these precautions to his eldest son, Edward, who travelled abroad in the mid-1660s when he was in his early twenties.[89] Fear of Englishmen in orders caused Francis Osborne to advise his son to eschew such men, "for as they have imitated the lapsed angels in falling from their first station, so they bear the like malevolence to all they despair of bringing into the same condemnation."[90] Parents sometimes gave way to a son's insistence on travel despite their misgivings. Tobie Matthew's father, the Archbishop of York, stipulated that he not travel to Italy or Spain because of the danger of infection from the "more lively" faith of the inhabitants of those countries, and also because he doubted the steadfastness of Tobie's Protestant commitment. The Archbishop managed to keep his son from travelling until Tobie reached twenty-eight, at which point Tobie secured permission to travel, promptly ignored his father's warning not to go to Italy and subsequently converted to Catholicism.[91]

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[87]Moryson, Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 1, p. 7. Moryson argued that there were more enticements to convert to Catholicism within England than abroad, *ibid.*

[88]____ Edmond to Charles Edmond, 20 June 1620, PRO SP 14/115/155-156; Sir Thomas Roe to Sir Frances Fane, 16 August 1632, *CSPD*, Charles I (1631-1633), pp. xiii-xiv. Fane's mother feared only that he might fall into idleness while abroad; Mary, Countess of Westmorland, to Sir Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, Secretary of State, 4 July 1631, PRO SP 16/196/20.

[89]Sir Thomas Browne to Thomas and Edward, 1660-1669, Geoffrey Keynes, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne* (London, second edition, 1964), IV, pp. 3-49.

[90]Osborne, p. 77. See also John Heydon, *Advice to a Daughter* (London, 1658), pp. 99-100, on the threat to travellers from Englishmen in orders on the Continent (Heydon wrote in reply to Osborne).

[91]Mathew and Calthrop, pp. 41-42 and 74.

Demonstrable concern about the dangers of Catholicism abroad escalated dramatically once rumours of a son's conversion reached his family. In 1653 Lady Joan Altham berated herself for her carelessness in allowing her son Edward to remain "so longe in a place of perill & danger [Rome] & to be seduced to errours."[92] In a long and at times emotional letter Lady Altham warned Edward that if he did not recant Catholicism he risked losing her love.[93] Possibly with the benefit of hindsight (or with the desire to firmly establish her own conformity), Lady Altham subsequently remarked to the Bishop of Exeter that she had only unwillingly allowed "Deere Ned" to travel abroad, fearing that his dissatisfaction with the "new opinions" in England combined with the "seeminge sanctity hee shoulde see professed in forrayn parts" would turn him away from the Protestant faith.[94] Social, religious and, most importantly, political considerations meant that many Protestant families might shun a relative who converted to Catholicism abroad. Not only did the family worry about their son's spiritual well-being, but they also worried about the reaction of the English authorities. The consequences of conversion, both socially and politically, were too grave for them not to do so. The anonymous author of an early seventeenth-century letter, denying a rumour that a well-born gentleman had converted to Catholicism abroad, noted that the youth knew that there was no advantage in such an action, "for which hee knowes as well, as you doe, that his Father, & Mother, and all other his Louing Freinds, and kinred at home [would] most certainely cast him off."[95] Parents did sometimes completely disassociate themselves from their sons' activities while abroad. In 1599 young Edward Hindes' conversion to Catholicism and residence in the seminary at Douai became apparent when he refused to take the oath of allegiance on his re-entry into England.[96] His parents, alarmed by their subsequent interrogation, protested that they had never given Edward permission to travel

[92]Lady Joan Altham to her son James, 14 February 1653, Altham MSS.II. f. 117, no. 145.
[93]Lady Joan Altham to Edward, *circa* August 1653, Altham MSS.II. f. 124, no. 152.
[94]Lady Joan Altham to the Bishop of Exeter, 1658?, Altham MSS.II. f. 127, no. 155.
[95]S. M. L., "A Letter from a Gentleman beyond the Seas to a Friend of his [in] England, touching the Carriage, & Deportment of a young Gentleman in his Trauells in those Parts," Lansdowne 213/item 34.
[96]Travellers usually demonstrated their conformity in religion and allegiance to the monarch by swearing an oath of allegiance both at departure (or when applying for a licence) and at re-entry; because of the papal bull of 1570 committed Catholics were unable to swear an oath that recognized the English monarch as the political and spiritual head of the realm.

abroad and were anxious that he conform to the teachings of the Church of England.[97] Predictably, families reacted nervously if officials arrested a young relative at the ports. When Dover officials detained Thomas Skinner for trying to leave the country without permission in 1616, his uncle, Sir William Smithe, intervened on his behalf. Smithe understood that Lord Zouche, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, doubted Skinner's religious allegiance, and hastened to assure Zouche of his nephew's integrity.[98]

State suspicion could fall on any traveller, whether peer of the realm or humble commoner, and travellers vigorously defended themselves against any slur of rumoured conversion or of disloyal behaviour while abroad. In 1626 Charles I charged the Earl of Bristol with treason, claiming that Bristol had tried to convert him to Catholicism while they were both in Spain in 1623. Defending himself in a speech before the House of Lords, Bristol denied he had been corrupted by Catholicism while abroad:

> When I grew in years fit, I travelled into *France, Italy*, and *Rome* itself: In all which Travels, I can produce some that I consorted withall, who will witness with me, that I ever constantly used the Religion I professed, without the least prevarication; no man being able to charge me, that so much out of curiosity I ever was present at any of the Exercises belonging to the *Roman* Religion, or did the least act of conformity to any their Rites or Ceremonies.[99]

Rumours could damage a traveller's reputation as easily as a direct accusation. William Lord Roos, writing to his great-uncle Sir Robert Cecil, thanked him for not believing the false report regarding his conversion to Catholicism and vowed not to consort with fugitives, traitors and people evilly affected towards the state while he was abroad.[100] In 1596 John Arden requested Sir Robert Cecil's help when certain "evil disposed" people, knowing he had been abroad in Rome and Spain, brought him under suspicion of treason. After his arrest without warrant by the knight marshall, Arden begged Cecil not to doubt his good name and loyalty.[101] Sometimes travellers displayed considerable naivety in not realizing that their activities abroad might arouse state suspicion. William

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[97]A letter to the Bishop of London, 28 March 1599, *ACP*, XXIX (1598-1599), p. 680.

[98]Sir William Smithe to Lord Zouche, 6 March 1616, PRO SP 14/86/145.

[99]John Rigby, Earl of Bristol, to the House of Lords, early May 1626, John Rushworth, publisher, *Historical Collections [1618-1629]* (London, 1659-1701), I, pp. 269-270.

[100]William Lord Roos to [Sir Robert Cecil], 13 March 1611, PRO SP 14/62/119 verso.

[101]John Arden to Sir Robert Cecil, 4 January 1596, *CSPD*, Elizabeth (1595-1597), vol. 256, no. 5, p. 159.

Goldsmith travelled to Rome in March 1593 hoping to ease his debts as much as to satisfy his curiosity regarding Catholicism. Despite Goldsmith's initial curiosity, the "blind superstitious idolatry" and the "detestable traitorous dispositions" of the Catholics he met there soon nullified any inclinations he had towards Catholicism. Nonetheless, "somewhat too late I considered the rash miseries wherein I had overset myself in being conversant with so wild a company." Goldsmith's misgivings were justified, for on his arrival home the authorities expected an explanation of his activities. In his subsequent declaration of innocence against any charge of treason against Elizabeth, Goldsmith begged forgiveness, pledged his oath, love and duty towards his monarch, and promised never again to commit such a rash act.[102]

The image of the Catholic traveller thrived within official circles deeply concerned about the Catholic threat within England, enjoyed a moderate notoriety in about half of the conduct manuals, completely failed to make any impact in popular literature, and appeared to concern the majority of families only after they suspected their sons had converted. The spectre of the Catholic traveller remained an image principally feared by the authorities; it never appealed to dramatists, nor to the writers of more general literature. In this single instance conduct literature took its lead from official anxiety rather than from popular literature or from any significant concern within the community. In all the other images of the traveller conduct literature tended to reflect community concern or to absorb images from decades of exposure in popular literature and drama. The failure of popular literature and drama to promote the image of the Catholic traveller not only reflected a lack of significant community concern about the threat of Catholicism abroad, but it undoubtedly also helped keep that concern at a relatively low level. Few families appeared to fear that the subtle arguments of Jesuits might tempt their sons to convert to Catholicism. Despite the occasionally horrific accounts of the Catholic danger in travel accounts and conduct literature, most families probably knew of more travellers who

[102]Declaration of William Goldsmith, 18 August 1593, *HMC*, Salisbury, part IV, p. 359.

encountered few or no problems with Catholicism abroad than travellers who suffered at the hands of cunning and inveigling Jesuits or the Inquisition. During most of the seventeenth century the majority of Englishmen travelled abroad quite safely. Most Englishmen took sensible precautions abroad; if they did not actually avoid areas controlled by the Inquisition, then they kept a low profile. Undoubtedly, the procedures and restrictions placed on travellers by a state fearful of Catholicism caused more inconvenience to the majority of travellers and caused families more anxiety than the threat of Catholicism itself. The big issue for families as well as for most authors of conduct literature was corruption by vice rather than corruption by Catholicism. Both families and authors of conduct literature worried more about the danger that the traveller might return home devoid of morals than the danger he might return a Catholic. Anxieties about the temptations that travellers faced from immoral European societies cast a far greater shadow over the credibility of educational travel than anxieties about travellers converting to Catholicism.

VII

A Dissolute and Wanton Youth: The Morally Corrupt Traveller

All haile Tom Tospot! welcome to the coast!
What Paris news canst brag of, or make bost?
Thy phisnomie bewraies thou canst relate
Some strange exploits attempted in the state.
I know th'hast courted Venus-lusting dames,
'Twas thy intent when thou tookst ship on Thames.[1]

One of the strongest images of the traveller in early modern England was that of the dissolute traveller corrupted by the pleasures and temptations freely available on the Continent. Social critics and parents had censured pilgrims and scholars abroad for moral corruption centuries before educational travel became popular,[2] and once public criticism of the educational traveller began in earnest during the second half of the sixteenth century the image of the morally corrupted traveller quickly gained popularity. Although long-standing concerns about the temptations youthful travellers encountered abroad underpinned the image of the morally corrupt traveller, it nevertheless owed much of its strength to Ascham's focus on the immorality of the Italianate. Throughout his section denouncing educational travel to Italy Ascham continually focused on the power of pleasure and vice to transform the Englishman into a "right Italian."[3] The Italianated traveller then brought home not only the twin evils of Machiavellian policy and atheism but also the lesser (if still socially unacceptable) evils of licentious behaviour and a

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[1] Henry Hutton, *Follie's Anatomie* (1619), Edward F. Rimbault, ed., in the Percy Society's *Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages* (London, 1840-1852), VI, p. 15.

[2] See above, pp. 18-19 and 26-27.

[3] Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570), Dr. Giles, ed., *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham* (London, 1864-1865), III, p. 151.

disregard for marriage. The promotion of the image of the immoral Italianated traveller in popular literature and drama and moral and religious treatises for forty years after 1570 ensured that the issue of moral corruption remained at the forefront of arguments for and against educational travel both in public and in private arenas. Although the focus on the immorality of the popular image of the Italianate significantly helped the transfer of the image of the morally corrupt traveller from the pilgrim to the educational traveller, early modern prejudices about the vices and corruptions of foreign nationalities also helped to foster anxieties about the corruption of susceptible youths abroad. In turn, the popularity of the image of the dissolute traveller undoubtedly then reinforced the underlying prejudices and anxieties. The image of the dissolute or morally corrupted educational traveller was one of the few images of the traveller reinforced by the actual bad behaviour of Englishmen abroad. Many young travellers misbehaved themselves so badly they constantly provided visible models for moralists, dramatists, pamphleteers and parents to criticize and satirize.

Prevailing prejudices about the vices of foreign nationalities strengthened the association of moral corruption with educational travellers. English society believed the susceptible traveller faced innumerable opportunities to indulge in vice among corrupt foreign nationalities. As tradition assigned certain characteristics to various national groupings, so particular vices often became associated with certain countries in popular thought. In 1567 Edward Moorcroft wrote to Sir William Cecil that "Every country has its fashion of vice,"[4] while in the early seventeenth century Joseph Hall reminded the Earl of Essex that, "There are long Catalogues of peculiar vices, that haunt speciall places." Hall believed this catalogue was so "infamous" that he need not repeat it.[5] Both public and private thought tended to assign a variety of lesser vices to France, but English men and women popularly believed that Italy, Spain and Germany (or the northern European

[4]Edward Moorcroft to Sir William Cecil, 1 January 1567, *CSPF*, Elizabeth (1566-1568), no. 879, p. 161.
[5]Joseph Hall to the Earl of Essex, early seventeenth century, *Epistles, The First Volume* (London, 1608), Decad. I., Epistle IIX, p. 86.

countries as a group) all had special vices that were particularly prevalent in each country. Richard Lindabury's observation that the extensive promotion of the vices of foreign nationalities during the sixteenth century gives the observer the vague sense that the only decent people in the world lived in England applies equally well to the entire early modern period.[6]

Travellers' reports and literary images encouraged the traditional English perception that Italian society seethed with vice. After a trip to Italy in the early part of the sixteenth century Andrew Boorde reported that he saw "Lechery & boogery, decyt and vsury" in every corner of Rome, while in 1562 Thomas Windebank advised William Cecil not to send his son Thomas into Italy because of "the Inticements to pleasure & wantonnes that be there."[7] When Moorcroft informed Cecil that every country had its fashion of vice he associated whoring with Italy.[8] This association strengthened after 1570 when the popularity and extensive promotion of the image of the immoral Italianate cemented the association of vice (particularly prostitution) with Italians. Late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century literature promoted and added to the vices that Ascham's Italianate brought home with him: pride, lechery, poisoning, sodomy, vicious conversation and drunkenness.[9] Tales about the temptation of whoring in Italy, so popular during the sixteenth century, continued to be a very popular image throughout the seventeenth century. In Nicholas Breton's *An Olde Mans Lesson, and a Yovng Mans Loue* (1605) Chremes hoped his son had avoided wantonness in Italy.[10] James Howell observed in 1642 that the traveller should be very circumspect in his carriage in Italy, for

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[6]Richard Lindabury, *A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama* (Princeton, 1931), p. 104.

[7]Andrew Boorde, *The Seconde Boke of the Breuiary of helthe, named the Extrauagantes* (London, 1547), folio vi; Thomas Windebank to Sir William Cecil, 18 November 1562, PRO SP 12/25/109.

[8]Moorcroft to Cecil, 1 January 1567, *CSPF*, Elizabeth (1566-1568), no. 879, p. 161. Moorcroft also associated the vice of whoring with Spain.

[9]Robert Greene, *The Life and Death of Robert Greene Maister of Artes* (1592), Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene M. A.* (London, 1881-1886), XII, p. 175; Thomas Nashe, *The Vnfortvnate Traveller* (1594), H. F. B. Brett-Smith, ed. (Oxford, 1927), p. 96; William Harrison, *The Description of England* (1587), Georges Edelen, ed. (New York, 1968), p. 114; John Marston, *Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image: And Certain Satires* (1598), Satire II, A. H. Bullen, ed., *The Works of John Marston* (London, 1887), III, pp. 274-275.

[10]Nicholas Breton, *An Olde Mans Lesson, and a Yovng Mans Loue* (1605), Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton* (Edinbugh, 1879), II, p. 8.

if he abandoned himself to pleasure he would become prey to dissolute habits and wantonness.[11] In his treatise on travel published in 1678 Jean Gailhard included in a summary of the temptations travellers should avoid abroad the recommendation to stay away from the women of Italy.[12] Although fathers and conduct literature commonly warned travellers about female Italian prostitutes, authors occasionally associated the vice of sodomy with Italy. In the early sixteenth century Boorde had added buggery to lechery as one of the vices rampant in Rome, and towards the end of the century Thomas Nashe listed sodomy among the numerous vices that Englishmen brought home with them from Italy.[13] After at least a century of this imagery Francis Osborne felt it necessary to warn his son to avoid the lust of Italian men who were attracted by young, beautiful and beardless boys.[14]

Englishmen traditionally regarded the northern European nationalities, particularly the Germans and the Dutch, as drunkards. For example, in his highly influential *Introduction of Knowledge* Andrew Boorde continually associated the vice of drunkenness with the northern European nationalities. Boorde claimed that the Flemings, Hollanders, Netherlanders and Germans never resisted any opportunity to overindulge in drink, a vice that tended to negate the better aspects of their otherwise kind-hearted natures:

> The worst fawt that they haue: many wyl be dronken; and whan they fall to quaffyng, they wyll haue in dyuerse places a tub or a great vessell standyng vnder the boord, to pysse in, or else they wyl defyle al the howse, for they wyl pysse as they doo syt, and other whyle the one wyll pis in a nother shoes.[15]

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[11] James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1642 and 1652), Edward Arber, ed. (London, 1869), p. 41.

[12] Jean Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1678), p. 149.

[13] Boorde, folio vi; Nashe, p. 96.

[14] Francis Osborne, *Advice to a Son* (1656), in L. B. Wright, ed., *Advice to a Son* (Ithaca, 1962), pp. 80-81.

[15] Andrew Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge* (1542), Frederick J. Furnivall, ed. (London, 1870), pp. 156-157, also pp. 147, 149, 150 and 154. Boorde's description was very similar to a description of Dutch drunkenness in an anonymous 1436-1437 poem, "The Libel of English Policy"; Thomas Wright, ed., *Political Poems and Songs ... from the Accession of Edw. III to that of Ric. III* (London, 1859-1861), II, pp. 169-170.

No doubt decent English parents shuddered at the thought of their sons' learning such manners abroad. During the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century Stradling, Nashe, Breton, Thomas Fuller, Edward Hyde and the author of *The Office of Christian Parents* all maintained that travellers were likely to encounter drunkenness among the Dutch and the Germans.[16] Even John Marston's malcontent traveller gathered,

> From Belgia, what but their deep bezeling,
> Their boot-carouse and their beer-buttering?[17]

Travellers reinforced the literary images. In 1611 Thomas Coryate attempted to refute the strong popular image of the habitually drunken Germans; "Truly I haue heard Germany much dispraised for drunkennesse before I saw it; but that vice reigneth no more there (that I could perceiue) then in other countries."[18] Nonetheless, Coryate fortified the popular image of German drunkenness by observing that the Germans drunk "helter skelter very sociably" and became deeply offended if company refused to join them in reciprocal toasting.[19] Later in his travel account Coryate reinforced this image by advising travellers not to succumb to the sociable German's persuasions to drink.[20] In an unpublished portion of his massive travel account, Fynes Moryson observed that the Germans' one great national vice of drunkenness stained all their virtues, making them offensive both to friends and to strangers.[21] Facilitated by travellers' reports and literary images, the German reputation for drunkenness filtered throughout society.[22] In 1608 Sir John Harington reported that a local divine had fallen victim to the "German fashion"

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[16]Sir John Stradling, *A Direction for Trauailers* (London, 1592), folio C2 verso; Nashe, p. 97; Breton, *An Olde Mans Lesson*, *Works*, II, p. 8; Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State and the Profane State* (1642), Maximilian Graff Walten, ed. (New York, 1966), II, p. 160; Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, "Dialogue concerning Education," *The Miscellaneous Works* (London, second edition, 1751), p. 342; and *The Office of Christian Parents*, p. 155.

[17]Marston, p. 275.

[18]Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), introduction by William M. Schutte (London, 1978), p. 439.

[19]*Ibid.*

[20]*Ibid.*, p. 489.

[21]Fynes Moryson, unpublished chapters of *An Itinerary*, Charles Hughes, ed., *Shakespeare's Europe* (London, 1903), p. 290.

[22]The Dutch were perenially the butt of English jests in early modern England. There are many examples of jokes and merry tales at the expense of the Dutch. D. W. Davies, *Dutch Influences on English Culture* (Ithaca, New York, 1964), pp. 25-27, briefly examines the image of the Dutchman in early modern English literature.

of spending most nights "in a Tipling house at Ale and Cakes."[23] In 1620 Lady Sydney Wynn warned her son Maurice in Hamburg against the German vice of drunkenness.[24] Three years later Maurice, his observations possibly coloured by his mother's anxieties and the popular image of German drunkenness, wrote home to his father that "the princes of this nether part often consult together but have done nothing of note. Indeed, their first business is to get drunk."[25]

Literature sometimes associated the vice of pride with Spain,[26] but, as no strong images or anxieties about the dangers to travellers in Spain emerged in the public debate over educational travel, this association was of little relevance to the image of the traveller. France had no single vice consistently associated with it but tended to acquire a rather haphazard collection of associations.[27] The French pox, or Frenchman's dalliance, appeared occasionally in literature as the scourge of young travellers, and in the mid-seventeenth century Thomas Fuller associated the vice of wantonness with France.[28] In Nicholas Breton's *An Olde Mans Lesson* Chremes wondered if his son had learned "fancies" in France, while the author of *The Office of Christian Parents* believed that the apish Englishman might return "fine and variable" from his travels in France.[29] Much later in the seventeenth century Gailhard recommended travellers not to offend the French sense of honour for that might result in dangerous quarrels.[30]

This variety of images regarding the dangers and vices associated with certain geographical regions or nationalities occasionally resulted in colourful and amusing and

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[23]Sir John Harington, "A Briefe View of the State of the Church of England ... in 1608," Henry Harington, ed., *Nugæ Antiquæ* (London, 1779), I, p. 213.

[24]Lady Sydney Wynn to Maurice Wynn, 4 March 1620, *Calender of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers* (Aberystwyth, 1926), p. 142.

[25]Maurice Wynn to his father Sir John Wynn, 18 October 1623, *ibid.*, p. 185.

[26]Stradling, folio C2 verso; Marston, p. 275; *The Office of Christian Parents*, p. 155; and Fuller, II, p. 160.

[27]See Lindabury's discussion of the vices associated with various European countries in Elizabethan drama. "There are plenty of vague insults to Frenchmen," he wrote, "with no vices specified"; pp. 89-90, and Chapter VI, "Foreign Manners and Morals," pp. 87-104, for a general discussion of the vices associated with European countries.

[28]Marston, p. 275; ballad called "The Journey into France," from the first half of the seventeenth century, Matthew Hodgart, ed., *The Faber Book of Ballads* (London, 1965), p. 165; and Fuller, II, p. 160.

[29]Breton, *An Olde Mans Lesson*, *Works*, II, p. 8; *The Office of Christian Parents*, p. 155.

[30]Gailhard, p. 149.

sometimes confusing and hysterical warnings from parents that often managed to exceed popular literature in fantastic imagery. In 1614 Sir John Holles asked his son to make sure he did not emulate the vices of the French and Spanish and return home to be,

> as busy as the Frenchman, allwaies laliring, dauncing uppon this mans back, in that mans purse, prying amonge papers in every corner, and cupboard, one hand in the dishe, the other in his codpiece, swearing or blaspheming, houlding all things lawfull he hath a liste to do, and so sailing by his owne cumpass, falleth at the last into danger, or disgrace; or so turky cock-like pacing, and swelling like the Spanniard houlding all marches dishonorable and Staffierlike, but foote pace, be the occasion never so urgent.[31]

In the early seventeenth century Sir John Strode, a "backwoods Dorset barrister-squire" who believed that all those who journeyed abroad must either be criminals or madmen, advised his son never to travel abroad.[32] Rarely were Englishmen bettered by this gadding abroad, Strode instructed his son, for many were corrupted and not a few confounded by travel:

> Roome (we knowe) doth Superabound in divers [idoll] Gods, Spayne in proud & propha[ne] men & France in Lacivious and unwholesome women, Italy in peremptory pecidillioes, & poysonunfull children: Spayne will attempt to ablienat thyne hart, Italy will offer to estrange thy minde, France will Endanger to infect thy body, and Roome will seeke to Confounde thy Soule ... keepe thyselfe therfore from them all, so farr as they are from England.[33]

Very few works of popular or conduct literature, except perhaps certain passages in Joseph Hall's *Quo vadis?* that Strode occasionally appeared to echo, ever reached this height of neurosis.

English prejudices about the vices of European nationalities fed anxieties about the moral integrity of English youths abroad and encouraged the growth of the image of the morally corrupted educational traveller. The predominant factor in the image of the morally corrupted traveller was the belief that educational travel afforded young men every opportunity to indulge in sexual promiscuity once away from community and family censure. Poets, pamphleteers, dramatists and balladeers all extensively promoted

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[31]John Holles, "Instructions for travell that my father gave me the 22 July 1614...", P. R. Seddon, ed., *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637, Thoroton Society Record Series*, XXXI (Nottingham, 1975), I, pp. 52-53.

[32]Wilfred Prest, *The Rise of the Barristers* (Oxford, 1986), p. 205.

[33]Sir John Strode of Parnham to his son, early seventeenth century, Dorset County Record Office, MW M4, folio 83. Dr. Wilfred Prest kindly brought this letter to my attention.

the image of the sexually profligate educational traveller. The first verse of a ballad from the first half of the seventeenth century called "The Journey into France" summarizes the popular view in early Stuart England that many educational travellers brought home diseases:

> I came from *England* into *France*
> Neither to learn to crindge, nor dance,
> Nor yett to ride, nor fence;
> Nor for to doe such things as those
> Who have return'd without a nose,
> They carried out from hence.[34]

In 1652 James Howell's depiction of a Frenchified traveller mirrored this popular view, for he came home defiled in body and bones, "having haply left a snip of the Nose he carryed with him, behinde him."[35] In the popular imagination travellers took every opportunity to indulge in sexual licence while away from home; in this instance educational travel inherited one of the popular images associated with the practice of medieval pilgrimage. Late sixteenth-century pamphleteers like Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe and poets like George Gascoigne and John Marston promoted the sexual depravity of educational travellers. Gascoigne's poem of advice for a friend warned him to beware of the three Ps abroad, poison, pride and the pox. Gascoigne warned his friend that the pox was far worse than the two previous Ps, for "it both bones and bodie doth defile."[36] Greene's confessions of his wild youth spent in debauchery and riotous living both at home and abroad did nothing to improve the image of the educational traveller in the popular imagination, while in *The Vnfortvnate Traveller* (1594) Nashe continued Ascham's image of the Italianated traveller who returned from Italy steeped in

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[34]"The Journey into France," Hodgart, p. 165.

[35]James Howell, *A German Diet: Or, The Ballance of Europe* (London, 1653), p. 4. Howell's description was an adaption of Thomas More's epigram on the Frenchified Englishman; Thomas More, *Latin Epigrams* (written about 1513), *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven, 1963-1984), Clarence H. Miller, Leicester Bradner, Charles A. Lynch and Revilo P. Oliver, eds. of vol. III, part II, pp. 153-155.

[36]George Gascoigne, *Councell giuen to master Bartholmew Withipall a little before his latter iourney to Geane* (1572), William Carew Hazlitt, ed., *The Complete Poems of George Gascoigne* (London, 1870), I, p. 374-376.

the arts of whoring and sodomy as well as atheism and poisoning.[37] John Marston also continued Ascham's imagery of the immoral Italianate traveller. His malcontent traveller, sad Bruto, journeyed to Italy to "use a courtesan" and brought home from France "Naples pox and Frenchmen's dalliance."[38] John Lyly's corrupted Machiavellian and atheistical traveller to Italy, Philautus, lost his desire for studies as he gained an appreciation for idling in the laps of ladies.[39] The evil seductions of Circe's court continued to tempt travellers in seventeenth-century popular drama. The foolish but still threatening traveller Petrutio in Shackerly Marmion's comedy *The Antiquary* met "with more perils, more variety of allurements, more Circes, more Calypsos, and the like, then e'er were fain'd upon Ulysses."[40] John Fletcher inverted the image of the morally corrupt traveller in his delightful early seventeenth-century comedy of reversal, *Monsieur Thomas*. Sebastian, father of Thomas, was horrified to discover that his son had apparently completely reformed himself into a civil gentleman during his travels abroad. "He's growne tame," grumbled Sebastian, threatening to find another heir to continue his family's 300-year old history of ill behaviour.[41] Fortunately for Sebastian's peace of mind Thomas' reformation proved a hoax; "Dat's mine owne boy," cried the delighted father when Thomas eventually confessed to seducing most of the neighborhood women as well as all five of the sisters of St. Albones.[42]

While the English authorities worried about the spiritual integrity of educational travellers faced with the cunning arguments of Jesuits, conduct and popular literature promoted the image of the sexually profligate traveller, and families worried whether their sons' moral integrities could withstand the onslaught of lascivious European women. English literature often promoted the concept that European women were particularly

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[37]Greene, *Life and Death, Works*, XII, pp. 172-175; Nashe, p. 96. Harrison used virtually the same imagery in *The Description of England*, p. 114.

[38]Marston, pp. 274-275.

[39]John Lyly, *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit, Euphues & His England* (1578 & 1580), Morris William Croll and Harry Clemons, eds. (New York, 1964), pp. 164-165.

[40]Shakerly Marmion, *The Antiquary* (produced 1635), James Maidment and W. H. Logan, eds., *The Dramatic Works of Shackerley Marmion* (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 207.

[41]John Fletcher, *Monsieur Thomas* (London, 1639), folios B4 - C, first produced about 1615.

[42]*Ibid.*, folios I2 verso - I3.

wanton and usually particularly diseased. In *Greenes Mourning Garment* (1590) the pamphleteer Robert Greene included a dialogue between a father, Bilessi, and his son, Philador, which argued the case for and against educational travel. The advice the rather reluctant father gave to his son about to depart on his travels listed all the pitfalls the public believed frequently trapped travellers. Prominent among these precepts was the advice to avoid the wanton and dreadfully infectious women abroad:

> For women, my sonne, oh for them take heede: they bee Adamants that drawe, Panthers that allure, and Syrens that intice: they be glorious in shewe like the apples of *Tantalus*, but touch them and they bee dust: if thou fallest into their beauties ... thou drinkest *Aconitum*, and so doest perish.[43]

The danger from promiscuous women emerged in most works of advice and many private letters. Most of this anxiety assumed that wanton women waited just across the Channel for young and naive English gentlemen to arrive so they could seduce them with soft words and infect them with evil diseases (rather as the Jesuits in Joseph Hall's *Quo vadis?* waited to corrupt young travellers' spiritual integrities with soft-spoken words). Pleasure, observed Sir John Stradling (otherwise an ardent champion of educational travel), waited like a fair wanton on every street corner, offering itself to all who passed by. He urged his youthful traveller to close his eyes against the alluring and entrapping natures of the Venetian and Italian courtesans.[44] Although one concerned gentleman trusted his young friend about to travel beyond sea not to frequent common prostitutes, he warned him to be especially beware of Sirens whose bewitching faces and enchanting voices might ensnare the traveller and endanger his health, if not his life.[45]

The popular Elizabethan image of an immoral and lecherous Italian society fostered the belief that Italian courtesans proved a particular temptation for travellers. Travellers' reports supplemented literary images and encouraged the popular belief that thousands of prostitutes thronged the streets of the major Italian cities. In his *Historie of Italie* William

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[43]Greene, *Greenes Mourning Garment* (1590), *Works*, IX, pp. 138-139. Aconitum is a deadly extract or preparation of the poisonous plant species *Aconitum Napellus*, sometimes called Monk's-hood or Wolf's-bane.

[44]Stradling, folios B and C4.

[45]I. M. to a young man going to travel beyond the sea, 24 July 1636, in Nicholas Breton, *A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters* (1637?), *Works*, II, p. 45.

Thomas noted the lechery of the Italians and reported that many thousands of common prostitutes and gorgeously bejewelled courtesans existed to satisfy the promiscuous behaviour of young Italian men.[46] Naturally, these women might satisfy the desires of English travellers as well. Fynes Moryson related the tale of how the Venetian courtesans complained about the planned construction of some tennis courts in their city, fearing that "strangers" might take their exercise on the tennis court rather than in their boudoirs.[47] Thomas Coryate provided his readers with a detailed description of the lives and habits of these courtesans in his early seventeenth-century travel account *Coryats Crudities*; he undoubtedly hoped that his narrative would add to the popularity of his work.[48] Coryate estimated the number of courtesans in Venice at 20,000, "whereof many are esteemed so loose, that they are said to open their quiuers to euery arrow."[49] These women were so beautiful, so charming and so practised in the arts of seduction, remarked Coryate, that few men could resist them.[50] In case his detailed descriptions should "cast an aspersion of wantonnesse vpon mee," and readers think that he gained his knowledge through personal experience, Coryate carefully explained that he had only talked with these courtesans during his visits to their chambers.[51] Both Coryate's description and his portrait of a Venetian courtesan (Illustration III) could have only inflamed the popular perception that Italy abounded with sexually aggressive whores.

The authors of conduct literature never stinted in their attempts to warn young men about the temptations of Europe's wanton women. Even an early work like Bullinger's cautioned travellers about "light & wanton women."[52] Authors often hoped that dire warnings of debilitating disease or God's eventual justice might dissuade travellers from

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[46]William Thomas, *The Historie of Italie* (London, 1549), p. 84 verso.

[47]Moryson, unpublished chapters of *An Itinerary*, Hughes, p. 467.

[48]Coryate, pp. 261-270. Coryate observed that he had heard people in England, France and Italy speak of these courtesans, and remarked that "the name of a Cortezan of Venice is famoused ouer all Christendome," pp. 261 and 270 (the page number 261 is mispaginated, logically it should be 263).

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 264.

[50]*Ibid.*, pp. 264-270.

[51]*Ibid.*, p. 270.

[52]Henry Bullinger, *The Christen State of Matrimonye*, Myles Coverdale, trans. (Antwerp, 1541), folio K verso.



Illustration III: Mr. Thomas Coryate meets a Venetian courtesan

Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), facing p. 263.

indulging in the temptations offered them. During the seventeenth century Moryson recommended that incontinent men restrain their lust by remembering the miserable diseases they might bring home to their chaste wives and sweethearts.[53] Jean Gailhard delicately observed that the company of dishonest women was a rather natural desire, but that lust only brought forth sin. Gailhard provided the traveller with numerous examples of famous ancients who had suffered great catastrophes through an inordinate desire for women. It was difficult to remain chaste among so many enticements to voluptuousness, sympathized Gailhard, especially when a man's blood was young and hot, but men ought to consider that the beauty that so tempted them was like a flower in the field that the least distemper could dry up, age wear out and death and worms destroy and corrupt.[54] Ten years later the author of *A Letter of Advice*, in a faint echo of Ascham, warned young men that lusts and appetites of the flesh inevitably led a man away from God and His worship. Should the traveller still be tempted to indulge in lewdness and debauchery, the author warned them that God's judgement and vengeance would certainly overtake them in the afterlife.[55] These warnings and precepts in conduct literature re-empasized, reinforced and validated established images and prejudices rather than moderating them in any way. Presented with vivid images of the licentious whores abroad, many fathers took great care to remind their sons of the diseases that dalliance with such women often entailed. Henry, 9th Earl of Northumberland, rather somberly reminded his son Algernon Percy against excess in women abroad, "ther bodies not being the freest from infections in the world."[56] Francis Osborne also warned his son away from common whores in Italy, for they could not be "safely conversed withal in relation to health, participating so far of the nature of devils that they are not only instrumental in the sin but many times also in the punishment."[57]

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[53]Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London, 1617), Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 1, p. 6.
[54]Gailhard, pp. 92-96.
[55]*A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman Of an Honourable Family, Now in His Travels Beyond the Seas* (London, 1688), pp. 41-42.
[56]"Instructions for the Lord Percy, in his Trauells; Given by Hen. E. of Northumberland" (*circa* 1615), *Antiquarian Repertory*, IV (1809), pp. 374-380, specifically p. 374.
[57]Osborne, pp. 78-79.

Although literature promoted sexual promiscuity as the principal vice that tempted youthful educational travellers, the mildly lesser evils of drinking and gambling also figured prominently. The association of drunkenness with English travellers abroad was clearly evident well before educational travel became popular in the sixteenth century. One of the images promoted by Lollard critics of pilgrimage was the regular inebriation of pilgrims who used the freedom of pilgrimage to indulge in vice.[58] Cautions to avoid the evil of drink were also evident in sixteenth-century advice to educational travellers before 1570.[59] Once Ascham's attack on Italian travel prompted public discussion of educational travel, popular literature helped to promote the association of drunkenness with travellers. Along with whoring, drunkenness appeared as one of the prominent vices associated with educational travellers in Robert Greene's pamphlets. In *The Life and Death of Robert Greene Maister of Artes* (1592) Greene confessed that drunkenness was one of the abominable vices he learned in Italy, while in *Greenes Mourning Garment* Bilessi counselled his son to avoid drunkenness as well as wanton women.[60] Thomas Nashe also associated drunkenness with travellers. His Frenchified traveller in *The Vnfortvnate Traveller* learned little else in France save to distinguish between the wines of Bordeaux, Gascoigne and Orleans.[61]

No doubt the general predilection of young men for the pleasures of wine as well as the popular image of the drunken traveller helped to stimulate warnings against drunkenness in conduct literature. Vices increased like snowballs during travel, warned Thomas Culpeper in 1655, and he advised travellers to practise temperance in regard to "Wine-bibbing." Culpeper feared that the pleasant wines of the Mediterranean countries would debauch travellers, hazarding their health, wits and reputation among "civil and well-governed people."[62] Although early seventeenth-century conduct literature featured

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[58]Anne Hudson, ed., *English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 86-87.

[59]In 1541 Bullinger warned youthful apprentices and craftsmen travelling abroad to beware of drunkenness as well as prostitutes, folio K verso.

[60]Greene, *Life and Death*, *Works*, XII, p. 175; *Greenes Mourning Garment*, *ibid.*, IX, p. 138.

[61]Nashe, p. 95.

[62]T[homas] C[ulpeper], *Morall Discourses and Essayes* (London, 1655), pp. 68-69.

only a few warnings against drinking, such warnings became much harsher and voluble during the second half of the century. Jean Gailhard included a comprehensive homily on the evils of drunkenness to help the traveller avoid temptation. Drunkenness, he admonished, inevitably led to numerous health problems, as well as "quarrels, blows, wounds, bruises, and often death." Travellers who became drunkards abroad not only proved their vicious character but also dishonoured their country, "for others will be apt to think there is many such others in their Country."[63] Ten years later the author of *A Letter of Advice* presented his reader with an even sterner warning. Intemperate drinking fueled filthy lusts,

> For Chambering and Wantonness is the usual Effect of Rioting and Drukenness .... This puts Men upon desperate Projects, and engages 'em in all sorts of Wickedness and Villany; insomuch, that the very most in their drunken Fits, will blaspheme, swear, curse, lie, backbite and rail against their innocent Neighbours, and do often kill and destroy one another.[64]

Drinking laid a sure foundation for all types of lingering diseases, turned men into beasts and madmen, and brought them inevitably to a swift, untimely and cruel death, or, at the least, a "detestable and infamous *Old Age*." The author concluded with the warning to travellers and young men generally that, if they did not reform their drunkenness, they assured their eternal doom.[65]

Gambling attracted only slightly less dire warnings than drinking. In 1567 George Turberville wrote a verse to a friend, warning him against participating in courting, travelling, gambling and tennis:

> To shake the bones, and cog the craftie Dice,
> To Carde in care of sodaine losse of Pence,
> Unseemely is, and taken for a vice:
> Unlawfull play can haue no good pretence.[66]

Immediately following his warning about drinking too much Bilessi warned his son not to gamble; "Use not dice, for they be fortunes whelpes, which consume thy wealth, and

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[63]Gailhard, pp. 88-91.
[64]*A Letter of Advice*, p. 37.
[65]*Ibid.*, p. 38.
[66]George Turberville, "To his Friende:P: of courting, trauailing, Dysing, and Tenys," *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (London, 1567), not paginated.

impaire thy patience."[67] In the second half of the seventeenth century travellers received stern advice not to indulge in the vice of gambling. Although Gailhard realised that young men needed honest sports and lawful recreations to divert and refresh their spirits, he believed that the games of dice and cards were too hazardous for amateur players. The traveller might easily become so bewitched by dicing and carding that he might not be able to stop. As with drunkenness, gambling led to the "sad effects" of cursing and swearing, cheating, quarrelling and the ruin and destruction of families.[68]

Despite their best intentions, the apologists for travel maintained and reinforced the popular image of the morally corrupt traveller. No author attempted to argue that vice was not rampant abroad, nor that travellers would not be tempted by its various manifestations; the image of the morally corrupt traveller was obviously too strong for these men to attempt to refute or even, it appears, to disbelieve it themselves. During the seventeenth century some authors who argued in favour of educational travel tried to circumvent the image of the morally corrupted traveller by maintaining that vice was as common at home as it was abroad; therefore, travelling provided no additional risks. In 1617 Fynes Moryson used this argument to answer critics who claimed that too many travellers came home corrupted with vice. Moryson admitted wine and women tempted travellers abroad, but he asked if England was any freer of these corruptions than the Continent. Moryson claimed that vice enveloped more men in England than their compatriots travelling abroad and suggested that if the traveller satisfied his "disordinate appetites" abroad by "giuing youth his swinge" he might come home free from vice. Men who stayed at home, Moryson added as his final argument, remained wrapped in their vices and never reformed their debauched lives nor forsook their vices until age or death forced them to do so.[69] Much later in the seventeenth century Jean Gailhard used a similar argument to refute the anxieties of fond mothers. Vice, as well sickness and

[67]Greene, *Greenes Mourning Garment*, *Works*, IX, p. 138.
[68]Gailhard, pp. 99-100.
[69]Moryson, *An Itinerary*, Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 1, pp. 5-6.

death, reigned at home as well as abroad, and Gailhard believed that it was foolish to argue against travel on these grounds. Perhaps the argument that vice was as prevalent at home as it was abroad swayed some parents. Gailhard claimed that some families sent their sons abroad in order to reform them, following the principle that distance from the site of their debaucheries might wean them from their bad courses;[70] one of the reasons Elizabeth, Lady Lowther, sent her son Thomas abroad during the 1650s was to remove him from the danger of vice at home.[71] Although some authors argued that vice was as prevalent at home as abroad and some parents sent their sons abroad to distance them physically from from their domestic misbehaviour, both public and private perceptions about the opportunities for misconduct and moral corruption abroad remained very strong. Popular prejudice preferred to portray European societies as infinitely more corrupt than English society.

Fears about the vulnerability of the traveller's youth heightened anxieties and prejudices about the corruptions of foreign nations. English society clearly believed that the traveller's youth and susceptibility made the pleasures and corruptions of the Continent doubly dangerous. The susceptibility of youths to corruption by pleasure was one of the pillars in Ascham's argument against Italian travel. Ascham argued that pleasure, the sweet and perilous poison of all youth, thrived in Italy and quickly corrupted a young and unsupervised traveller into the wicked Italianate.[72] Ascham's clear association of the susceptibility of youth to corruption by vice when travelling abroad undoubtedly helped focus public attention and criticism on the traveller's youth as a major factor in his susceptibility to moral corruption abroad. Both popular and conduct literature in the late sixteenth century continually reinforced the idea that the youth of

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[70]Gailhard, p. 6. Despite these words Gailhard obviously believed vice easily tempted youthful travellers abroad, for he wrote detailed homilies to the traveller exhorting him to avoid the temptations of women, drinking and gambling. Obadiah Walker also used a similar argument in *Of Education Especially of Young Gentlemen* (Oxford, 1673), pp. 192-193. The old alderman in Hyde's "Dialogue concerning Education" suggested, like Moryson, that the risk of disease was no argument to keep young men home because there was as much disease in England as abroad, p. 338.

[71]Elizabeth, Lady Lowther, to Joseph Williamson, 29 July 1657, PRO SP 18/155/226, and same to same, 31 May 1656, PRO SP 18/127/105.

[72]Ascham, pp. 151-153.

educational travellers predisposed them to moral corruption. In *Hamlet* Polonius and Reynaldo, discussing the travels of Laertes, somberly agreed that gaming, drinking, fencing, swearing and quarrelling were the usual wanton and wild slips of youth and liberty.[73] To this list most authors of conduct literature added sexual promiscuity. In 1578 William Bourne argued that only men over the age of forty should travel abroad, for,

> commonlye a young man his head is occupyed with euery vaine and light cause, as with banketting, and play, and game, & daunsing, and dallying with women, and gazing vpon vaine toyes, &c. So that his head is occupyed with no other thing, but all pleasaunt matters.[74]

Bourne's warning effectively summarized the faults incident to young men promoted by early modern English literature. Young men, naturally inclined to vice, found it difficult to travel to advantage. Joseph Hall, almost as concerned about the depravation of English travellers' manners as the corruption of their souls, censured parents who sent their sons abroad too young. If parents believed youthfulness was an advantage in a traveller because he was more tractable, then Hall argued that such tractability also made him more vulnerable to vice, "since wickednesse is both more insinuative and more plausible then vertue, especially when it meetes with an vntutored iudge."[75] Like Bourne, moralists and educationalists often advised that only mature men should travel abroad. John Locke disapproved of sending young men abroad between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, the most "boyling boistrous" part of their lives. At this age even the companionship of a governor had little effect, for the youth thought himself a man and "comes to relish, and pride himself in manly Vices, and thinks it a shame to be any longer under the Controul and Conduct of another."[76]

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[73]William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (first produced 1601), Act II, scene i.

[74]William Bourne, *The Treasure for Traueilers* (London, 1578), preface to the reader, folios **iii verso - **iiii.

[75]Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? A Ivst Censvre of Travell as it is commonly vndertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation* (London, 1617), pp. 6-7.

[76]John Locke, *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, James L. Axtell, ed. (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 321-322.

If, as circumstances normally dictated, the English gentleman had to embark on his tour while in the bloom of vulnerable youth, numerous authors offered advice on how to avoid the temptations and corruptions he would surely encounter. Early preparation for the dangers ahead might help. In his book of essays, *A Sixe-Folde Politician*, Sir John Melton observed that all young educational travellers, whether jewellers or serious scholars, should bridle their appetites of pleasure and raging extravagant humours before they travelled abroad.[77] Once abroad the young traveller should do his best to put himself well beyond the range of Sirens' songs. The author of *A Letter of Advice* advised youthful travellers to avoid those vices to which they were most prone: the accursed and tempting company of profane swearers, gluttonous people, "Wine-bibbers" and unchaste men and women.[78] Should that prove impossible, particularly strong-willed young men could turn a blind eye and a deaf ear to the temptations of vice. When he adapted Justius Lipsius' advice for travellers for the young Edward Earl of Bedford, Sir John Stradling confessed his deep anxiety that the Earl's youth would compromise his ability to escape the seductive natures of the Venetian and Italian courtesans; Stradling advised the youthful Earl to close both his eyes and his ears to their blandishments.[79] Parents followed printed advice in counselling their sons to avoid the pitfalls of youth and the temptations of vice while they were abroad. In the 1630s the Countess of Westmorland sent her son precepts to help him avoid vice and to guide him through the many paths and thickets of this world, "where rash presumptious youth rather desires to adventure."[80] Nevertheless, many young men embarked on adventures abroad that horrified their parents. As one less-than-repentant young traveller remarked in 1656, it

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[77][Sir John Melton], *A Sixe-Folde Politician* (London, 1609), p. 47.
[78]*A Letter of Advice*, p. 54.
[79]Stradling, folio C4.
[80]Mary, Countess of Westmorland, 1 September 1631, Commonplace book of Sir Francis Fane, Folger Shakespeare Library, V.a. 180, not foliated.

was a very good boat that did not leak on first launching, "And a very hopefull youth that upon his 1st entry into ye world, doth not a little ouershutt himself."[81]

Between the evils of fleshly appetites and the maintenance of youthful virtue lay the bulwark of daily devotion. Rather than offer advice to revere God in order to bolster the traveller's spiritual commitment, parents and authors of conduct literature usually intended this advice to bolster the traveller's moral integrity in the face of more earthly temptations. Public and private advice constantly exhorted youthful travellers to attend their daily devotions meticulously, beseeching God to guide them past the temptations of the flesh. James Cleland reminded his readers that the fear of God served to curb the improvident and violent courses that carried men into inconveniences and guided them to paths "warrantable, honorable, and pleasant in the sight of God and men." Fear of God was the only remedy against all enchantments and enticements to sin.[82] Patrick Scot repeated the same sentiments in 1619. Serve God daily, he wrote, for he was the only pillar that could save the traveller from the dangers that surrounded him.[83] If the traveller forgot to serve God, he might not only fall victim to sin, but also a wrathful God might then confound his fortunes.[84] *A Letter of Advice* admonished young travellers to lament and deplore their past failings and to humbly beg God's grace and spirit so that they might be more watchful of themselves and their ways in the future.[85] Even during his dialogue against the papacy in 1581 John Nicholas took the time to counsel travellers to secure themselves against the evils of the flesh through their faith in God. Panteleon urged his young and lusty son to bridle his fancies, banish evil thoughts, and, if possible, avoid all occasion of vice. However, "If the luste of the fleshe entise thee, and the

[81]Richard Lowther to Sir John Lowther, 15 July 1656, Lowther, D/Lons/L "Stray Letters 1600-1699." See also same to same, 27 July 1656, when Richard again excused his misbehaviour on the greenness of his years, *ibid.*

[82]James Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Noble Man* (1607), Max Molyneux, ed. (New York, 1948), p. 255.

[83]Patrick Scot, *Omnibus & singulis* (London, 1619), p. 96.

[84]Greene, *Greenes Mourning Garment*, *Works*, IX, p. 137.

[85]*A Letter of Advice*, p. 55.

concupiscence of the eye allure thee to euill, tame thy self with fasting and prayer, & call for the assistaunce of Gods spirit."[86]

Panteleon's counsel echoed the concern of many parents. In his memorial to Thomas in 1561 William Cecil instructed him to spend each morning and evening upon his knees in prayer to God. In the morning Cecil expected Thomas to ask God for preservation from committing any horrible sin, while in the evening Thomas should devoutly ask forgiveness for any offences committed during the course of the day. Cecil clearly did not trust his son to maintain his virtue among the temptations available to a young English nobleman abroad:

> if you offend in any surfeiting by eating or drinking too much, if you offend any other ways by attending and minding any lewd and filthy tales or enticements of lightness or wantonness of body, you must at evening bring both your thoughts and deeds as you put off your garments, to lay down and cast away those and all suchlike that by the devil are devised to overwhelm your soul and so to burden it by daily laying on filth after filth that when you would be delivered thereof you shall find the burden thereof too weighty.[87]

After Thomas departed for France Cecil continued to exhort him to remember his instructions, and directed Thomas' tutor, Windebank, to make sure he served God daily.[88] Cecil had good cause to doubt his son's ability to withstand temptation on the Continent, for his gambling and womanizing drove both his father and Thomas Windebank to distraction. During the early 1630s Mary, Countess of Westmorland, clearly had a higher opinion of her son Sir Francis Fane's ability to remain virtuous abroad, but even she carefully reminded her son to read God's word as well those of worthy men to animate in him a love of virtue and a hatred of vice.[89] The countess confided to Sir Dudley Carleton in July 1631 that she feared that Sir Francis would trifle

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[86]John Nichols, *John Niccols Pilgrimage* (London, 1581), folio A7 verso.

[87]Sir William Cecil's instructions to Thomas before his departure for France, 1561, Wright, pp. 3-6.

[88]Sir William Cecil to Thomas Cecil, 14 July 1561, PRO SP 12/18/33; Cecil to Thomas Windebank, 14 July 1561, PRO SP 12/18/35; also Windebank to Cecil, 23 March 1562, PRO SP 12/22/34.

[89]Mary, Countess of Westmorland, to Sir Francis Fane, 1 September 1631, Commonplace book of Sir Francis Fane, not foliated.

away his time abroad rather than fall into vice, but that she nonetheless would take more care to prevent him falling victim to vice than she would to adorn him with qualities.[90]

Parents could and did supplement God's protection with the more tangible presence of a governor. The guidance of a governor in part ensured the continued discipline of a youth into his late teens and early twenties. The duties of a governor, or tutor, not only encompassed guiding his charge's studies and intellectual development, they also encompassed restraining his charge from the follies of youth and the fleshly appetites of hot blood. Despite the heavy reliance parents placed on governors and tutors to moderate their sons' passions abroad, seventeenth-century conduct literature virtually ignored this role of governors. Jean Gailhard devoted a large section in his treatise on travel to the qualities necessary in a governor, yet he never referred to the governor's role in preventing the moral corruption of his charge during his lengthy discussions on the vices the traveller should avoid.[91] In the preface to the reader in *The Voyage of Italy* Richard Lassels presented a rather negative view of the governor's role in ensuring the moral integrity of his charge. Lassels alleged that some governors, among other sins, actually locked their charges in rooms with wanton women and then ran off with the key.[92] A governor could only be a steadying influence if his charge was suitably malleable. As well as including the qualities necessary in the governor, Gailhard included the qualities necessary in the traveller. He should be good natured, meek, gentle, and "easie to be dealt withal, apt and willing to be directed and advised."[93] Perhaps Gailhard had an overly optimistic view of the strength of character of the young Englishman, for John Locke believed that youths over the age of sixteen were too unruly to be controlled by governors:

> what can be hoped from even the most careful and discreet Governour, when neither he has Power to compel, nor his Pupil a disposition to be perswaded; but

[90]Same to Sir Dudley Carleton, 4 July 1631, PRO SP 16/196/20.
[91]Gailhard, pp. 7-16.
[92]Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy* (Paris, 1670), "A Preface to the Reader, Concerning Travelling," folio Ciii verso.
[93]Gailhard, p. 18.

> on the contrary, has the advice of warm Blood, and prevailing Fashion, to hearken to the Temptations of his Companions, just as Wise as himself, rather than to the perswasions of his Tutor, who is now looked on as the Enemy to his Freedom?[94]

If parents distrusted a governor's ability to control their son or keep him from bad company, then during the second half of the seventeenth century they could take the option of sending their son to one of the Parisian academies to learn the qualities necessary in a gentleman. Yet even these academies had a reputation for teaching immorality along with social sophistication. Edward Hyde portrayed these academies as places where young English gentlemen learned wickedness as well as riding, dancing and fencing.[95] When Mr. G. Havers rescued Sir John Lowther's young grandson from Monsieur Foubert's Parisian academy in 1673, he thankfully reported to Sir John that he found him untainted with immoralities, for he had previously heard reports of the idleness and libertarianism fermented by the ill counsel and conversations prevalent in these academies.[96]

Negative prejudices and images clearly caused some parents deep anxieties about their sons' activities abroad. Strode's sentiments probably represent the extreme example of parental anxiety and prejudice,[97] but many parents harboured deep concerns regarding the possibility that vice might corrupt their sons on the Continent. Young sons occasionally spent a good deal of trouble trying to persuade anxious parents that they had no interest in the pleasures widely available abroad. In 1579 Stephen Powle, attempting to persuade his father to finance his trip to Europe, reassured him that he would spend the money visiting virtuous and learned men rather than "dishonest Courtezans."[98] Once abroad, others hastened to assure anxious parents that they did not follow the example of the corrupted English travellers whom they met. In some instances their letters simply

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[94]Locke, p. 322. Perhaps Locke remembered the behaviour of men like Lord Derby who kept such evil company abroad that his governor, James Forbes, was lucky to survive two assassination attempts. It took a new governor, skilled in swordsmanship, to remove Derby from his wicked companions; Lady Burghclere, *The Life of James First Duke of Ormonde* (London, 1912), II, pp. 234-246.

[95]Hyde, "A Dialogue ... of the want of Respect due to Age," *The Miscellaneous Works*, p. 297.

[96]Mr. G. Havers to Sir John Lowther, 13 July 1672 and late January? 1673, Lowther, D/Lons/L "Letters 1662-1674."

[97]See above, p. 185.

[98]Stephen Powle to Thomas Powle, 25 May 1579, Tanner 309/11 verso.

reinforced the image that English travellers found it very difficult to avoid descending into vice and corruption while distant from parental restraint. Powle, for instance, wrote towards the end of his journey or immediately on his return that many travellers never attempted to avoid the Sirens and Circes who lay in wait for them but furthered their own sensual appetites and desires as much as they could without any regard for the consequences.[99] In the mid-seventeenth century Richard Lowther wrote several letters home to his father, Sir John Lowther, insisting that he did not follow the habits of other corrupted English travellers. Far from reassuring his father, Richard's letters could only have confirmed his father's worst doubts regarding the opportunities for corruption abroad. From the commencement of his tour Richard promised his father that he would "subdue Custome" and not let the pleasure and variety of other countries, especially France, impair his good intentions.[100] Richard spent most of his time in France at the university town of Saumur, a town much frequented by English travellers. On his arrival Richard wrote to Sir John that the English in Saumur indulged in debauchery, swearing and duelling. One could easily discern "vice in her severall piebald habitts" in the streets of Saumur; indeed, the town was a "voluntary colonie of the most lewd, & idlest persons," of whom the English were the worst behaved. Should this information disconcert his father, Richard assured Sir John that he would avoid all the "enormous vices most resident & common in the genius of this age; as drinking, swearing [and] gameing."[101] Richard's description of the Englishmen in Saumur, reinforced by his own ill-behaviour, could only have confirmed his father's anxieties about the opportunities for moral corruption in France.[102] The genuinely bad behaviour of many young men abroad only enhanced the image of the dissolute traveller and fostered well deserved concern among many parents.

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[99]Stephen Powle, "In dispraise of trauaile, & confutation of Atheisme," 1581, Tanner 309/29-29 verso.
[100]Richard Lowther to Sir John Lowther, 27 February 1656, Lowther, D/Lons/L "Stray Letters 1600-1699."
[101]Same to same, 27 February and 22 April 1656, *ibid.*
[102]Joseph Williamson, Richard's governor, also sent Sir John reports of the vanity, and sometimes the debauchery, of the men who lived at Saumur under the name of travellers; Joseph Williamson to Sir John Lowther, 6 July 1656, *ibid.*

By the mid-seventeenth century English travellers, especially nobles, had acquired a terrible reputation at home for dissolute and uncontrollable behaviour abroad. In 1662 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, wrote that most of England's "Travelling Gallants bring home only Vanity and Vice, as more Prodigality than Frugality, more Luxury than Temperance, more Diseases then Health, more Extravagancy than Discretion, more Folly than Experience, and more Vice than Vertue." It was better, the Duchess concluded, that these "Brute Beasts, as Apes, Goats, and Swine" remained home.[103] Even some governors preferred to accompany sons from non-noble families. William Sancroft, later Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to his father in 1645 concerning his plans to travel abroad as a tutor to the young son of a merchant. Sancroft preferred the merchant's son to a more noble charge because he believed that generally the sons of nobility proved very unruly abroad.[104] John Evelyn considered that too many of the nobility returned from their tours insolent, ignorant and debauched,[105] while Richard Lassels believed that some gentlemen only travelled into Italy to visit the fine courtesans in Venice: "so these men trauel a whole month together, to *Venice*, for a nights lodgeing with an impudent woman. And thus by a false ayming at breeding abroad, they returne with those diseases which hinder them from breeding at home."[106] One hundred years after Ascham first warned of the dangers of Circe's court, young Englishmen apparently still ran, rode and flew in their efforts to get there as quickly as possible.[107]

The image of the traveller who succumbed to the temptations of immoral behaviour once distant from his family and community is easily traceable to pre-sixteenth-century concerns. Critics of pilgrims and wandering medieval scholars often accused these travellers of immoral behaviour abroad. The association of immoral behaviour with travellers, who by virtue of their movement often epitomised freedom, probably extends

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[103]Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Orations of divers sorts, Accomodated to Divers Places* (London, 1662), p. 74.
[104]William Sancroft to his father, 20 October 1645, Tanner 60/326.
[105]John Evelyn to Edward Thurland, 8 November 1658, William Bray, ed., *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S.* (London, 1906), p. 586.
[106]Lassels, preface to the reader, folio Cv.
[107]Ascham, p. 156.

back to the ballads of wandering minstrels of early medieval Europe. Although the strong image of the morally corrupted educational traveller in early modern England was very traditional, it owed much of its resurgence to Ascham's focus on moral corruption in *The Scholemaster* and most of its strength to deep prejudices about the corruptions of foreign nationalities. Reality constantly reinforced the image of the morally corrupted traveller; many young educational travellers, perhaps like an occasional pilgrim centuries earlier, took every opportunity to indulge in immoral activities once freed from parental restraint. Although families often had good reason to fear their sons' moral disintegration abroad, the strong image of the morally corrupted traveller promoted by popular and conduct literature and travellers' reports undoubtedly fueled and reinforced their anxieties.

VIII

The Cultural Renegade

> The Devil init that this *England* should be my Country, *I* cannot think my self the least a kin to it, since *I* have been in *France* .... A rump of the Devil, that *I* should have an English father and mother, and they a French son.[1]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries English men and women's perception of their national culture and identity underwent a period of deep uncertainty. While high society embraced European manners and culture, believing their own heritage lacked elegance, fiercely patriotic writers and playwrights defended the integrity of England's native heritage and national identity from corruption by European cultures. The comment over educational travel mirrored this conflict. Nationalistic writers criticized English travellers who abandoned their native heritage, and whose return home eroded England's chance of establishing a strong cultural and national identity, while many seventeenth-century conduct books encouraged Englishmen to travel abroad to lose their blunt English habits and adopt sophisticated European manners. The image of the educational traveller in early modern England reflected the concern felt by nationalistic Englishmen who believed European cultures were eroding England's native heritage. It also reflected the cultural uncertainty felt by many Englishmen who believed their native heritage lacked the sophistication of European culture. Many deeply patriotic sixteenth and seventeenth-century Englishmen, recalling with horror the invasion of French culture and language that accompanied the Norman conquest, believed that foreign culture again threatened to

[1]James Howard, *The English Monsieur* (London, 1674), p. 4. First produced 1663.

swamp England's cultural heritage. This time, however, Englishmen effected the invasion of European culture instead of invading armies.

Geographical isolation necessarily promoted some perception of group identity and a sense of a people apart among the English. Yet to speak of the existence of coherent and strong nationalism, or even national consciousness, existing throughout the entire structure of early modern English society is probably a fallacy. The rural commoners were undoubtedly aware of a national identity, often centred on the monarch after the emergence of the strong Tudor monarchy and the break with Rome, but it is arguable that their concept of national identity surpassed strong local identifications. The London mob was habitually hostile towards foreigners, but before the second half of the seventeenth century traditional xenophobia and commercial jealousies probably motivated them more than a strong sense of nationalistic sentiment. Some historians argue that although nationalistic sentiment strengthened throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, county gentry actually forged stronger links with their county local identity than with a national identity. Alan Everitt argues that the allegiance of the provincial gentry to the community of their native shire is one of the basic facts of English history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Everitt believes that although a sense of national identity had increased among the gentry since the early Tudors, so too had the sense of county identity.[2] Clive Holmes questions this interpretation, suggesting (among other arguments) that the institutions of higher learning performed the function of a "melting pot," not only expanding the potential range of social contacts of their alumni but also broadening their intellectual horizons. These gentleman scholars, whatever their local affiliations, formed a national intellectual coterie.[3] In his essay on English nationalism in *Sixteenth Century Nationalism* E. D. Marcu provides many examples to argue that sixteenth-century

[2]Alan Everitt, *The Local Community and the Great Rebellion* (London, 1969), pp. 5-10.
[3]Clive Holmes, "The County Community in Stuart Historiography," *The Journal of British Studies*, XIX (1979), pp. 54-73, particularly p. 59.

Englishmen had a keenly developed sense of national identity as well as regional identities.[4]

Despite continuing regional loyalties, from the late fifteenth century the breakdown of medieval feudal class structures, the imposition of a strong centralized monarchy, expansion of economic life, the break from Rome, the growing influence of Parliament and increased literacy and intellectual activity all contributed to a feeling of national identity and intense patriotic pride among many educated Englishmen. This pride led to close investigations of English life, its institutions, its peculiarities, traditions and history.[5] Expressions of indignant patriotism, one of the best indicators of a national consciousness, appeared in a wide variety of printed material. In *The Description of England* William Harrison proudly, if defensively, praised England as God's favoured land; no country in Europe could better England's natural resources, climate, or the industry, learning and beauty of the English people.[6] Similarly, in his moral and philosophical treatise on the passions of the mind, Thomas Wright refuted claims by Italians and Spaniards that England was a simple, uncivil and barbarous country. In defense of England's national image Wright cited England's long tradition of learned scholars, excellence in trade and crafts and the innate honesty of the Englishman (which other nations mistook for simplicity).[7]

Although these authors demonstrate the presence of a national consciousness, some political scientists and historians of modern England would argue that the above are examples of patriotic pride rather than evidence of nationalism. In his recent monograph, *The Rise of English Nationalism*, Gerald Newman argues that nationalism did not exist before the Age of Reason. Instead, early modern European

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[4]E. D. Marcu, *Sixteenth-Century Nationalism* (New York, 1976), pp. 82-83.

[5]Hans Kohn, "The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I (1940), pp. 69-94, especially pp. 69-72; see also Marcu, pp. 73-85. For the connection between English Protestantism and the growth of nationalism and national identity see David Loades, "The Origins of English Protestant Nationalism," pp. 297-307, and Anthony Fletcher, "The First Century of English Protestantism and the Growth of National Identity," pp. 309-317, in Stuart Mews, ed., *Religion and National Identity* (Oxford, 1982), *Studies in Church History*, XVIII.

[6]William Harrison, *The Description of England* (1587), Georges Edelen, ed. (New York, 1968).

[7]T[homas] W[right], *The Passions of the Minde* (London, 1601), "The Preface vnto the Reader," folio A2-A3 verso.

societies were suffused with "mere patriotism," which Newman explains was simply a primitive feeling of loyalty towards one's country (most apparent in times of hostility) and normally focused on the person of the monarch. Nationalism, on the other hand, is a somewhat complex idea of national solidarity that is as strong during times of peace as it is during times of hostilities. Newman cites various theorists in order to clarify the issue and justify his argument. John Plamenatz defines nationalism as "the desire to preserve or enhance a people's national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened, or the desire to transform or even create it where it is felt to be inadequate or lacking."[8] Newman also cites K. R. Minogue who argues that nationalism, as distinct from mere national consciousness, "is in the first place a response to a patronising or disparaging attitude towards the traditional values of a society, the result of wounded pride and a sense of humiliation in its most socially conscious members."[9] Newman concludes that cultural provocations and social humiliations experienced by writers and intellectuals initially stimulates the growth of a nationalist movement. Nationalist activity is cultural at the outset and its causation is originally defensive and reactive. Newman's theory is that eighteenth-century England witnessed the birth of modern nationalism, a movement that began as a protest against excessive foreign cultural influence in the fatherland.[10] Yet despite the theories of Newman and the political scientists he cites regarding the origins of nationalism, a significant and growing protest by an articulate group of educated Englishmen against foreign cultural influences began much earlier than the eighteenth century. Far from displaying simple patriotic indignity at the growth of foreign cultural influence within England, a growing band of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Englishmen displayed a strong nascent nationalism. Although these men criticized English society generally, their budding nationalistic sentiment is particularly

[8]Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (London, 1987), p. 56.
[9]*Ibid.*
[10]*Ibid.*, Chapter III, "What is Nationalism," pp. 49-60 and p. 63.

apparent in their criticism of the returning traveller who imported foreign culture into England and affected a patronizing scorn of his native heritage.

From early in the sixteenth century many educated and cosmopolitan Englishmen not only displayed their clear identification with a national identity but also expressed considerable anxiety that European cultures threatened English culture. They deeply resented the affectation of French and Italian culture and manners within fashionable society and especially among those who emulated members of court circles in hope of preferment. The literature of the period unquestionably indicates the concern felt by articulate Englishmen at the corruption of their traditional English culture and the erosion of an English national identity by foreign cultures. Throughout these two centuries the concern over the corruption of England with foreign cultures alternated between nominating French or Italian cultural influence as the chief corrupting agent. Broadly speaking, pre-Elizabethan concern focused on the influence of French culture in England, concern about the dangers of Italianism surfaced during Elizabeth's reign, while in the seventeenth century most authors reverted to the more traditional approach of attacking French cultural influences. Sometimes it is not always clear what these concerned Englishmen believed constituted their traditional culture and native identity. In most cases the traditionally modest life style and plain values of the country-dwelling gentleman and his honest tenants and neighbours typified traditional English culture. Although much of the concern about the continuing integrity of the traditional English way of life also incorporated resentment and uncertainty at rapidly changing social structures and values in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a strong sense of aggrieved nationalistic sentiment appeared in critics' concern that English men and women demonstrated their scorn of their traditional English heritage through their abandonment of traditional customs, values and ways of life for foreign customs and values.

Evidence for concern regarding the integrity of England's cultural and national identities occurred regularly from the early sixteenth century. Thomas More's early

sixteenth-century characterization of an Englishman who affected to speak French and scorned everything English reveals his deep resentment about the behaviour of some Englishmen who derided their native heritage:

> My friend and companion, Lalus, was born in Britain and brought up on our island. Nevertheless ... Lalus still is scornful of all things English. All things French he admires and wants. He struts about in French dress; he is very fond of little French capes. He is happy with his belt, his purse, his sword - if they are French .... He delights in French shoes, French underclothes, and, to put it briefly, in an outfit French from head to toe.[11]

Lalus' affectations of accent and mannerisms made him appear ridiculous rather than sophisticated, and More warned his fellow Britons that, if any of them scorned their native land in this fashion and desired to change from Englishmen to Frenchmen, then he would ask the gods to change them from cocks to capons. The ballad *Treatyse of this Galaunt* (*circa* 1520) also satirized the Frenchified gallant within English society. Although England had once held France in great derision, the ballad claimed that Englishmen now borrowed all kinds of vices, fashions and ill-mannered livings from that country. The epitome of all these vices was the Frenchified gallant who imported into England new-fangled fashions, ideas, manners and vices that were rapidly destroying traditional English society. Why did these Frenchified gallants have to come to England, cried the author, lamenting in the final line of each verse, "Englande may wayle that euer it came here." The author equated this invasion of French culture and vices with past foreign invasions of England:

> Forget not lyghtly / howe many straungers.
> Haue entered this kyngdome / and kepte the possessyon.
> Fyue tymes / as wryteth old cronyclers
> And chaunged our tunges / in sondry dyuysyon.[12]

Now England faced a new invasion of foreign vice and culture. This invasion required no alien armies, for Englishmen, blinded by pride and addicted to new-fangleness, readily accomplished it themselves.

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[11]Thomas More, *Latin Epigrams* (written about 1513), *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven, 1963-1987), Clarence H. Miller, Leicester Bradner, Charles A. Lynch and Revilo P. Oliver, eds. of vol. III, part II, pp. 153-155.

[12]*Treatyse of this Galaunt*, F. J. Furnivall, ed., *Ballads from Manuscripts* (London, 1868-1872), p. 452.

Several dialogues of the late sixteenth century demonstrate the concern felt by many Englishmen over the influence of Continental cultures on the changing structure of English society. *The Debate Between Pride and Lowliness* (*circa* 1570) and its later imitator, *Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier* (1592), focused on the corrupting influence of Italianism on traditional English society.[13] Both of these dialogues debated the merits of traditional English values against the social values introduced by the new Italianate courtier. Since their respective authors were heavily biased against imported culture, manners and values, both dialogues inevitably judged in favour of traditional English values and customs. In *A Qvip* Robert Greene attacked unworthy social upstarts who adopted foreign culture as the best way to obtain preferment. These men all too easily forgot their native heritage, for "being then so proude as the foppe forgets like the Asse that a mule was his father."[14] Later criticism attacked travellers on exactly the same grounds. Another dialogue, *Cyuile and vncyuile life* (1579), extensively discussed the changing patterns of social life in England, covering topics ranging from education, the employment of landless gentlemen and the gentleman's place of residence, to the role of travel, servants and entertainment in the gentleman's life. Unlike the *Debate* and *A Qvip*, *Cyuile and vncyuile life* ultimately argued in favour of the new-style English gentleman whose life was heavily influenced by the values and customs learned in the courts of Europe. The character of Vincent, who represented the traditional English country gentleman, was "sorye to see Englishmen, so apte to leaue their auncient good fashions, and fall into forrayne manners."[15] Despite his reservations, Vincent allowed his companion, Vallentine, to persuade him to accept many of the new fashions and ways of life. Significantly, Vallentine represented the new-style gentleman because he was a traveller.

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[13]T., F., *The Debate Between Pride and Lowliness* (London, n.d.); Robert Greene, *A Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier* (1592), Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene M. A.* (London, 1881-1886), XI.

[14]Greene, *A Qvip*, *Works*, XI, preface to the reader, p. 211.

[15]*Cyuile and vncyuile life* (London, 1579), folio B verso.

Inevitably, many authors connected the degradation of English cultural and national identities with the Englishman's flawed nature. More's epigram and *The Treatyse of this Galaunt* both referred to Englishmen who preferred foreign cultures to their own, as did the character of Vincent in *Cyuile and vncyuile life*. It was after all, William Harrison remarked in the late sixteenth century, the Englishman's natural vice to prefer foreign commodities before his own.[16] In his defence of the honourable English tradition of fencing, George Silver attacked gallants who forsook their traditional short swords and staves to lust like men sick of a "strange ague" after the "long Rapiers [and] frog pricking Poiniards" of Italian and French fencers.[17] In 1613 George Wither discussed this connection at length in *Abuses Stript and Whipt*. Englishmen did not esteem anything unless it was a foreign import, whether clothes, food, medicines, or other "new deuised forraine trash:"

> Yea notwithstanding here in our owne land,
> Those things be better, and moore neere at hand.
> Then we out of idle humor are,
> Much more affected to all *Forraine* ware
> Then to our owne: although the same be best.[18]

In the early 1630s the playwright John Ford connected the Englishman's traditional inconstancy with a disturbing uncertainty in the value of his own culture. Englishmen thought the worst of their own products and customs in comparison with foreign equivalents. Rather than "fantastic," Ford portrayed the English as an uncertain people who disparaged their own "fair abundance, manhood [and] beauty."[19] The Englishman's preference for foreign wares and uncertainty in his own culture could have a devastating effect on his native heritage, especially when, as Gabriel Harvey wrote in the 1570s,

> nothinge is reputid so contemptible, and so baselye and vilelye accountid of as whatsoever is taken for Inglishe, whether it be handsum fasshions in apparrell, or seemely and honorable in behaviour, or choise wordes and

[16]Harrison, pp. 357 and 359.

[17]George Silver, *Paradoxes of Defence* (London, 1599), folio A4-A4 verso.

[18]George Wither, *Abvses Stript, and Whipt* (London, 1613), Book II, "Satyr I," p. 155. See pp. 150-157 for a full discussion.

[19] John Ford, *Love's Sacrifice* (produced 1632), Act I, scene i, in Havelock Ellis, ed., *John Ford* (London, 1888), p. 290.

> phrases in speache or anye notable thinge else in effecte that savorith of our owne cuntrye, and is not ether merely or mixtely outlandishe.[20]

One of the most distressing and dangerous aspects of the fashionable society's adoption of foreign culture was that their actions and words encouraged their more humble countrymen to scorn their traditional heritage.

Many of the English authors who lamented the growing influence of European cultures on traditional English society looked nostalgically back to a more glorious age, a time of gold, when England glittered with uncorrupted bravery and virtue, and the English proudly acknowledged their own heritage. In itself this nostalgia demonstrates the belief held by many educated Englishmen that England's culture was in decline,[21] and most early modern authors who looked back to this time of gold believed that European cultures had deeply corrupted England's traditional heritage. The author of the *Treatyse of this Galaunt*, bitterly attacking the influence of Frenchified gallants within English society, cried,

> O englonde / where is nowe thy glorye
> That somtyme shone / thrughe the worlde so clere.[22]

Saddened by the corruption of traditional English behaviour with French and Italian manners, Gabriel Harvey echoed these sentiments during the 1570s in his satirical verse on the Italianated Earl of Oxford:

> O tymes, O manners, O French, O Italish Inglande.
> Where be y^{e} mindes and men that woont to terrify strangers?
> Where that constant zeale to thy cuntry glory, to vertu? ....
> Where owld Inglande? Where owld Inglish fortitude and might?[23]

Expressions of similar indignation at Englishmen who adopted more effeminate foreign manners and fashions at the expense of their traditional manly reputation are not hard to find. Sir Thomas Smith believed that Englishmen commanded more respect from their enemies when gentlemen went simply, wore heavy buckles and

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[20]Gabriel Harvey, *The Letter-book of Gabriel Harvey*, Edward John Long Scott, ed. (London, 1883-1884), p. 66.

[21]See R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), p. 154-156, for his discussion of this phenomenon in England immediately following the Norman invasion.

[22]*Treatyse of this Galaunt*, p. 451.

[23]Harvey, p. 97.

swords rather than light dancing swords and rode carrying good spears rather than effeminate white rods.[24] In "The Time of Gold" Joseph Hall deplored the contemporary habit of Englishmen to dress in foreign garish gaudery, "An Englishman in none, a fool in all." Hall grieved at the passing of England's golden age when Englishmen went naked, or clad in rude hides, "Or home-spun russet, void of foreign-pride."[25] Even considering Hall's use of the medium of satire, his implication that Englishmen should perhaps return to their rude, if honest, hides was possibly a little unrealistic. A slightly more pragmatic William Harrison expressed very similar sentiments to both Harvey and Hall when he commented that it was never merrier than when Englishmen dressed simply without the cuts and garish colours affected by fashionable society.[26] John Lyly perhaps expressed these opinions most eloquently in the prologue to *Midas*; "Trafficke and trauell hath wouen the nature of all Nations into ours, and made this land like Arras, full of deuise, which was Broade-cloth, full of workemanshippe."[27]

Returning travellers earned marked scrutiny and increasingly unfavourable comment amid this concern over the cultural and national integrity of England. The very nature of educational travel meant that young men travelled to observe the military, cultural, political and social life of foreign countries. The traveller expected to learn from the best other countries had to offer, so that he acquired the skills that would enable him to serve the state with distinction in later life. Naturally, some cultural transfer inevitably occurred. Despite the fact that many educationalists and most families recognized the educational value of travel, critics soundly denounced the traveller who appeared to absorb Continental culture at the expense of his native cultural heritage or, worse, at the expense of his national identity and allegiance.

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[24][Sir Thomas Smith], *A Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England* (1581, written 1549), Mary Dewar, ed. (Charlottesville, 1969), pp. 82-83.

[25]Joseph Hall, "The Time of Gold," *Virgidemiae* (late sixteenth century), Geoffrey Grigson, ed., *The Oxford Book of Satirical Verse* (Oxford, 1980), p. 35.

[26]Harrison, p. 148.

[27]John Lyly, *Midas*, R. Warwick Bond, ed., *The Complete Works of John Lyly* (Oxford, 1902), III, p. 114. First produced 1589.

Many authors agreed with the sentiments of Edward Hyde's old lawyer in his dialogue on respect that too many young gentlemen returned home with "no Apprehension or Fear more, than they may be suspected to be *Englishmen*."[28] Travellers could demonstrate the loss of their traditional heritage and national identity in several ways. Affectation of European languages, manners and dress often reflected their disaffection with traditional English standards, but critics were especially concerned that these Italianated and Frenchified young gentlemen lost no opportunity to deride their traditional language, habits and culture on their return into England. Their example only encouraged lesser English men and women to do the same. While criticisms of travellers who abandoned their cultural identity occurred from the mid-sixteenth century, they gained in strength during the 1580s and subsequently became one of the principal criticisms of educational travellers during the seventeenth century. Although many of these criticisms occurred in educational and conduct treatises whose audience was probably limited to well educated men and women, from the late sixteenth century authors of popular literature and entertainments began to incorporate the image of the culturally disaffected traveller into their works. Popular literature and entertainments not only provided one of the most effective mediums for criticism of educational travellers, but they also disseminated the image of the cultural renegade and fears about the continuing integrity of England's traditional heritage among many less-educated commoners.

As concern about the extent of English men and women's commitment towards their traditional heritage emerged during the early and mid-sixteenth century, critics quickly focused their attention on the cultural disloyalty of returning travellers. One of the traveller's most noticeable affectations was his language. Although the opportunity to learn foreign languages was one of the principal reasons Englishmen travelled abroad, many Englishmen despised ridiculous and unnecessary importation

[28] Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, "A Dialogue ... of the want of Respect due to Age," *The Miscellaneous Works* (London, second edition, 1751), p. 293.

of foreign words and phrases into the English language. Despite Thomas Wilson's general praise of educational travel in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1560), he abhorred "farre iourneyed" gentlemen who indiscriminately 'powdered' their talk with foreign words on their return home; "He that commeth lately out of Fraunce, will talke French English and neuer blush at the matter. An other chops in with English Italienated, and applieth the Italian phrase to our English speaking."[29] Although it is arguable that Wilson's dislike of obscure words and phrases drove him to criticize these travellers as much as any sense of nationalistic outrage, clearly nationalistic Englishmen soon focused their outrage very specifically on the cultural disloyalty of travellers who preferred French, Italian or Spanish before their native English. Twenty years after Wilson's comments George Pettie translated the first three books of Steeven Guazzo's *Civile Conversation* from the French. In his preface to the reader Pettie observed that some Englishmen might deride his efforts to translate Guazzo into English because they regarded the English language with contempt. These men were principally travellers who returned home from their tours with such queasy stomachs that they could not abide English but preferred French, Italian and Spanish. So alienated were these English travellers from their native language that they derided English as a barren and barbarous language, asserting it was completely unworthy for consideration.[30]

The traveller's affectation of foreign languages at the expense of his native English quickly became the butt of ridicule as authors of popular literature and drama incorporated the image of the culturally disaffected traveller into their works during the late sixteenth century. Thomas Nashe satirized culturally disaffected travellers in two of his works during the early 1590s. In *Pierce Penilesse* Nashe's malcontent traveller affected Italianated phrases and contorted his face as he spoke in a farcical

[29]Thomas Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique* (1560), G. H. Mair, ed. (Oxford, 1909), p. 162.

[30]George Pettie, trans., *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo* (1581), Sir Edward Sullivan, ed. (London, 1925), I, translator's preface to the reader, pp. 9-10.

attempt to appear sophisticated,[31] while two years later his Frenchified traveller in *The Vnfortvnate Traveller* could only speak English "strangely."[32] Shakespeare quickly incorporated this trait into his disaffected and lisping malcontent, Jaques, and by 1614 the Overburian affected traveller could speak his own language only with shame and lisping.[33] By the early seventeenth century the image of the disaffected traveller who rejected his own language in favour of foreign words, phrases and accents had become an established figure of derision. Many seventeenth-century character sketches followed the Overburian example and depicted travellers as strangely accented gentlemen who, like Samuel Butler's affected traveller, wore their own language to rags and subsequently patched it up with "scraps and ends" of foreign languages.[34] Seventeenth-century critics, authors and dramatists treated the acquisition of foreign language by travellers at the expense of their honest English with nothing but derision. Few characters of travellers could speak the least phrase in French or Italian without having their national and cultural integrity compromised before the audience.

Travellers also received extensive public criticism and ridicule for preferring foreign fashions, mannerisms and even servants before their English counterparts. In many instances foreign fashions and mannerisms marked the culturally disaffected traveller well before he opened his mouth, and one or two French servants trailing behind him often completed the image of the cultural renegade. In 1548 Edward Hall wrote one of the earliest criticisms of culturally alienated travellers in early modern England. When describing the adventures abroad of three young English gentlemen, he caustically noted that on their return they were all French in eating, drinking and clothes, "yea, and in Frenche vices and bragges."[35] According to James Howell, a

[31]Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse his Svpplication to the Divell* (1592), R. B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (Oxford, 1958), I, p. 169.

[32]Nashe, *The Vnfortvnate Traveller* (1594), H. F. B. Brett-Smith, ed. (Oxford, 1927), p. 95.

[33]William Shakespeare, *As You Like It* (produced 1599), Act IV, scene i; [Sir Thomas Overbury?], *The Overburian Characters* (1614), W. J. Paylor, ed. (Oxford, 1936), p. 11.

[34]Samuel Butler, "A Traveller," Richard Aldington, ed., *A Book of Characters* (London, [1924]), p. 287.

[35]Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England* (London, 1809), p. 597, first edition 1548.

century later it was easy enough to spot Frenchified travellers because by their "phantastique kind of *ribanding* themselvs [and] by their modes of *habit*, and *cloathing* [they] do make themselves knowne to have breathed forraine ayre."[36] By the time Howell wrote, dramatists, poets and pamphleteers had extensively promoted this aspect of the cultural renegade. Jaques wore "strange suits," while Nashe's Frenchified travellers trailed long cloaks of grey paper behind them in the dust.[37] Comedies ridiculed gentlemen who returned home unable to wear anything save foreign fashions. After his tour abroad James Howard's Mr Frenchlove refused to wear anything except French clothes and "Garnitures," derisively noting the difference between "the *French* fashions and the damn'd *English.*"[38] To ridiculous fashions many authors added absurd foreign mannerisms. During the 1570s Gabriel Harvey attacked the Italianated Earl of Oxford for his ridiculous and effeminate mannerisms when he reappeared in English society with his "cringeing" neck, shifty eyes and smirking countenance.[39] John Donne thought the affected mannerisms of "Perfect French, and Italian" travellers worse than the pox,[40] while Howell's disaffected traveller returned from France all "*Frenchified* in the motion of his members."[41] Few images of the culturally disaffected traveller were complete without a foreign servant, usually French, trailing behind his Frenchified master. John Donne's disaffected traveller proudly compared French servants to their coarser English counterparts:

> Are not your Frenchmen neate? Mine? as you see,
> I have but one Frenchman, looke, hee followes mee.[42]

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[36]James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1642 and 1650), Edward Arber, ed. (London, 1869), p. 65.
[37]Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act IV, scene i; Nashe, *Vnfortvnate Traveller*, p. 95.
[38]Howard, pp. 6 and 9.
[39]Harvey, p. 98.
[40]John Donne, *Satyre I*, Herbert J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Poems of John Donne* (Oxford 1912), I, p. 149.
[41]Howell, *A German Diet: Or, the Ballance of Europe* (London, 1653), p. 4.
[42]Donne, *Satyre IIII*, Grierson, p. 161.

In most characterizations these "dirty Lacquies," like Mr. Frenchlove's two servants, simply trailed harmlessly and anonymously behind their Frenchified masters.[43] Edward Hyde, however, suggested that French servants caused considerable resentment among English servants. Hyde's characterization of Frenchified and totally alienated young travellers in "A Dialogue ... of the want of Respect due to Age" included a French servant who so annoyed the regular English cook that he almost threw the Frenchman into the fire.[44]

Affectations of foreign language, clothes and mannerisms by the culturally disaffected traveller quickly became fuel for ridicule rather than outraged nationalistic sentiment, and these aspects rapidly became incorporated into the image of the foolish traveller. Apart from these relatively harmless, if offensive, affectations there was one further aspect of the behaviour of the culturally disaffected traveller that caused considerable concern and attracted continual harsh criticism throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If one thing annoyed and concerned their countrymen more than anything else it was the habit of some travellers of deriding their native country, its institutions and traditions on their return. Their derision of England's culture undermined the efforts of those men who wanted to promote pride in England's national identity and heritage. On their return home Edward Hall's three Frenchified young men laughed at English society and refused to praise anything unless "it were after the Frenche turne."[45] Some young Englishmen did not even wait to get home before they began to deride their native culture. George Pettie remembered many young men abroad who told foreigners that England was a barbarous land, the English manners rude, and the people uncivil.[46] During the seventeenth century both Richard Brathwaite and James Howell characterized travellers whose behaviour, if anything, had grown immeasurably more offensive.

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[43]Howard, p. 4.
[44]Hyde, p. 295.
[45]Edward Hall, p. 597.
[46]Pettie, p. 10.

Brathwaite's disaffected traveller in *Whimzies: Or, A New Cast of Characters* had lost all regard for his native country, and regarded England with so much contempt he could find nothing in it worth praising; "He disvalues our rarities, disesteemes our beauties, jeeres at our complement, slights our entertainement, and clozeth up his unseasoned distaste with an interjection of admiration: *O the rare objects that I have seene in my dayes!*"[47] Twenty years later James Howell's report suggested that some travellers found little to praise within their native land. Indeed, one could hardly pass the time of day with them "at an Ordinary (or else-where) but presently they are th'other side of the Sea, commending either the *Wines of France*, the *fruits of Italy*, or the *Oyle and Sallets of Spaine.*" They jeered at their own nation, praising all other nations before it, and strived "to degenerate as much as they can from *Englishmen.*"[48]

Playwrights, balladeers and poets popularized as well as ridiculed the image of the culturally disaffected traveller who lost no opportunity to deride his homeland. Both Nashe and Shakespeare's malcontent travellers despised the barbarism of their own country and hated God for making them Englishmen.[49] Of the traveller from Spain Nashe wrote, "If you talk with him, he makes a dishcloth of his owne Country in comparison of *Spaine*, but if you vrge him more particularly wherin it exceeds, he can giue no instance but in *Spaine* they haue better bread than any we haue."[50] Jack Puffe, the swaggering hero of a popular poem published in 1642, "puffed" across to France to avoid his creditors and to satisfy his affectation that England was unworthy to hold one of his cultural and social sophistication. Nevertheless, France did not long hold the pretentious Jack, for,

> Another puffe soone puffes him backe again;
> but all be-frenchifide, he vowes the nation
> From all the world to excell in fashion.
> His Countries vile, they clownes that in it dwell,

[47]Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies: Or, A New Cast of Characters* (London, 1631), p. 151.
[48]Howell, *Instructions*, p. 63.
[49]Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, *Works*, I, p. 169; Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act IV, scene i.
[50]Nashe, *The Vnfortvnate Traveller*, pp. 95-96.

But France in cloaths and complement excell.[51]

Rather like Jack Puffe, Butler's alienated traveller affected a generous contempt of his home, blowing himself up in admiration of foreign parts and pitying all those Englishmen who had not travelled.[52] Mr. Frenchlove, the principal character in James Howard's comedy *The English Monsieur*, epitomized the image of the culturally disloyal traveller in seventeenth-century drama. Mr. Frenchlove complained bitterly that England was his native country and that he had English parents when he felt himself a complete Frenchman. Mrs. Crafty, a widow who pursued Mr Frenchlove in the matrimonial stakes, pretended to scorn England to attract Frenchlove's attention. "Give me a young Gallant," cried Crafty loudly so that Frenchlove would overhear her, "that after his being in *France*, returns so well bred, that he laughs at his own Country."[53] Needless to say, Crafty won her man, and the reputation of the educational traveller suffered a further loss. Although many of these poems, characterizations and plays promoted knowledge of national identity, much of their appeal depended upon an already well developed sense of national identity among their audience.

By the time Mr. Frenchlove swaggered across the English stage trailing French laces, scents, accents and servants behind him many Englishmen clearly associated cultural disloyalty with the educational traveller. Nevertheless, a strong association between educational travel and cultural disloyalty dated from at least 1579. In that year the anonymous author of *Cyuile and vncyuile life* chose a traveller, Vallentine, to represent the new courtly gentleman because of his extensive and first-hand knowledge of foreign customs and habits. An urbane and sophisticated gentleman, Vallentine nevertheless had to maintain his credibility and demonstrate his national and cultural integrity by establishing very early in the dialogue that while desire to learn carried him through many countries, "yet haue not those ayres any whit, altered

[51]*The Birth, Life, Death, Wil, and Epitaph, of Iack Pvffe Gentleman* (1642), William Carew Hazlitt, ed., *Early Popular Poetry of England* (London, 1864-1866), IV, p. 317. Hazlitt noted that *Iack Pvffe* continued the tradition of *Treatyse of this Galaunt* in ridiculing the fops of the time, p. 311.

[52]Butler, p. 287.

[53]Howard, p. 11.

my loue from my naturall Countrey."[54] Vallentine's strong denial of any loss of love for England is a strong indication that by this year many educated Englishmen, at least, identified loss of cultural and national identity with travellers abroad. The equally anonymous author of the 1602 play *Thomas Lord Cromwell* took similar care with the credibility of his title character. After returning from his travels abroad Cromwell praised the wonders of European nations but carefully added that he thought that England laughed all "others vnto scorne."[55] Other authors who publicly recognized England's achievements and heritage believed that travellers would criticize their efforts. In 1618 Thomas Gainsford published his piece of nationalistic propaganda, the *Glory of England*, but remarked that he expected travellers, too often carried away by the sights and society of the Continent, to think him over-liberal and over-partial in his praise of the bounties and blessings of England.[56] During the 1640s and 1650s James Howell twice reprinted Thomas More's epigram on the Frenchified Englishman and in doing so demonstrated how strongly the image of the culturally disaffected Englishman was now identified with the educational traveller. Howell referred to the epigram as "Sir Thomas Moore's Traveller," a distinction More certainly did not make himself.[57]

Many critics believed that the travellers' alienation from his traditional heritage threatened the integrity of England's national identity and culture. At the most basic level the Mr. Frenchloves among returning travellers often found it difficult to adjust to life among their more barbarous compatriots. In the 1660s Edward Hyde's two dialogues that extensively debated the merits of educational travel provided a clear portrait of the total alienation of Frenchified young lords from their traditional county society. After their education abroad and subsequent adoption of foreign customs and manners these Frenchified Monsieurs were almost completely unable to exist within

[54] *Cyuile and vncyuile life* , folio Bii.

[55] S., W., *The True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell* (produced 1600), C. F. Tucker Brooke, ed., *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1918), Act III, scene iii, p. 179, possibly written by Shakespeare.

[56] Thomas Gainsford, *The Glory of England* (London, 1618), preface to the reader, folio ¶ 4 - ¶ 5.

[57] Howell, *Instructions*, pp. 65-67. Howell again referred to More's epigram in *A German Diet*, pp. 3-4.

traditional English society. They were interested in none of the traditional recreations of the local gentry and were confused by local law and customs. Although the French Monsieur expected to be a notable member of the rural community, "much regarded and esteemed" by the people, he treated the local gentry with contempt and never tired of informing them how preferable France was to England.[58] When the impudent French Monsieur returned to a plain English life on his county estate, perhaps many parents and friends had good cause to exclaim with the author of *The More the Merrier*,

> I know thee not (I cry thee mercie) *Grace*,
> In thy French bodie and thy English face.[59]

Foolish these travellers might be, but some Englishmen feared that these pseudo-sophisticated and often socially successful gentlemen set an extraordinarily bad example for their imitative home-bred countrymen. This cultural alienation of the English upper classes could only harm the integrity of England's traditional heritage. As early as 1581 Richard Mulcaster had observed the potential damage to England's traditional heritage caused by the cultural alienation of travellers from the gentry and noble classes. While Mulcaster acknowledged the benefits of educational travel, he believed too many gentlemen learned to love foreign customs and manners at the expense of their native heritage. These young gentlemen set society a bad example on their return, "Whereby our countrey receiueth a great blow, thorough alienation of their fantsies, by whom she should be gouerned, which will rather deale in nothing, then not force in the forreine."[60] Both the old lawyer and the old courtier in Hyde's dialogue agreed that Frenchified travellers had spread their "saucy" humours all over

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[58]Hyde, p. 295.

[59]P., H., *The More the Merrier* (London, 1608), no. 21. Occasionally authors of conduct literature criticized travellers for arrogantly refusing to admit any good in the countries they visited, some of them arguing that nothing compared to England. This criticism never emerged as a viable image of the traveller in early modern England. For some examples, see Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London, 1617), Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 2, p. 34; Howell, *Instructions*, p. 29; and Jean Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1678), p. 29.

[60]Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Wherin Those Primitive Circvmstances be Examined, which are Necessarie for the Training vp of children, either for skill in Their booke, or health in Their bodie* (1581), Robert Herbert Quick, ed. (London, 1888), pp. 210-211.

the English nation, corrupting those who stayed at home with the same boldness and impudence of those who had been abroad; "the Copies are for the most Part worse than the Originals."[61] Following his criticism of travellers in 1631, Richard Brathwaite further criticized travellers for abandoning their native heritage in 1658. This time, however, Brathwaite also chastised his imitative countrymen and women for slavishly following travellers' examples:

> Yet I perceiv'd of all the *Apes* that were,
> None more esteem'd then was this *Traveller*;
> For hee was most accomplish'd, and did seeme
> By helpe of *forraine Courts* where hee had beene
> Of choicest Entertainmeut, though his *fashion*
> Appear'd to me an *apish* affectation:
> "For that is best which with our selves is bred,
> "And not from other *Nations* borrowed.[62]

In *A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama* Richard Lindabury investigated the reaction in Elizabethan drama to the invasion of foreign culture affected both by immigrants and by English travellers. Lindabury inferred that the Elizabethans were puzzled about why English travellers affected foreign manners and abandoned their national identity,[63] but both sixteenth and seventeenth-century Englishmen suggested many reasons for their countrymen's behaviour. Both the traveller's youthfulness and his predisposition to imitate indiscriminately foreign customs sometimes appeared as sufficient reason for his irresponsible behaviour. The traveller might be too immature and have too little knowledge of his own country and its customs to judge effectively the wisdom of affecting foreign fashions. Mulcaster believed that the ill touches of foreign countries clung more easily to arrogant youths, who could not competently judge between good and evil abroad.[64] Mulcaster also suspected that some travellers learned to dislike their native land well before they travelled, and that

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[61]Hyde, p. 298.

[62]Richard Brathwaite, *The Honest Ghost, or A Voice From the Vault* (London, 1658), p. 117. See also pp. 156-157.

[63]Richard Lindabury, *A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama* (Princeton, 1931), Chapter VII, "The Alien Invasion," p. 105.

[64]Mulcaster, pp. 210 and 214. Also see Obadiah Walker, *Of Education Especially of Young Gentlemen* (Oxford, 1673), pp. 194-195.

the primary reason they went abroad was to escape their country.[65] While he preferred that young Englishmen stayed at home for their education, Mulcaster feared that the "ouerliking of forreine, and so consequently some vnderliking at home" sent many gentlemen abroad.[66] George Pettie suggested that part of the reason English travellers derided their native land and language was "that strange thynges doo more delyght them, then that which they are dayly used to."[67] Pettie also believed that travellers, unable to spy the faults in a foreign language as readily as they could in their own, were more ready to praise the foreign than their native tongue.[68] Thomas Gainsford's rather silly and immature travellers were so carried away with the sights of the Continent that they quickly forgot their native allegiance:

> If you are a Traueller? Then carried away with present shadowes, or transported with a cursory vanity of some stately edifices, braue Curtezans, entertainement of strangers ... strong castles, new ramparts, conuenient harbours, well furnished Arsenalls, some prety gallies, and hearkening after euery report to please the Hearing, or rauished with some comicke sight to moue admiration, you go no further, then present contentment, nor will once remember, what a mother you haue of your owne, and how a legitimate childe ought to be louing, dutifull, and aduised.[69]

Mulcaster argued that the very nature of travel precipitated the traveller's loss of his national identity; isolation from his home meant that he more readily forgot it. Once abroad, distance from England only made these gentlemen embrace foreign customs more readily than their traditional customs.

The frequent advice in seventeenth-century conduct literature to travellers to retain their English identities acknowledged the solidity of the image of the traveller who adopted a foreign culture and identity. A typical example was Jean Gailhard's advice to the traveller in *The compleat gentleman* (1678) not to forget that he was an Englishman and so become a Frenchman, Italian or German. He should make use of these nations' ways as ornaments only, for there was no point in the gentleman

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[65]Mulcaster, p. 210.
[66]*Ibid.*, p. 213.
[67]Pettie, p. 10.
[68]*Ibid.*
[69]Gainsford, preface to the reader, folio ¶ 5.

transforming himself into a foreigner when he was to spend the rest of his life in England.[70] Part of the problem was that youths often had little knowledge of their own country before their families sent them abroad. Subsequently conduct literature advised travellers only to travel after they were thoroughly familiar with England; in many ways this mirrored the advice to travel only after a thorough grounding in the Protestant religion to avoid corruption either by Catholicism or by atheism. Thomas Fuller wished that gentlemen would know England well before they travelled, not like some English travellers who gave a better account of "Fountain-bleau then Hampton-Court, of the Spaw then Bath, [or] of Anas in Spain then Mole in Surrey."[71] Edward Hyde pointed out in his dialogues that it was a ridiculous affectation of fathers to send their sons abroad to learn French when the youths had no understanding of the language and customs of their own country. Fathers should send their sons on a tour of England for knowledge of the country, and then to the Inns of Court for knowledge of English law, before they sent them abroad.[72] William Higford also advised this course of action, "for what is it to be conversant abroad, and a stranger at home?"[73] If the traveller had a firm foundation in the benefits and glories of his own country, he might be less likely to copy indiscriminately foreign customs. As well as inuring the young man against forgetting his native identity, a thorough knowledge of his own country enabled the traveller to satisfy foreigners' curiosity about England. In his conduct book for travellers Gailhard included a short passage praising England's bounties; as well as providing the traveller with ready information to satisfy foreigners' curiosity about England, presumably this also jogged the traveller's memory while away from home.[74] Sufficient maturity also might help the traveller retain his national and cultural integrity. Mulcaster repeated Plato's rule that no man

[70]Gailhard, p. 4.
[71]Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State and the Profane State* (1642), Maximilian Graff Walten, ed. (New York, 1966), II, p. 159.
[72]Hyde, p. 300, and "A Dialogue concerning Education," *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 330.
[73]William Higford, *Institutions or Advice to his Grandson* (London, 1658), p. 58.
[74]Gailhard, pp. 23-25.

travel abroad before he was forty, and Obadiah Walker thought it better that gentlemen travelled only when they had reached sufficient maturity not to quit their honest English customs.[75] Youths should stay well away from Englishmen who had already abandoned their native culture. Fuller warned travellers to avoid all those Englishmen abroad who derided their native land and, like the wild Irish, loved their nurses better than they loved their mothers.[76] Parents and friends also cautioned travellers against forgetting their English heritage. In 1632 Sir Thomas Roe offered Sir Francis Fane some advice about his forthcoming travel into Italy. Roe cautioned Fane that his studies and observations should have men and actions as their objects rather than towns and fashions, "And Sir, believe me the best thing you can bring home is the least thing you can learn there, language and a good Englishman."[77] Thirty years later Harry Savile's mother asked him not to emulate those travellers who despised their country and friends on their return.[78]

From the early seventeenth century travellers received advice not to alienate their countrymen by flaunting foreign manners on their return. Although Fynes Moryson believed that English society "much esteeme theire owne Countrymen being travelers,"[79] it appeared that by 1617 very few travellers could successfully import foreign manners into England without attracting adverse criticism from some quarters. Moryson argued that it was pointless to take the trouble not to offend foreigners by gesture or word while abroad if travellers then offended their countrymen on their return, provoking them to scoff at travellers' affected gestures and apparel. Very few men could confidently incorporate foreign manners and customs into their English lives, for,

> wee seldome commend or follow any man of meane sort, taking vpon him to bring in new words into our language, or new manners into practice, or clothes

[75]Mulcaster, p. 213; Walker, pp. 193-194.
[76]Fuller, II, p. 161.
[77]Sir Thomas Roe to Sir Francis Fane, 16 August 1632, *CSPD*, Charles I (1631-1633), p. xiii.
[78]Anne Savile to Henry Savile, 1661?, British Library Add. Ms. 28,569, folio 7. Dr. D. R. Hainsworth kindly brought this letter to my attention.
[79]Fynes Moryson, unpublished chapters of *An Itinerary*, Charles Hughes, ed., *Shakespeare's Europe* (London, 1903), p. 475.

> into wearing: And except hee shall leaue the foresaid curiosities, his company is like to be shunned, as of a nice obseruer of mens actions and manners, and most men will thinke that he doth not so much out of iudgement allow forraigne things, as out of pride dispise his owne.[80]

In his early seventeenth-century essay on travel Sir Francis Bacon advised travellers that the experience of a man's travel should appear in his discourse rather than in his apparel or mannerisms. The traveller must not let it appear that he had changed his country manners for those of foreign parts but had only picked the best flowers to include among his English habits.[81] Both Sir Thomas Palmer and James Cleland gave similar advice to the traveller. Palmer recommended that travellers banish all affectations, apish tricks and fashions of other nations "that are not more estimable then those of ones owne Countreys Customs and vses,"[82] while Cleland admonished travellers not not think less of their country friends who had not travelled, and who did not dress in such a fine manner as themselves.[83] Travellers had to be careful not to compare England unfavourably with other nations or flaunt foreign mannerisms and languages because this might make their countrymen believe they had lost their natural affection towards England.

Inevitably, a few Englishmen argued that gentlemen should not travel abroad at all. These men, aggrieved that many of their compatriots felt they could get a better education on the Continent, preferred that their countrymen receive their education within England's shores. Richard Mulcaster was horrified that so many Englishmen forgot their native heritage abroad and returned to scorn England and its customs. He felt it was preferable to import one foreign master than export many Englishmen to be foreign scholars.[84] The fact that many men travelled abroad because, as in John Evelyn's case, so many people about them devalued the advantages of an English

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[80]Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*, Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 2, p. 35.

[81]Francis Bacon, "Of Travel," James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Heath, eds., *The Works of Sir Francis Bacon* (London, 1868-1890), VI, p. 418.

[82]Sir Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606), p. 129.

[83]James Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Noble Man* (1607), Max Molyneux, ed. (New York, 1948), p. 270.

[84]Mulcaster, p. 212.

education irritated many men.[85] Sir Balthazar Gerbier appealed to English fathers' sense of national pride when he argued that sending young gentlemen abroad gave foreign nations the glory and advantage of their education, and that it would be much better to send them to his academy and give England the honour and benefit of their education.[86] When John Milton advised Samuel Hartlib on the benefits of establishing an academy for young gentlemen in England, he rather wistfully commented that perhaps foreigners might then visit England for their breeding or else imitate England in their own country.[87] By the mid-seventeenth century there were indications of a slowly rising tide of nationalistic resentment at the flood of young men travelling abroad for a foreign education. Hyde chose the character of the old country gentleman in his dialogue on education to query why Englishmen felt they had to travel abroad to learn French, Italian and Spanish. Why, the country gentleman questioned, could not those nationalities make the effort to learn English? "I would not have our Nation so fond of other Languages, till other Nations be as solicitous to learn ours; I do not like our Condescensions."[88]

Alongside the derogatory image of English travellers who adopted foreign customs and manners and who scorned their mother country, existed another image and body of advice that undoubtedly undid many of the appeals of outspokenly nationalistic Englishmen. Despite the complaints and criticisms directed at travellers, it is very likely that many members of the professional and middle classes, the country gentry and probably most of the nobility worried very little about the cultural integrity of their sons abroad. The very ethos of educational travel, social attitudes and practices and even some conduct literature fostered the belief that Englishmen were culturally and socially rough, coarse and imperfect and the English gentleman a social

[85]J[ohn] E[velyn], *The State of France* (London, 1652), "Prefatory Letter," folio A5 verso.
[86]Sir Balthazar Gerbier, *A Publique Lecture on ... S^r Balthazar Gerbiers Academy* (London, 1650), folio A2; Gerbier, *The Interpreter of the Academie for Forrain Langvages ... The First Part* (London, 1649), p. 6.
[87]John Milton, *Of Education. To Master Samuel Hartlib*, [5 June] 1644, p. 8. Th. Tracts E 50 (12).
[88]Hyde, "A Dialogue concerning Education," p. 337.

embarrassment until refined by a tour of the Continent. One of the most widely promoted benefits of educational travel was that the manners and deportment learned abroad helped produce a complete gentleman whose career and social aspirations were immeasurably improved by his tour. No doubt many socially ambitious Englishmen agreed with Thomas Coryate's argument in 1611 that foreign travel enhanced gentility.[89] By the mid-seventeenth century a tour abroad was a well established means for young Englishmen to acquire added social distinction. The Grand Tour provided one of the easiest means for a young man from lower in the social hierarchy to acquire added professional and social distinction. Even as early as 1581 Mulcaster noted that many 'mean' persons loved to go abroad so that they could show off a fine education.[90] The character of Aretocles in *The Reformed Trauailer* undoubtedly represented many Englishmen who travelled in order to advance their social aspirations. He hoped to come home from his travels in Italy, Spain and Germany stuffed with all the virtues, as well all the rare tricks and pretty conceits, to enable him to bid successfully for a knighthood.[91] Educational travel required only time and money, two prerequisites that families from the professions, rising middle class and lower gentry were only too willing to contribute if they thought their sons might thereby climb a few more rungs up the social ladder. By the second half of the seventeenth century the experience of the Grand Tour marked the socially successful gentleman. In 1678 Gailhard noted that many travelled Englishmen regarded their home-bred compatriots as their social inferiors and affected foreign accents, fashions and mannerisms in order to demonstrate their sophistication.[92]

Social attitudes and personal ambitions were not solely responsible for Englishmen affecting foreign manners and customs abroad at the expense of their native heritage. Despite providing a showcase for expressions of outraged nationalistic sentiment, a

[89]Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), introduction by William M. Schutte (London, 1978), "Epistle to the Reader," folio b4.
[90]Mulcaster, p. 209.
[91]H., W., *The Reformed Trauailer* (London, 1606), folio G2 verso, but also folios F4-G3 for a more general discussion of this.
[92]Gailhard, p. 18.

good deal of the conduct literature for travellers encouraged the belief that loutish English youths with no experience of European sophistication were socially inferior to gentlemen who had travelled abroad. Since the late sixteenth century some English authors had expressed the belief that an old-fashioned country breeding was socially inferior. In *Cyuile and vncyuile life* Vallentine argued that young men brought up in the country become rooted in rusticity by the time they were eighteen. Only great effort could rectify that condition. Too much "rusticall" company in childhood led to "loughty lokes, clownish speech, and other vngentlemanly Iestures."[93] A year or two spent among the more sophisticated European societies provided the ideal remedy for such social awkwardness. In 1583 Phillip Stubbes observed that there was as much difference between a man who had travelled and one who remained at home as between a man living and a man dead in his grave,[94] or, as Shakespeare summarized, "Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits."[95] This attitude continued throughout the seventeenth century; indeed, it became far more pronounced. Sir Thomas Palmer wrote in 1606 that travel could "chase away such barbarousnesse and rudenesse as possesseth them [and] establish a more humane and sociable carriage."[96] Although James Howell despised travellers who derided their native land and customs, he argued that islanders were most in need of foreign travel because their geographical isolation cut them off from the more civilized and refined nations of the world.[97] A "modern" education, including a year or two abroad, produced a more graceful gentleman than the bashfulness and lack of assurance that accompanied a purely English education.[98] As the old lawyer in Hyde's dialogue on education remarked, "Now very few stay at Home, or think they are fit for good Company if they have not been beyond the Seas."[99] This dialogue articulated the popular attitude that travel

[93]*Cyulie and vncyuile life*, folio Kii verso.
[94]Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London, 1583), folio Bii.
[95]William Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (produced 1593), Act I, scene i.
[96]Palmer, p. 61.
[97]Howell, *Instructions*, pp. 13-14.
[98]Hyde, "A Dialogue ... of the want of Respect due to Age," p. 299.
[99]Hyde, "A Dialogue concerning Education," p. 336.

smoothed off the Englishman's natural roughness and modified his stubbornness that normally dominated his social behaviour.[100] Fathers, disliking the "Modesty and want of Assurance" of the universities and Inns of Courts, sent their sons into "bolder Climates to correct their Flegm." On their return the young gentlemen could "mingle gracefully in all Companies of Lords and Ladies, talk more confidently of every Argument, and appear more compleat Men, than they who [were] Seven Years older, and never were out of England."[101]

Fostered by social attitudes and literature, by the mid-seventeenth century the idea that young gentlemen could acquire a sophisticated demeanour abroad developed into a belief held by many Englishmen that they were by nature loutish and rustic, a condition that only travel could improve. In 1658 William Higford encouraged young gentlemen to travel abroad, for "Certainly, upon his dunghill, the English Gentleman is somewhat stubborn and churlish: Travell will sweeten him very much, and imbreed in him Courtesy, Affibility, Respect and Reservation."[102] Despite his advice that gentlemen not forget themselves to be Englishmen during their tours abroad, Jean Gailhard argued that a simple country upbringing was a clownish education, and that gentlemen should travel abroad in order to become fit companions. He believed that gentlemen who could talk of nothing but ploughs, corn, horses and hounds were not fit company for quality gentlemen.[103] In 1673 Obadiah Walker encouraged young men to travel to rid themselves of rusticity, which was a vice peculiar to the English (as also were drunkenness, sourness in conversation and several other social disgraces).[104] When he sent his young son Thomas abroad in the early 1660s, Dr. Thomas Browne continually exhorted him to "Cast of *Pudor Rusticus* and take up a Commendable boldness, without which you will never be fit for any thing nor able to

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[100] *Ibid.*, p. 340.
[101] Hyde, "A Dialogue ... of want of Respect due to Age," p. 300, and "A Dialogue concerning Education," p. 322.
[102] Higford, p. 84.
[103] Gailhard, pp. 3 - 5.
[104] Walker, p. 192.

show the good parts which God hath given you." Dr. Browne wished his son to acquire a "handsome garb and gate" along with his more scholarly pursuits. Indeed, Browne reminded his son that if he did not acquire "an handsome garb and Civil boldness" he would waste his tour of France.[105] Other parents, believing that the French language imparted sophistication, encouraged their sons to forget English in favour of French.[106] The Englishman who travelled abroad specifically to lose his plain English manners sometimes appeared in seventeenth-century comedy. John Fletcher's young gallant Mirabel in *The Wild-Goose Chase* (produced 1621) believed that "there's nothing good or handsome bred amongst us: Till we are travelled, and live abroad, we are coxcombs." Mirabel declared his native land was a "slight, unseasoned country," crying, "Ha! *Roma la Santa*, Italy for my money!"[107]

Not surprisingly, some Englishmen expressed their disquiet at this attitude. Young men could easily abandon their English identities in their efforts to rid themselves of the scent of the dunghill. The author of *A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman Leaveing the University...* (1670) commented on the attitude that Englishmen were naturally rough and unsophisticated and wondered whether the loss of the Englishman's simplicity was worth the affectations gained. "Comity and affability," he wrote, were composed of "*civilities* and *freedome,* suited to the condition of the person you converse with." It was a quality Englishmen sought beyond the seas,

> for the meer *Englishman* is supposed to be defective in it: a being rough in address, not easily acquainted, and blunt even when he obliges, though I think it not worth the charge the *Gentleman* is at that *travailes* for it: Nay I am sorry for the poore returns many make, that import hither the *ayre* and *carriage*, and *assurance* of the *French,* therewith quittin their own staple native commodities of much greater value, the *sincerity* and *generosity* of the English *disposition.*[108]

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[105]Dr. Thomas Browne to his son Thomas, various dates, Geoffrey Keynes, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne* (London, second edition, 1964), VI, pp. 3-15.

[106]Hyde, "A Dialogue ... of the want of Respect due to Age," pp. 293-294.

[107]John Fletcher, *The Wild-Goose Chase* (first known production 1621, but possibly earlier), Act I, scene ii, Rota Herzberg Lister, ed., *A Critical Edition of John Fletcher's Comedy The Wild-Goose Chase* (New York, 1980), p. 26.

[108]L., R., *A Letter of Advice To a young Gentleman Leaveing the University, Concerning his behaviour and Conversation in the World* (Dublin, 1670), pp. 28-30. Variously attributed to Richard Lassels or to Richard Lingard.

Unfortunately, many young men apparently succumbed to the temptation to affect all manner of foreign magnificence in order to impress society. John Evelyn reported that many Englishmen who travelled in the attempt to distinguish themselves from the "Vulgar" subsequently demonstrated all manner of strangeness, disdain and affectation.[109] Many young gentlemen travelled only to gain a smattering of French or Italian and a shallow veneer of European manners and deportment; they believed that deriding their native culture made them appear sophisticated. Samuel Butler's late 1660s characterization of a culturally-alienated traveller was clearly influenced by these vain young men who adopted foreign manners in an attempt to appear sophisticated:

> He is a merchant that makes voyages into foreign nations to drive a trade in wisdom and politics, and it is not for his credit to have it thought he has made an ill return, which must be if he should allow of any of the growth of his own country. This makes him quack and blow himself up with admiration of foreign parts and a generous contempt of home, that all men may admire at least the means he has had of improvement and deplore their own defects[110]

The characters in Edward Hyde's two dialogues discussed the great number of young Englishmen who spent their time in vices and corruptions abroad, coming home clad in new French wardrobes, affecting a veneer of French mannerisms, a smattering of French language and a whole-hearted distaste for English life and culture in the attempt to demonstrate their accomplishments.[111] This kind of behaviour impressed the more ignorant within English society, believing that these apparently sophisticated gentlemen who returned with their grimaces and fashions were extremely well educated, and that foreign vanities were preferable to home discretions.[112]

English society reacted in a variety of ways to Englishmen who returned into England from their travels so thoroughly polished by Continental culture that little of their English identity remained. They earned not only harsh condemnation from many

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[109]Evelyn, "Prefatory Letter," folio A10.

[110]Butler, p. 287. Also see Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, pp. 149-151, for another derogatory characterization of travellers who adopted this attitude.

[111]Hyde, "A Dialogue ... of the want of Respect due to Age," pp. 285-313, and "A Dialogue concerning Education," pp. 313-348.

[112]Walker, p. 195.

educated and articulate Englishmen but also the hatred of the fiercely xenophobic London crowds. It is probable that during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries popular playwrights and pamphleteers' condemnation of travellers who imported foreign culture into England contributed to a growing nationalistic spirit among the London masses. By the mid-seventeenth century English travellers who affected foreign fashions and behaviour irritated Londoners as much as foreigners, particularly if these English Monsieurs sang French ditties to pedestrians as they rode by in their coaches.[113] If Frenchified travellers attempted the streets and back alleys on foot, like Sir John Reresby who returned from France in 1658 accompanied by two French footmen, they often risked physical violence. Reresby noted in his memoirs that the citizens and common people of London had by this date "so far imbibed the customs and manners of a Commonwealth" that they attacked his French *valet de chambre*, and both Reresby and his servant took shelter from the wrath of the mob in a nearby house.[114] Despite the growing condemnation of these culturally disaffected travellers, fashionable and court circles often warmly welcomed their company, and many less-discriminating members of society regarded them with some admiration. Many families of the professional and lower orders of society probably welcomed the apparent social sophistication of their sons, believing it would smooth their entry into a higher society than that of their parents'.

Many Englishmen believed the culturally disaffected traveller encouraged the alienation of many home-bred Englishmen from their traditional heritage. They feared that travellers, whom many saw as a man of the world, might further encourage the English, naturally inclined towards foreign novelties, to think less of their own and more of the foreign. Their concern was not only motivated by the adoption of foreign culture by these travellers but, more importantly, also by their subsequent derision of their traditional English heritage. Their concern and criticism clearly shows that they

[113]Hyde, "A Dialogue ... of the want of Respect due to Age," p. 294.
[114]James J. Cartwright, ed., *The Memoirs of Sir John Reresby* (London, 1875), p. 37.

had moved beyond what Gerald Newman defined as mere patriotism towards a strong nascent nationalism. They believed their English cultural heritage was under threat from foreign cultural influences and were distressed at what they perceived was the alienation of many Englishmen from their native culture and traditional native identity. Their comments were clearly those of men who believed their culture was under threat and who felt culturally at a disadvantage. Newman believes that William Hogarth was one of the earliest figures to express the artist's angry response to what presented itself as a rising tide of foreign cultural influence, and provided a print of Hogarth's 1761 portrait of the English ape in French clothes, wig and solitaire necktie (Illustration IV) as an example of his nationalistic outrage.[115] Yet Hogarth only made use of imagery and criticism that had almost 200 years of precedent. Rather than a product of the Age of Reason, English nationalism emerged in the early modern criticisms of foreign cultural influence generally and criticism of the traveller who abandoned his cultural and national identity particularly.

[115]Newman, p. 63.



Illustration IV: William Hogarth's English Ape

The Tailpiece to the Catalogue of Pictures exhibited in Spring Gardens, 1761.

English Cartoons and Satirical Prints in the British Museum, no. 3809.

IX

The Sport of Comedies: The Fool and the Liar

> These ... foolish trauellers, if they can but recite the names of many faire townes they haue past thorough, giue their friend at their returne a french salutation (though it be with a french bow in the hams) and cut their meat after an Italian fashion, weare their hat & feather after a Germaine hufty, tell with a good grace, or rather bould face, not a hundred & fifty merry tales, (for then they would take away the gentleman fooles office) but fiue hundred lies ... they must and wilbe esteemed the onely wise, learned, languaged politicians.[1]

In 1578 Philip Sidney warned his younger brother Robert not to "come home full of disguisementes, not only of ... apparrell, but of ... countenaunces." He predicted that "ere it be long ... wee travaylers shalbe made sporte of comodies."[2] Unfortunately for the public credibility of educational travel, Sidney's prediction proved all too correct. The traveller became a target for public ridicule almost as soon as Ascham's wicked Italianate caused people to question publicly the benefits of educational travel. All the images of the educational traveller acquired varying degrees of ridicule as attacks on the educational traveller in most forms of literature and entertainments increased during the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century.[3] This is especially noticeable for the images of the Italianated traveller and the traveller who abandoned his cultural and national heritage. Although the image of the foolish traveller initially developed within the other images of the traveller, it eventually emerged as a figure in its own right during the early seventeenth

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[1] [Sir John Melton], *A Sixe-Folde Politician* (London, 1609), pp. 52-53.

[2] Philip Sidney to Robert Sidney, 1578, Albert Feuillerat, ed., *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, 1962), III, p. 125.

[3] Except the image of the Catholic traveller that did not have any significant popular image at all.

century. Criticism of the foolish traveller who affected absurdities of language, dress, mannerisms and gait became part of the widespread criticism of the fashionable man-about-town - the high-society fop. As the image of the foolish traveller gained notoriety during the seventeenth century, popular authors often closely associated it with the widespread concept that all travellers were habitual liars. The image of the traveller-liar did not develop from sixteenth-century anxieties but was rather a re-emergence of one of the most popular medieval images of travellers - the pilgrim-liar. In most instances the early modern image of the traveller-liar existed quite independently of all other images of the educational traveller apart from the foolish traveller, and its popularity fed off none of the images previously examined. The images of the foolish and the lying traveller became the two most popular images of the educational traveller among the lower orders of English society. Unfortunately for the public credibility of educational travel, by the mid-seventeenth century the educational traveller became little else but an object of derisive ridicule in popular literature and entertainments.

Both the image of the Italianated traveller and the image of the culturally treacherous traveller acquired overtones of foolishness during their development. Despite the very threatening aspects of Ascham's wicked Italianate, the foolish Italianated traveller surfaced extremely quickly after the publication of *The Scholemaster*. George Gascoigne's characterization of devils incarnate in *Councell giuen to master Bartholmew Withipall* (1572) was the first reference to devils incarnate in print after Ascham's diatribe. Gascoigne warned his friend to avoid the three Ps abroad: poison, pride and the pox. Although Gascoigne believed pride precipitated the corruption of men into devils incarnate, "so singular in theyr conceites they stande," he portrayed these men as fools rather than wicked Italianates;

> Nowe, sir, if I shall see your maistershippe
> Come home disguysde and cladde in queynt araye,
> As with a piketoothe byting on your lippe,
> Your braue *Mustachyos* turnde the *Turky* waye,
> A Copotain hatte made on a Flemmish blocke,

A nightgowne cloake downe trayling to your toes,
A slender sloppe close-couched to your docke,
A curtold slipper and a shorte silke hose:
Bearing your Rapier pointe aboue the hilte,
And looking bigge like *Marquise of All-Beefe*,
Then shall I compte your toyle and trauayle spilte,
Bycause my seconde *P* with you is cheefe.[4]

Despite the epithet devil incarnate, Gascoigne's characterization of the corrupted traveller actually marked the first appearance of the foolish educational traveller. The Italianate's affectations of clothes and postures made him a ready subject for parody; he was, in Gabriel Harvey's words, "a passinge singular odd man." Harvey, although he employed more biting satire, used imagery similar to Gascoigne's when he satirized the Italianated Earl of Oxford during the 1570s. Harvey attacked the ridiculous and effeminate mannerisms of the Italianate who appeared within English society with "cringeing side necke, eies glauncinge, fisnamy smirkinge," and wearing "Largbellid kodpeasid dublitts [and] unkodpeasid halfehose."[5] John Lyly, also writing in the 1570s, not only endowed his character Philatus with Machiavellian and Italianate characteristics but also faulted him for his ridiculous and affected dress that transformed him into a mis-shapen monster.[6] During the 1590s Italianated and malcontent travellers rapidly gained large measures of foolishness. In 1592 Thomas Nashe gave his malcontent traveller in *Pierce Penilesse* characteristics of the Italianate, the cultural and national traitor and the traveller-liar as well as ridiculing him as a complete fool; "You shall see a dapper Iacke, that hath been but ouer at *Deepe*, wring his face round about, as a man would stir vp a mustard pot, & talke English through the teeth, like *Iaques Scabd-hams*, or *Monsieur Mingo de Moustrap*."[7] By the early seventeenth century the follies of the Italianate quickly began to outweigh his more threatening aspects. John Cooke's foolish Stains in *Greene's Tu Quoque*

[4]George Gascoigne, *Councell giuen to master Bartholmew Withipall a little before his latter iourney to Geane* (1572), William Carew Hazlitt, ed., *The Complete Poems of George Gascoigne* (London, 1870), I, p. 375.

[5]Gabriel Harvey, *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey*, Edward John Long Scott, ed. (London, 1883-1884), p. 98.

[6]John Lyly, *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit, Euphues & His England* (1578 & 1580), Morris William Croll and Harry Clemons, eds. (New York, 1964), p. 165.

[7]Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse his Svpplication to the Divell* (1592), R. B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (Oxford, 1958), I, p. 169.

(produced in 1611) and George Chapman and James Shirley's Freshwater in *The Ball* (produced in 1632) were more fool than threat. During the first three decades of the seventeenth century the image of the foolish travellers completely absorbed the image of the Italianate.

Many images of the traveller who abandoned his cultural and national heritage also incorporated elements of foolishness. This was particularly apparent in the traveller's affectation of foreign fashions and mannerisms. In Nashe's *The Vnfortvnate Traveller* the culturally disaffected traveller who made a "dishcloth of his owne Country in comparison of *Spaine*" also affected ridiculous fashions in the manner of Gascoigne and Harvey's Italianates:

> From *Spaine* what bringeth our Traueller? a scull crownd hat of the fashion of an olde deepe porringer, a diminutiue Aldermans ruffe with short strings like the droppings of a mans nose, a close-bellied dublet comming downe with a peake behinde as farre as the crupper, and cut off before by the brest-bone like a partlet or neckercher, a wide paire of gascoynes, which vngatherd wold make a couple of womens ryding kirtles.[8]

In the early seventeenth century many literary characterizations of the traveller who abandoned his cultural heritage demonstrated easily identifiable farcical characteristics. Even the most ruthless condemnations of the culturally disaffected traveller sometimes carried connotations of absurdity. Richard Brathwaite's harsh caricature of travellers who so affected foreign culture that they scorned their homeland on their return carried suggestions of ridicule. Brathwaite's audience would have smiled as well as condemned.[9] The culturally disaffected travellers in Edward Hyde's dialogues were largely foolish figures. Although Hyde meant his dialogues less to amuse than to define the danger that these affected travellers posed to English society, he gave his English Monsieur heavy overtones of absurdity:

> Since I came to Town, I met a Friend of mine walking in the Fields with a young Strippling, who was loud, and laughing, full of Motion with his Hands and Legs;

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[8]Thomas Nashe, *The Vnfortvnate Traveller* (1594), H. F. B. Brett-Smith, ed. (Oxford, 1927), pp. 95-96.
[9]Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies: Or, A New Cast of Characters* (London, 1631), pp. 147-157.

> and when I came near them ... I asked who he was? my Friend told me, he was his Son, newly returned from Travel; and then told his Son that I was his old true Friend, and bid him salute me; upon which the *Monsieur* put off his Hat, touched his Hair, and stooped as if he meant to have untied my Shoes, or to have run his Head between my Legs, and assured me he was my very humble Servant.[10]

Hyde mocked these foolish (yet dangerous) travellers as men who gained little apart from superficial conversation, coming home clothed in "Antick Dresses" weighted with so many with ribbons and feathers that they looked like May-Poles. Their foolishness aside, Hyde's character of the elderly lawyer suggested that this behaviour, among their many other faults, provided unspeakable mischiefs to the state as well as ruin to private families.[11] While social critics condemned these affected travellers for their abandonment of English culture, and moralists condemned them for their accompanying moral corruption, authors of popular literature quickly recognized an eminently suitable subject for public derision. Jack Puffe, a traveller who affected foreign manners and scorned English culture, was also "More foole then feather."[12] James Howard's Mr. Frenchlove was also a foolish character, more silly than the sometimes rather threatening characterizations of Elizabethan drama; Howard placed as much emphasis on Frenchlove's foolishness as on his abandonment of English culture and national identity and subsequent derision of English life. Almost inevitably, the image of the traveller metamorphosed by his adoption of foreign fashions, language, mannerisms and gestures eventually transformed, as did the image of the wicked Italianate, into a foolish character.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many critics complained that some young gentlemen returned from their travels "hauing gotten a fonde affected phrase of speech, or some conceited toyes in their habite."[13] Much of the criticism of foolish travellers formed part of the widespread criticism of the fashionable young gentleman

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[10]Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, "A Dialogue ... of the want of Respect due to Age," *The Miscellaneous Works* (London, second edition, 1751), pp. 291-292.

[11]*Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

[12]*The Birth, Life, Death, Wil, and Epitaph, of Iack Pvffe Gentleman* (1642), William Carew Hazlitt, ed., *Early Popular Poetry of England* (London, 1864-1866), IV, p. 316.

[13]Cardinal Gasper Contareno, *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice*, Lewis Lewkenor, trans. (London, 1599), Lewkenor's preface to the reader, folio A.

who, in his affectations of manners, speech and clothes and his overt social ambitions, often appeared to have lost all semblance of wisdom, civility and gentility. Many Elizabethan and early Stuart gentlemen, as Sir John Harington confessed, went "braue in apparell" so that society might mistake them for better men than they were. These gallants padded and quilted their clothes to broaden their shoulders, enhance their waists and muscle their thighs. They shaved to appear youthful, perfumed themselves to smell sweet and added cork to their shoes to appear tall.[14] By 1643, if Thomas Neale's criticism was accurate, these fashionable and vain young men had acquired additional loathsome manners; "now a daies nothing is so usuall, as for some proud, swelling, empty, unskilfull gul-gallant to fall into the extremity of arrogant babling; and being intoxicated with the heat of vaine glory, and selfe love, to boile out trifles and ridiculous language."[15] Edward Hyde's old country gentleman deplored this fashionable mode of speaking among affected fops, a habit that simply confused more civil and learned listeners.[16] Moralists continually exhorted young gentlemen to cultivate the virtues of the mind rather than babble nonsense or wear "Party coloured, and too gawdy cloathes" that befitted fools and apes rather than honest young gentlemen.[17] Nevertheless, fashionable society continued to encourage gentlemen to adopt fashions and manners that annoyed the more dignified members of society.

Many seventeenth-century moralists and educationalists criticized this affected effeminacy among some of the gentry. Among others, Richard Brathwaite attempted to rectify young gallants' behaviour in his treatise *The English Gentleman* (1630). "Come then and heare mee, thou perfumed *Gallant*, whose *sense* chiefly consists in *sent*," challenged Brathwaite, "and observe how much thou derogat'st from thy owne worth, in

[14]Sir John Harington, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, Henry Harington, ed. (London, 1779), II, pp. 181-182, written before 1612.

[15]Thomas Neale, *A Treatise of Direction, How to travell safely, and profitably into Forraigne Countries* (London, 1643), pp. 36-37.

[16]Hyde, p. 299.

[17]W[illiam] F[iston], *The Schoole of good Manners, Or, A new Schoole of Vertue* (London, revised edition, 1609), folios C2 verso - C3.

covering a shell of corruption with such bravery." Throughout his treatise Brathwaite extolled the virtues of moderation and modesty in all aspects of life.[18] The criticisms and lessons of conduct treatises also appeared in popular literature. In Nicholas Breton's *An Olde Mans Lesson, and a Yovng Mans Loue* Chremes cautioned his son, Pamphilus, against the vanities of fashionable and effeminate behaviour. A virtuous gentleman should never trifle his time with unprofitable toys, Chremes admonished, nor cover his bald head with a periwig of borrowed hair or curl his beard with hot irons. Neither should young men affect ridiculous mannerisms; "leere not aside like a Beare-whelpe, nor looke vnder the browes like a Bull Dogge ... carry not a picke-tooth in your mouth, a flower in your eare, nor a Gloue in your Hat, for it is apish and foolish, deuised by idle heads, and worne by shallowe wits."[19] Foolish and affected young gallants lent themselves to parody in the popular press. The 1646 broadsheet *The Picture of an English Antick* (Illustration V) typified the popular perception of these men. Dressed in their "Antick Dresses, with Ribbons and Feathers, like a May-Pole,"[20] young fops renounced any claim to civility, gentility or wisdom.

Travellers earned particular criticism for affecting absurdities. Away from the stabilizing influences of parents and schoolmasters many young gentlemen imitated the behaviour of the fashionable and glittering societies about them. The traveller who returned home wearing outlandish fashions, affecting foppish mannerisms and who opened his mouth only to confirm his irresponsibility and immaturity demonstrated that in learning only vanity and idleness abroad he had lost what little wisdom and maturity he had possessed in the first place. The brains of these travelled gallants, noted James Howell, were like hair sieves that let go the fine flour and retained only the coarse bran.[21]

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[18]Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman* (London, 1630), preface to the reader, folio ¶ 2 and p. 16.

[19]Nicholas Breton, *An Olde Mans Lesson, and a Yovng Mans Loue* (1605), Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton* (Edinbugh, 1879), II, p. 9.

[20]Hyde, p. 292.

[21]James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1642 and 1650), Edward Arber, ed. (London, 1869), p. 63. Samuel Butler repeated this image in the late 1660s, "A Traveller," in Richard Aldington, ed., *A Book of Characters* (London, [1924]), p. 287.

The Picture of an English Antick, with a List of his ridiculous Habits, and apish Gestures

Maids, where are your hearts become? Look you what here is!



1. His hat in fashion like a close-stoole pan.
2. Set on the top of his noddle like a coxcombe.
3. Banded with a calves tail, and a bunch of riband.
4. A feather in his hat, hanging downe like a Fox taile
5. Long haire, with ribands tied in it.
6. His face spotted.
7. His beard on the upper lip compassing his mouth.
8. His chin thrust out, singing as he goes.
9. his band lapping over before.
10. Great bandstrings with a ring tied.
11. A long-wasted dubblet unbuttoned half way.
12. Little skirts.
13 His sleeves unbuttoned.
14. In one hand a stick, playing with it, in the other his cloke hanging.
15. His breeches unhooked, ready to drop off.
16. His shirt hanging out.
17. His codpeece open, tied at the top with a great bunch of riband.
18. His belt about his hips.
19. His sword swapping betweene his legs like a Monkeys taile.
20. Many dozens of points at knees.
21. Above the points of either side two bunches of riband of severall colours.
22. Boot-hose tops, tied about the middle of the calfe, as long as a paire of shirt sleeves, double at the ends like a ruffe band.
23. The tops of his boots very large, turned down as low as his spurs.
24. A great paire of spurres, gingling like a Morrice-dancer.
25. The feet of his boots 2 inches too long.
26. Two hornes at each end of his foot, straddling as he goes.

Illustration V

[8 November] 1646, Thomason Tracts 669.f.10. (99).

The image of the foolish and affected traveller almost completely negated the arguments of travel enthusiasts who argued that the experience of educational travel matured the gentleman into a profitable member of the commonwealth. In speech, clothes and affectations the traveller demonstrated how utterly he had wasted his time and his parents' hopes and money; he not only discredited himself but shamed his family and undermined the principles and image of educational travel. Even as early as the 1570s, as Philip Sidney's comment to his brother indicates, some Englishmen feared that the foolish behaviour of travellers would inspire humourists and discredit the practice of educational travel. A late sixteenth-century letter variously ascribed to Sir Fulke Greville, Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Thomas Bodley echoed Sidney's concern.[22] The letter warned travellers not to indulge in an "infectious collection" of the vices and fashions of people abroad, for these would only be of use to humourists for jests and table-talk.[23] Despite such timely warnings, both the behaviour of some travellers and the success of the popular image of the foolish traveller during the late sixteenth century ensured that by the early seventeenth century the educational traveller had become a favourite subject of both humourists and table-talk. The behaviour of those witless young men who Samuel Purchas observed brought home nothing but a "few smattering termes, flattering garbes, Apish crings, foppish fancies, foolish guises and disguises [and] the vanities of Neighbour Nations" provided ample material for critics and satirists of educational travel.[24] By the early seventeenth century lisping, mincing and be-ribboned travellers featured in most forms of popular literature and entertainments as well as in moral and conduct treatises. To the distress of many enthusiasts, the educational traveller rapidly became the sport of comedies. Few dramatists could resist using the image of the ludicrously affected

[22]See above, p. 60n, for the debate over the authorship of this letter.
[23]Sir Fulke Greville, *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes* (London, 1633), pp. 297-298.
[24]Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1905-1907), I, p. xliv, originally published 1625.

travelled gallant at some point during their careers, for, as Sir Carr Scroop remarked in the prologue to Sir George Etherage's *Man of Mode*,

> 'Tis by your Follies that we Players thrive,
> As the Physicians by Diseases live.[25]

There were several affectations that critics and satirists associated with the foolish behaviour of travellers. Authors of moral and popular literature alike quickly incorporated certain affectations of speech, clothes and mannerisms into their perceptions and images of foolish travellers. Like their affected and babbling counterparts at home, travelled fops often demonstrated their complete lack of wisdom the moment they opened their mouths. Occasionally critics and humourists satirized travellers' foolish affectation of foreign languages and phrases. Barnaby Rich's mindless traveller learned nothing beyond a few foolish phrases of French, Spanish and Italian,[26] while Hyde pointed out that these travellers often did not even understand the few phrases they managed to memorize.[27] More often, however, critics condemned foolish travellers for their arrogant babbling of utter gibberish rather than their affectations of foreign phrases. It was nothing, wrote Sir John Melton, for these "hot-shots" to return home and demonstrate in very short time their utter paucity of wisdom and maturity through their "continuall prating."[28] The widely held belief of the mid-seventeenth century that many travellers succumbed to this affectation led Thomas Neale to advise travellers not to indulge in the "extremity of arrogant babling" that so many foolish gallants affected and to counsell that the true end of travelling was to learn wisdom with quietness and discretion. Wise travellers should never fall into the trap that caught lesser gentlemen and "babble, wander,

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[25]Sir Carr Scroop, prologue to Sir George Etherage, *The Man of Mode, or, Sir Fopling Flutter* (London, 1676), not paginated, first produced the same year.

[26]Barnaby Rich, *Faultes Faults, And nothing else but Faultes* (1606), Melvin H. Wolf, ed. (Gainesville, 1965), p. 8.

[27]Hyde, p. 294. The foolish traveller Mercury, travelling companion to the coxcomb traveller, Antonio, also sprouted silly French phrases on his return home; Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Coxcomb* (produced 1609), *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, George Darley, ed. (London, 1840), II, Act IV, scene iv, p. 299.

[28]Melton, pp. 52-54. In 1673 Obadiah Walker also noted that young men often brought home "a volubility of talking non-sense," *Of Education Especially of Young Gentlemen* (Oxford, 1673), p. 195.

discourse foppishly, and ramble without feare or wit from one place to another." Travellers should only use their tongues to seek knowledge and speak of other men's actions rather than their own.[29] Understandably, these affectations of language and speech proved an irresistible target for satirists like Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who invited readers to "Laugh and look on with me" as he satirized foolish travellers who, not unlike Nashe's malcontent traveller, wrung their faces into wrinkles in order to deliver a few loose French words.[30] By the Restoration lisping and travelled fops like Mr. Frenchlove and Sir Fopling Flutter were a common sight on the stage.[31]

Another mannerism quickly seized upon by pamphleteers and playwrights was a traveller's affectation of dress. Vividly coloured ribbons and laces and quilts and silks all marked the foolish traveller as well as the affected gallant. The image of the bizarrely dressed traveller was so popular by 1613 that the "fantastick" traveller who entertained Queen Anne in her progress towards Bath in April of that year needed no props for identification beyond his "silken sute of strange Checker-worke, made vp after the Italian cut, with an Italian hat, a band of gold and silke, answering the colours of his sute, with a Courtly feather [and] long guilt spurres."[32] Most of the seventeenth-century characterizations of travellers, whether darkly satirical or amusingly absurd, endowed the traveller with some degree of "forc'd disguise, or labour'd fashion."[33] Popular images of travellers continued to characterize the traveller, like Samuel Rowland's giddy gallant in *A Paire of Spy-Knaves* (1620?), as a silly fellow who travelled only to please his "idle pate" with fashions, regarding any stranger he met who dressed in gold lace and feathers

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[29]Neale, pp. 36-42.

[30]Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *Of Travellers: (from Paris)* (1608), G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *The Poems English and Latin of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 15-16; Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse, Works*, I, p. 169.

[31]Mr. Frenchlove, principal character in James Howard's *The English Monsieur* (London, 1674); Sir Fopling Flutter, principal character in Etherage's *The Man of Mode*.

[32]Thomas Campion, *A Relation of the Late Royall Entertainment Given by the Right Honorable the Lord Knowles* (London, 1613), folio A2 verso.

[33]Cherbury, p. 15.

as a great man.[34] Many young gentlemen risked criticism and ridicule if they returned home replete with too much finery, and cautions to travellers not to overindulge in fashions featured in some private memorials to travellers. John Holles cautioned his son not to be like some "empty heads" who wore odd fashions home,[35] while Joseph Hall stressed to the Earl of Essex that wisdom rather than exotic gestures and misshapen clothes should be the true goal of his travels.[36] In the middle of the century Elizabeth, Lady Lowther, curtailed her son Thomas' expenditure abroad, fearing that he might succumb to vanities. Lady Lowther preferred that Thomas come home threadbare rather than with vain habits or a vainer head.[37] Moralists and parents constantly reminded travellers that, like all gentlemen, they only earned respect through the inward virtues of the mind rather than outward show of finery or pseudo-sophistication.

Nothing marked the image of the empty-headed youth who had squandered his opportunities abroad more than affected mannerisms and gestures. Travellers could change their clothes and keep their mouths shut but nothing embarrassed parents, horrified moralists and educationalists and delighted satirists and playwrights more than squints, crouches and mincing steps. "Bloated fools" who worshipped sharp beards and little breeches and chewed toothpicks quickly became one of the mainstays of early modern drama.[38] One of the earliest props of the foolish traveller in popular literature, recognizable as early as 1572, was his toothpick. In 1572 George Gascoigne cautioned his friend not to arrive home with a "piketoothe" hanging from his lip,[39] and by the end

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[34]Samuel Rowlands, "Courteous Complements betweene a Traveller and the Hangman," *A Paire of Spy-Knaves* (1620?), in Edward F. Rimbault, ed., *The Four Knaves*, in the Percy Society's *Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages* (London, 1840-1852), IX, p xi.

[35]John Holles, "Instructions for travell that my father gave me the 22 July 1614," P.R. Seddon, ed., *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637, Thoroton Society Record Series*, XXXI (Nottingham, 1975), p. 52.

[36]Joseph Hall to the Earl of Essex, early seventeenth century, *Epistles, The First Volume* (London, 1608), Decad. I, Epistle IIX, pp. 81-82.

[37]Elizabeth, Lady Lowther, to Joseph Williamson, 7 December 1656, 2 and 18 February 1657, PRO SP 18/131/58, 18/153/142, and *CSPD*, Commonwealth (1656-1657), vol. 153, no. 120, p. 284.

[38]Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Queen of Corinth*, George Darley, ed., *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher* (London, 1840), II, Act II, scene iv, pp. 32-33.

[39]Gascoigne, p. 375.

of the century many characterizations of travellers, like Ben Jonson's deformed traveller Amorphus, commonly walked with toothpicks in their mouths.[40] By the time the enormously popular Overburian character of the affected traveller appeared during the second decade of the seventeenth century, the traveller's toothpick had become a main part of his behaviour.[41] Despite the popular association of toothpicks with foolish travellers, it was affected gestures like "the *Baselos manos*, the *Ducke*, the *Mump*, and the *Shrugge*" and mincing steps carried home by some travellers that attracted the most criticism.[42] Parodies of ridiculous travellers soon appeared on the stage. Mirabel and his fellow foolish travellers in *The Wild-Goose Chase* (produced in 1621) annoyed another character so much that he called them "gim-cracks, made up of mops and motions" with nothing in their heads but humming; "A bee has more brains."[43] Other travellers picked their way so carefully through drawing rooms that they outdid "the fellow that walkes vpon ropes."[44] By comparison Mr. Frenchlove, the foppish and affected traveller in *The English Monsieur*, threw his legs about so much it appeared as if he wished to lose them altogether.[45] This type of imagery was not confined to popular literature and drama. In his *Instructions for Forreine Travell* James Howell employed images strongly reminiscent of literary ridicule to caution travellers against indulging in absurd affectations of gait and gesture. Howell noted that men and women could easily recognize these buffoonish travellers for their "*gate* and *strouting*, their *bending* in the *hammes*, and *shoulders*, and *looking upon their legs*, with *frisking* and *singing* do speake them *Travellers*."[46] Some parents also expressed considerable concern that their sons would return with

[40]Ben Jonson, *Cynthias Revels* (produced 1600), C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, eds., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925-1952), IV, Act II, scene iii, p. 72.
[41][Sir Thomas Overbury?], *The Overburian Characters* (1614), W. J. Paylor, ed. (Oxford, 1936), p. 11.
[42]Rich, p. 8.
[43]John Fletcher, *The Wild-Goose Chase* (produced 1621), Rota Herzberg Lister, ed., *A Critical Edition of John Fletcher's Comedy The Wild-Goose Chase* (New York, 1980), Act III, scene i, p. 73.
[44]Amorhpus in Jonson, *Cynthias Revels*, Act II, scene iii, p. 73.
[45]Howard, p. 5.
[46]Howell, pp. 65 and 67. Howell repeated his attack upon foolish travellers who returned with "fantastick postures and gestures" in *A German Diet: Or, the Ballance of Europe* (London, 1653), p. 3.

embarrassing mannerisms and gaits. Sir John Holles' instructions to his son John in 1614 not only demonstrated his disgust at the behaviour of many fashionable gallants but also indicated the influence of the strong popular image of the foolish traveller on an individual:

> Sum empty heads (as our merchants to the Indians carry bells, glasses, knyves, and suche lyke) bring only howme with them crooke shoulders, unstayed countenances, mopps and maws thrusting outte the crupper, and head forward, a shaling pace, affected gestures, curchies, salutations, and odd fashions of apparell speeche diet vyz: to every one of which particulars this age can furnishe many patterns.[47]

Sir John asked his son to remember the purpose of his travel, which was to fit himself for his country's service, and only to gather those qualities that would further this aim.[48]

The possibility that young English gentlemen, sent abroad to gain experience and learn wisdom so that they would become profitable members of their commonwealth, might instead return simpering, useless fops caused the enthusiasts of educational travel deep concern. Sixteenth-century advice, like that of Sir John Stradling, tended simply to remind the traveller that the "mimicall, and miserable" affectation of fashions and mannerisms was "most vile, base, and of all least beseeming a noble personage."[49] Yet by the beginning of the seventeenth century the popular image of the foolish traveller was so well established that many apologists for educational travel became particularly sensitive about the difficulty travellers had in maintaining their public credibility and reputation. Criticisms from men like Anthony Stafford, who caustically remarked in 1612 that he thought the single aim of most travellers was simply "To fetch home apish gestures, queint fashions [and] new vices,"[50] stimulated the apologists for travel to use stronger words than previously in warning travellers not to provide further encouragement for critics and material for popular imagery through their irresponsible

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[47]Holles, p. 52. Conduct literature did not promote the image of the foolish traveller at the time Sir John wrote his instructions.

[48]*Ibid.*

[49]Sir John Stradling, *A Direction for Trauailers* (London, 1592), folios C verso - C2.

[50]Anthony Stafford, *Meditations, and Resolutions, Moral, Divine, Politicall* (London, 1612), pp. 59-60.

behaviour. Many authors emphasized the shame foolish behaviour brought upon family and nation as well as the traveller himself. Writing eight or nine years after Stafford, Owen Feltham suggested that inherently foolish gentlemen should not travel at all. This might not only save their own reputation but also that of their families and country. Despite the advantages of educational travel,

> It makes a *wise man* better, and a *foole* worse. This gaines nothing but the *gay sights, vices, exoticke gestures*, and the *Apery* of a *Countrey*. A *Trauailing foole* is the *shame* of all *Nations*. Hee *shames* his *owne*, by his *weakenesse* abroad: He *shames* others, by bringing home their *follies* alone.[51]

In his *Instructions* James Howell also emphasized the shame that the travellers' affected behaviour brought upon family and friends. Fantastic ribbons, clothes, "huge monstrous *Periwigs*" and ridiculous frisking and singing marked the man who had completely wasted his time abroad; "Such, I say, are a shame to their Countrey abroad, and their kinred at home, and to their parents." Travellers should strive for substance rather than show and shun the fantastic.[52] If contemplations of the shame their behaviour would bring upon family and nation did not dissuade the traveller from imitating absurdities, then perhaps contemplation of the ridicule he might bring upon himself would make him think deeply upon his actions. Towards the close of the seventeenth century Stephen Penton appealed to the traveller's sense of dignity, reminding him that if he came home simpering and cringing "as stiffly as the two Beaux do on the Sign of the *Salutation*, and you practise that here, you will be as much Laugh'd at in *England*, when you come back, as you were in *France* when first you went over to learn it."[53]

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[51]Owen Feltham, *Resolves, a Duple Century* (London, 1628), p. 271. Owen Feltham's description of a travelling fool in his book of essays proved very influential, reappearing in at least two fathers' instructions to their sons. Both Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyle, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, 4th Lord Fairfax, used Feltham's words to advise their sons to profit from their travels and not return fools, freighted with "gue-gaws [and] antick-fashions." Printers subsequently published both sets of instructions during the second half of the seventeenth century. Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyle, *Instructions to a Son* (Edinburgh, 1661), pp. 72-73; [Sir Thomas Fairfax], *Advice to a Young Lord* (London, 1691), pp. 37-38.

[52]Howell, *Instructions*, pp. 65-68.

[53][Stephen Penton], *New Instructions to the Guardian* (London, 1694), p. 106.

Not surprisingly, few parents welcomed the return of a simpering fop in place of the son they had sent abroad. The foolish and mindless traveller displayed in no uncertain terms that he was no longer a honest, wise or even a civil gentleman. His affectations went far beyond what most Englishmen and women considered the borders of civility and good breeding. Absurd affectations of speech, clothes and mannerisms, as both parents and moralists pointed out, shamed not only the traveller but his family as well. People of judgement and repute avoided these travellers, regarding them as nothing less than "base mimicke anticke affectators and meere fashion-mongers."[54] The foolish traveller, whether image or reality, negated all the ideals of educational promoted by the enthusiasts and apologists of the practice. Maturity and wisdom escaped the traveller who adopted ludicrous affectations abroad; rather than a profitable member of the commonwealth, he became a burden and an embarrassment. Undoubtedly the highly-successful image of the foolish traveller in popular literature and entertainment encouraged discussion of this phenomenon in conduct literature and private memorials, but, as Sidney, Greville and Holles' doubts demonstrate, many individuals worried that their relatives abroad would not only bring the practice of educational practice into disrepute but also disgrace themselves and their families through their affected and absurd behaviour.

One of the attributes frequently credited to the foolish traveller was his ability to lie and relate fantastic tales of his travels abroad. Sir John Melton's foolish traveller, cited at the opening of this chapter, compounded his foolishness by lying in the effort to appear a wise and learned man.[55] Ben Jonson's foolish and deformed Amorphus in *Cynthias Revels* lied "cheaper then any begger, and lowder then most clockes."[56] Barnaby Rich's farcical travellers emptied themselves of what little wit they had originally possessed,

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[54]Melton, p. 55.
[55]*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.
[56]Jonson, Act I, scene iii, pp. 72-73.

returning with lies as well as minds "full fraught with farre fetcht follies" and heads over-burdened with outlandish vanities. Rich wondered how people could trust travellers, for "Travellers are priuileged to lie, and at their returne, if they doe hitte into a company that neuer trauelled towards the South Pole, beyond *Gads hill*, you shall heare them speake of wonders."[57] Chapman and Shirley's Freshwater, who epitomized the foolish traveller with his affected gait, speech and toothpick, also suffered the embarrassing personal problem of extreme bad breath that hindered his ability to tell lies convincingly.[58] However, while many satirists, wits and playwrights added the vice of lying to their characterizations of foolish travellers, the belief that travellers were habitual liars was far older than the early modern image of the foolish traveller. The image of the traveller-liar, one of the most popular of all the images of the traveller in early modern England, was also one of the oldest, for its popularity extended far back to medieval perceptions of wandering scholars and pilgrims.

From very early in the medieval period critics identified the vice of lying with travellers.[59] By the fourteenth century English poets closely associated the vice of lying with pilgrims, and both Chaucer and Langland personified pilgrims as habitual liars.[60] In the fifteenth century the association of lying with pilgrims even entered Lollard invective.[61] The medieval pilgrim's reputation for lying continued into the early sixteenth century; at least two popular texts included the image of the pilgrim-liar. When Alexander Barclay translated and adapted Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* for an English audience in 1509, he added his own words to the verses on proud and boasting fools. Barclay believed there were three types of people who had authority to lie,

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[57]Rich, pp. 8-9.

[58]George Chapman and James Shirley, *The Ball* (London, 1639), Act II, folio C, first produced 1632.

[59]See above, pp. 20-21.

[60]Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Hous of Fame* (*circa* 1375), Albert C. Baugh, ed., *Chaucer's Major Poetry* (London, 1963), Book III, ll. 2123-2124; William Langland, *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman* (*circa* 1387), the C text, Rev. Walter W. Skeat, ed. (London, 1873), p. 3.

[61]*The Examination of Master William Thorpe, priest, of heresy, before Thomas Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury, the year of our Lord, M.CCCC. and seven,* in Alfred W. Pollard, ed., *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse* (Westminster, 1903), p. 141.

> The first is pylgymes that hath great wonders sene
> In strange countres, suche may say what they wyll
> Before tho men that hath nat also ben
> In those same places, and hath of them no skyll.[62]

Aged men who could boast their full and nobles who lied to their servants were the second and third types of men whom Barclay believed had authority to lie. Erasmus' dialogue "The Religious Pilgrimage" in his *Colloquies*, first published in English in 1519, also portrayed the pilgrim both as a fool and as a liar. Dressed in strange clothes decorated with shells and snakes's eggs, naive Ogygius told fantastic tales of his adventures as a pilgrim.[63]

During the first half of the sixteenth century the image of the traveller-liar transferred from the religious to the secular traveller. Rather ironically, Ascham himself believed that he suffered from this negative association with travellers. Travelling abroad in the early 1550s, Ascham wondered if some of his friends might regard his newsletters with a degree of skepticism. Describing Catholic churches to his friend Edward Raven, Ascham protested that he wrote only what he saw himself, not what he heard from others:

> I would delight both to see [Catholic churches and relics] myself, and praise them to other, if some of you for my diligence in marking things, and gentleness in writing them to you, should abuse yourselves in laughing me to scorn, either contemning by ignorance things that you know not, or dispraising by frowardness things that ye like not .... And for this time I will be bold still to make my friends full partakers of my follies which may be read to the pleasure of some, and displeasure of none, comforting myself that [some of] the best old authors for their diligence hath been noted liars.[64]

The transference of the epithet of liar from pilgrim to the secular traveller was probably accomplished by the mid-sixteenth century; it did not need the extended public comment and criticism of educational travel sparked by Ascham. A strong characterization of the lying traveller, no longer a pilgrim although not specifically an educational traveller,

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[62]Alexander Barclay's adaption of *The Ship of Fools* (1509), T. H. Jamieson, ed.? (New York, 1966), II, p. 68.

[63]Desiderius Erasmus, "The Religious Pilgrimage," *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, E. Johnson, ed. and N. Bailey, trans., (London, 1878), II, pp. 1-37.

[64]Roger Ascham to Edward Raven, 20 January 1551, Dr. Giles, ed., *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham* (London, 1864-1865), I, part II, p. 254.

surfaced in William Bullein's extremely popular *Dialogue against the feuer Pestilence* in 1564. The character of Mendax was the first traveller-liar in sixteenth-century English literature who was not a pilgrim. Mendax told outrageous tales of his travels abroad to an eager if naive dinner-table audience. Mendax swore that he had seen mermaids climb trees and parrots play chess. He claimed that he had seen strange women who lay eggs rather than give birth to children, and men, even stranger, who cast off their skins like snakes. Although his dinner companions believed every word, a servant denounced Mendax's tales for the lies they were. Affronted, Mendax took his leave from the company, claiming that their gentlemanly presence was the only reason which stayed him from slaying the servant; "I haue slain aboue .30. for callyng me liyng knaue," he boasted. Apart from being a liar, Mendax was also partly a foolish figure. He dressed in clothes of varied colour and cut and "looketh a squinte" as he danced the "Trenchemore and Hey de Gie."[65]

A Dialogue against the feuer Pestilence went through several editions during the late sixteenth century, and the character of Mendax undoubtedly helped re-establish the image of the traveller-liar in the public imagination. But Alexander Barclay's earlier comments on traveller-liars in *The Ship of Fools* also proved highly influential. Subsequent authors rapidly incorporated Barclay's verse on the three types of men who had authority to lie into the English language as a proverb, and many variations of it occurred throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1619 W. Basse repeated it in his *Helpe to Discovrse*. According to Basse the three types of men who could lie freely were, in the tradition of Barclay, great men whom few men dared reprove, old men whom few could contradict, and travellers who had authority to lie.[66] While succeeding authors who used this proverb usually added their own favourites at the expense of nobles and old men,

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[65]William Bullein, *A Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence*, Mark W. Bullen and A. H. Bullen, eds. (London, 1888), pp. 94-111. The 1888 edition is a collation of the 1564, 1573 and 1578 editions of *A Dialogue*.

[66]W[illiam] B[asse], *A Helpe to Discovrse* (London, 1619), p. 142.

they always included travellers. In 1636 Nicholas Breton claimed there were four types of people whom one should never believe: "a horse-courser when he sweares, a whore when shee weepes, a lawyer when he pleads false, and a traveller, when he tels wonders."[67] In his *Wits Labyrinth* (1648) James Shirley accused tradesmen as well as travellers of habitual lying when he suggested his readers tell the truth and shame all travellers and tradesmen.[68] In 1674 Edmund Gayton gave travellers some more gracious company than tradesmen and whores. To the question, "What four words are those which are said to be of one signification?" Gayton answered, poets, travellers, liars and lovers.[69] The popularity and multiplicity of variations of the proverb that travellers might lie by authority are evident in the many examples and variations existing in modern dictionaries of proverbs and adages.[70]

In prose, drama and verse authors portrayed travellers as habitual liars. In Breton's *An Olde Mans Lesson and a Young Mans Loue* Chremes asked his son to relate truthfully his observations made during his travels, "for Trauailers are giuen (some say) to begull the worlde with gudgins."[71] In 1578 John Lyly somewhat ruefully commented in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*, "alas, Euphues, what truth can there be found in a traveller."[72] The traveller-liar provided as useful an image for playwrights as it did for pamphleteers and essayists. "Hast learned any wit abroad?" Rhetias caustically asked Menaphon in John Ford's *The Lover's Melancholy* (produced in 1628), "Canst tell news and swear lies with a grace, like a true traveller?"[73] Shakespeare, who incorporated so many of the popular images of the educational traveller into his plays, included a brief

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[67]Nicholas Breton, *The Figvre of Fovre: The second Part* (1636), *Works*, II, no. 11.

[68]J[ames] S[hirley], *Wits Labyrinth* (London, 1648), p. 17.

[69][Edmund Gayton], *Wit Revived* (London, 1674), p. 56.

[70]For example see Morris Palmer Tilly, ed., *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbour, 1950), pp. 437, 679 and 680; G. L. Apperson, ed., *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (London, 1929), pp. 643-644; and *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1970), p. 836.

[71]Breton, *An Olde Mans Lesson* (1605), *Works*, II, p. 13.

[72]Lyly, p. 61.

[73]John Ford, *The Lover's Melancholy* (produced 1628), in Havelock Ellis, ed., *John Ford* (London, 1888), Act II, scene i, p. 32.

satirical defense of traveller-liars in *The Tempest* (produced 1611).[74] Like Shakespeare, Nicholas Breton made extensive use of the popular images of travellers in his poetry and prose. A decade after *An Old Mans Lesson* Breton wrote in his poem *I Would, and Yet I would Not* (1614) that he wished he was a traveller to pass across rough seas and venture where no man had gone before, storing his observations to relate to friends on his return. But Breton reconsidered this wish, fearing it might compromise his integrity:

> And yet I would not: for I feare that fewe
> Would trust my stories, were they nere so true:
> Words are but winde, and winde is but a Dewe,
> Farre Trauellers may say the blacke is Blewe.
> Although perhaps some simple soules may say,
> Surely this man hath trauailde a great way;[75]

Only one author portrayed traveller-liars with threatening characteristics. In *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse* Thomas Lodge portrayed the incarnate devil of lying as a traveller-liar. If anyone was foolish enough to ask this devil about strange countries, he would "prattle from morningsberie to candle lighting," relating wondrous tales of monsters with faces in their breasts and men who escaped the heat of the sun by sheltering in the shade of their single enormous foot. Lodge's traveller-liar still had strong connections with the pilgrim-liar, for he also told tales of remarkable relics and miraculous sites in the tradition of the best pilgrim tales; "hee will offer you the earth which our Ladie sat on when Christ was borne, hee hath oile of Saint *Iames*, Saint *Peters* forefinger, Saint Annes skirt of her neckerchiefe, Saint Dunstons walking staffe [and] The stone the Deuill offered Christ to make bread on."[76] This liar would happily lie against God, misinterpret the scriptures, verify false miracles, falsify history, and swear to any inconvenience to further his own profit. In fact, the incarnate devil of lying would not stop until someone was sensible enough to cut his tongue from his head.[77]

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[74]William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* (produced 1611), Act III, scene iii.
[75]Nicholas Breton, *I Would, and Yet I Would Not* (1614), *Works*, I, pp. 9-10.
[76][Thomas Lodge], *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse* (London, 1596), p. 35.
[77]*Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

The image of the traveller-liar was the strongest of all the images of the traveller in jests and merry tales, although the travellers personified were often not specifically educational travellers. Jests and merry tales usually revolved around the character of a rather foolish traveller who normally did not realise that his audience saw straight through his lies. Anthony Copley printed a typical example in *Wits Fittes and Fancies* in 1595:

> A Trauailer vsed to tel monstrous lyes of his iourneyes, and of the places and things he had seene. And being one day in conuersation with many Gent. & bosting that he had seen these & these places: One of them said vnto him: Belike you are seen in Cosmography: No (he answered) I neuer was in that City yet, but indeed I remember I once trauailed in sight of it, leauing it somwhat on the left hand, but such was my hast, that I ouerpast it, as I haue done many a faire citie more in my dayes.[78]

Many variations on this jest occurred in jest books during the next century. During the 1620s and early 1630s John Taylor collected a variety of jests and merry tales, published in *Taylors Wit and Mirth* Taylor included within his collection this very popular seventeenth-century jest at the expense of three boasting and lying travellers:

> One said, that hee had trauaild so farre that he had layd his hand vpon the hole where the winde came forth; a second said, that hee had beene at the farthest edge of the world, and driuen a nayle quite thorow it; the third replide, that he had beene further, for hee was then on the other side of the world, and clencht that nayle.[79]

Jests about the popular image of the traveller-liar continued throughout the seventeenth century, many similar to the above two examples. In the second half of the century William Hicks included in his *Oxford Jests* this witticism on the popular adage that travellers could lie by authority; "A gentleman said he had travell'd far: a Lady told him she had been farther: Why Madam, says he, if it be so, you and I may *lie together by Authority*."[80]

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[78]Anthony Copley, *Wits Fittes and Fancies* (London, 1595), p. 42. Copley translated this jest book from a Spanish jest book, but he inserted many of his own. These are easily discernable from the Spanish jests for, as Copley wrote himself, "they taste more Englishlie," Epistle Dedicatory, folio A2 verso. This example is one of Copley's own jests.

[79]John Taylor, *Taylors Wit and Mirth* (1630 and 1635), in William Carew Hazlitt, ed. *The Shakespeare Jest Books* (London, 1864), III, p. 78.

[80]William Hicks, *Oxford Jests, Refined and Enlarged* (London, third edition, 1671), p. 15.

Like the sometimes disreputable medieval wandering scholar, early modern traveller-liars retained a reputation for bartering their tales for a place at the dinner table. Mendax told his improbable tales around the dinner table, and Henry Parrot's traveller spent the day telling tales:

> Of such his trauails as will make you muse,
> Nay Sir beleeue it, hee'l discourse at large.
> How should he els be fed at others charge.[81]

Samuel Rowlands' lying traveller expected to gain more than a free meal with his "damned lyes." He happily entertained any "itching eare" with news from Rome, France and Spain:

> What's done above ground he doth certain know it,
> And on his friends most franckly will bestow it:
> For, at your hands, he looks to be no winner,
> Except some breakfast, if you please, or dinner.
> Or, lend him fortie shillings for a weeke,
> (With travellers, monie may be to seeke)
> If you can spare him such a trifling summe,
> You shall have newes in pawne, til payment come,
> And rare inventions that were never found,
> Shall yeeld the author many a thousand pound:
> This trade the divell did for's sonnes devise,
> To picke a living out of damned lyes.[82]

Despite the ridicule of popular wits, many Englishmen and women welcomed travellers to their tables and encouraged them to relate their adventures. Home-bred Englishmen often welcomed travellers' news and eyewitness accounts of far distant countries, peoples and events, even if they sometimes regarded such news with some skepticism.[83] As John Cotta wrote in 1612, a common expectation of wonder and entertainment led many Englishmen to give travellers a joyous welcome.[84] Nevertheless, the traveller's public reputation for lying possibly led some skeptics among his audience to reject his news

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[81]H[enry] P[arrot], *Epigrams* (London, 1608), no. 46, not paginated.

[82]Samuel Rowlands, "A Lying Knave," Rimbault, p. 51.

[83]Louis B. Wright discusses the English people's insatiable appetite for news of realms beyond the seas in his chapter "The Wonders of Travel" in *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (London, [1935] 1964), pp. 508-548.

[84]John Cotta, *A Short Discoverie of the Vnobserved Dangers of seuerall sorts of ignorant and vnconsiderate Practisers of Physicke in England* (London, 1612), pp. 111-112.

outright. Very occasionally a lone author attempted to defend the traveller's reputation and chastise these skeptics for their intolerance. George Wither, although he had harsh words for liars generally, criticized Englishmen who refused to believe anything they had not seen with their own eyes:

> ... there's a number to that do suppose
> All that beyond their *little reason* growes,
> Is surely false: And vainely do vphold
> That all reports which *trauellers* vnfold
> Of forraine lands are lies; because they see
> No such strange things in their owne *parish* be.[85]

The popularity of printed travel accounts opened up a lucrative market for travellers' lies. "Gentleman," wrote Robert Dallington in 1605, addressing his fellow travellers, "The Marte is open for writing: & this towne at this time more ful of such Nouelties then euer was *Franckfort*, though more for the Printers gaine, then Authors credit, or benefit of vs the Readers."[86] In two of his characterizations of travellers Richard Brathwaite satirized their efforts to publish their travel accounts on their return. In *Whimzies* (1631) Brathwaite's foolish traveller had his travel account rejected by the stationer because his collections were "so indigested" and his style so "illaborate." Rebuffed, the traveller spent long winter nights straining his neighbours' "credulous eares" instead.[87] Some years later Brathwaite again satirized travellers, commenting on their reasons for lying about their journeys; "Such as lye on their Travaile, either doe it for admiration, or having run upon the adverse shelvs of a deplored fortune, are enforced to invent strange things for the reliefe of their dejected estate."[88] Travellers who did publish their travel accounts and observations sometimes felt obliged to defend themselves from the extremely popular image of the traveller-liar. In 1601 William Parry published his account of the travels of

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[85]George Wither, *Abvses Stript, and Whipt* (London, 1613), Book II, "Satyr I," p. 164.

[86]Robert Dallington, *A Method for Trauell* (London, 1605?), "To All Gentlemen That haue Trauelled," folio A.

[87]Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, pp. 156-157.

[88]Richard Brathwaite, *A Survey of History: Or, a Nursery for Gentry* (London, enlarged edition, 1638), p. 36.

Sir Anthony Sherley. He began his account with the words, "It hath beene, and yet is, a prouerbiall speech amongst vs, that *Trauellers* may lie by authority." Parry was not sure of the origin of this proverb, yet he was certain that many travellers took "authoritie to vtter lies in England." Other travellers were more honest, but their inexperienced listeners often branded them liars because they could not understand what they heard.[89] Edward Webbe also protested the truth of his adventures when he published an account of his travels in 1590. Webbe declared that,

> in this booke there is nothing mentioned or expressed, but that which is of truth: and what mine own Eies haue perfectly seene. Some foolish persons perhaps will cavel and say, that thiese are but Lies and fables: and that it conteyneth nothing else: but to those I aunswere, that whatsoeuer is herein mentioned, he whosoeuer he be, that ... doubt of the trueth hereof, let him but make inquirie of the best and greatest trauellers and Merchants about all this land: and they doubtles will resolue them that it is true which is here expressed.[90]

Webbe then proceeded to belie his words and further tarnish the reputation of the traveller by relating tales of Prester John's court, beasts with four heads, and wild men chained to posts who devoured every man, woman and child who were foolish enough to come within reach.[91] By the mid-seventeenth century the image of the traveller-liar was strong enough for most well educated readers to regard travel accounts with a mildly cynical attitude. In 1654 Dorothy Osborne recommended Fernando Mandez Pinto's account of China to her sweetheart, William Temple. Mandez Pinto's account was very entertaining and well written, wrote Osborne, and he did not abuse the privilege of travellers to tell lies; "his lyes are as pleasant harmlesse on's as lyes can bee, and in noe great number considering the scope hee has for them."[92]

One of the principal reasons authors were so sensitive and the public so skeptical about the credibility of travel accounts was the popular association of lying with Sir John

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[89]William Parry, *A new and large discourse of the Trauels of sir Anthony Sherley Knight, by Sea, and ouer Land, to the Persian Empire* (London, 1601), pp. 1-2.

[90]Edward Webbe, *Edward Webbe ... His Trauailes* (1590), Edmund Goldsmid, ed. (Edinburgh, 1885), "The Epistle to the Reader," p. 9.

[91]*Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

[92]Dorothy Osborne to William Temple, 19 February 1654, G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple* (Oxford, 1928), p. 148.

Mandeville. Early modern England did not only inherit the image of the traveller-liar from medieval England, it also inherited one of medieval England's most popular traveller-liars. Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* enjoyed a wide popularity in late medieval England and Europe, but his sometimes improbable and often patently false tales earned him the reputation as the archetypal traveller-liar by the sixteenth century.[93] In *Virgidemiae* Joseph Hall satirized brainsick youths who, after listening to the "sweeet-sauced" lies of false travellers and the "whetstone leasings of old Mandevile," lay tossing and turning on their beds all night long, dreaming of strange adventures in far-off lands.[94] Richard Brome continued the theme of foolish lads demented by dreams of high adventure abroad after reading Mandeville in *The Antipodes* (produced 1638). The would-be traveller Peregrine immersed himself so deeply in a world of far-fetched fantasies inspired by Mandeville that his father, Joyless, consulted a physician to cure him.[95] Reference to Mandeville appeared in everything from jest-books to conduct literature. The vainglorious traveller Otho in *The More the Merrier* (1608) told more lies "then *Mandeuile* could for his heart deuise," while in his instructions for foreign travel James Howell claimed that some travellers returned home telling strange tales in the fashion of Sir John Mandeville.[96] Most Englishmen probably approached Mandeville with a more realistic approach than these silly lads of satire and drama. "Who reades Sir *Iohn de Mandeuil* his Trauels, and his Sights," asked William Warner in 1596, "That wonders not? and wonder may, if all be true he wrights."[97] Travellers not only had to overcome the popular image of the traveller-liar in order to maintain their credibility, if

93Josephine Waters Bennett suggests that Mandeville's *Travels* fell into disrepute in England and Germany during the Reformation. She argues that Mandeville's accounts of saints and relics, his reminiscences of the Crusades and concern with pilgrimages and miracles would naturally bring him into disfavour in Protestant countries; *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville* (New York, 1954), p. 243.

94Joseph Hall, *Virgidemiae* (1598), Geoffrey Grigson, ed., *The Oxford Book of Satirical Verse* (Oxford, 1980), p. 36.

95Richard Brome, *The Antipodes* (produced 1638), Ann Haaker, ed. (London, 1967).

96P., H., *The More the Merrier* (London, 1608), epigram no. 4; Howell, *Instructions*, p. 64.

97William Warner, *Albions England: A Continued Historie of the same Kingdome, from the Originals of the first Inhabitants thereof* (London, revised edition, 1596), p. 269.

they published their travel accounts they had to disassociate somehow their works from preconceived ideas of Mandevillian exaggeration.

As with the image of the foolish traveller, the appearance of the traveller-liar in conduct literature confirmed the extent, strength and popular acceptance of the image of the traveller-liar. The appearance of the image of the traveller-liar in conduct literature would also have validated and legitimized it in the eyes of many of the reading public. Joseph Hall contemptuously dismissed the habit of some travellers to "tell wonders to a ring of admiring ignorants." If Englishmen wished to hear tales of men with no mouths who fed only upon air, or headless Easterners whose eyes rested in their breasts, then they could find enough material in books to "out-talke that tongue, whose feet haue walkt the furthest."[98] Fynes Moryson advised travellers not to be too quickly drawn by the promise of a crust of bread to relate their journeys and observations. Moryson believed that imposters tarnished genuine travellers' reputations:

> My selfe haue heard many, who had scarce seene the Lyons of the Tower, and the Beares of Parish-Garden ... so ingrosse all the talke of the Table in relating their aduentures, as if they had passed the pillars of *Hercules* .... And this they did with great applause of the ignorant, and no lesse derision of experienced men, who in their discourse had often found them lyers .... And these be the men who haue branded Trauellers with the tytle of Lyers, but a wise man ought to distinguish such sponges, from praise-worthie Trauellers.[99]

Among the affectations and "forced postures" travellers sometimes adopted on their return home, James Howell numbered the custom of relating strange tales. Howell wrote that these travellers often grossly exagerrated what they had seen; "Such a *Traveller was* he, that reported the *Indian Fly*, to be as big as a *Fox*; *China birds*, to be as big as some *Horses*, and their *Mice* to be as big as *Monkeys*."[100] As pleased with his description of

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[98]Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? A Ivst Censvre of Travell as it is commonly vndertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation* (London, 1617), pp. 35-38. Perhaps Hall had forgotten the wonder and delight of his own travels by the time he wrote *Quo vadis?* In the early seventeenth century Hall enthusiastically wrote to Sir Thomas Chaloner an account of his travels, including tales of "Witch-wolues" and of children conceived, born and christened within ten days; "I beleeued, and wondred not," Hall told Chaloner; Hall to Chaloner, early seventeenth century, *Epistles the First Volume*, Decad. I, Epistle V, pp. 45 and 49.

[99]Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London, 1617), Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 2, p. 36.

[100]Howell, *Instructions*, p. 64.

the traveller-liar as he was with his caricature of the foolish traveller, Howell repeated it in *A German Diet* in 1653.[101] Other works of conduct literature mentioned traveller-liars, and a few warned educational travellers about exaggerating their stories on their return home. Sir Francis Bacon advised travellers to be reticent in telling stories on their return home, and Thomas Fuller cautioned travellers not to report improbable truths, "especially to the vulgar, who insteed of informing their judgements will suspect thy credit."[102] Richard Brathwaite foreshadowed his later criticisms of traveller-liars in *Whimzies* and *A Survey of History* by including in *The English Gentleman* a warning to all men employed in state business to beware of travellers and their lies. No men were more subject to relating strange tales than travellers, who "arrogate to themselves a libertie of invention in this kinde, by authoritie." Brathwaite advised the virtuous statesman to interrupt these liars and shame them by telling even more outrageous tales. Brathwaite emphasized his argument by telling a merry tale of a traveller-liar who was so bemused by the even stranger tales of a member of his audience that he afterwards became more sparing in the discourse of his travels. Statesmen should always be wary of giving credence to the foreign news they heard, "for divers there be who presuming of the distance of place, will invent and vent their inventions to curry favour."[103]

In part the popular figure of the foolish traveller formed part of the widespread criticism of the fashionable and affected gallant. The affected traveller tried desperately to appear something he was not, but his ribbons and feathers and curtsies and salutations only revealed his vanity, shallow values and social ambitions. Nevertheless, the strong images of the Italianated traveller and the traveller who abandoned his cultural heritage harboured many elements of absurdity, and their popularity encouraged the development

[101]Howell, *A German Diet*, p. 4.

[102]Sir Francis Bacon, "Of Travel," James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Heath, eds., *The Works of Sir Francis Bacon* (London, 1868-1890), VI, p. 418; Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State and the Profane State* (1642), Maximilian Graff Walten, ed. (New York, 1966), II, p. 161.

[103]Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman*, pp. 137-139.

of the image of the foolish traveller. Despite the darker aspects of both of these images, the affectations of the Italianate and the traveller who adopted foreign mannerisms marked him, as Harvey remarked, a "passinge singular odd man."[104] Like the foolish traveller, some of the characterizations of the traveller-liar also criticized him for trying to appear something he was not. Rather than thoughts of simple entertainment, the traveller might lie for personal gain, whether food, money or social advancement. But the image of the traveller-liar was less a part of the general criticism of the fashionable gallant than the reappearance of the medieval image of the pilgrim-liar, encouraged by the establishment and quick popular acceptance of the image of the foolish traveller. While satirists and moralists condemned both the fool and the liar, pamphleteers, playwrights and wits quickly recognized an eminently suitable subject for the sport of comedies. By the end of the seventeenth century the outstanding popular images of the educational traveller were of the fool and the liar. The educational traveller, sadly for the high idealism of the early to mid-sixteenth-century enthusiasts, had become an object of public ridicule.

[104]Harvey, p. 98.

Conclusion

The sequence of images presented in the second part of this thesis graphically demonstrates the shift from the threatening images of the traveller popular in Elizabethan England to the more farcical images popular during the second half of the seventeenth century. The images of the traveller in late sixteenth-century England were very menacing; these images represented far deeper issues than simple anxieties about English travellers abroad. Deep prejudices about European nationalities and the Elizabethan and early Stuart paranoia about the stability of the religious, political and social order sustained these early and more threatening images of the educational traveller. The Englishman abroad represented the individual beyond political, social and familial controls; as a practice educational travel represented the meeting of English religious, social and cultural institutions with their European equivalents. Deep anxiety that neither the individual nor the institution could survive this contact presupposed many of the criticisms and images of educational travellers. The images of the wicked and Machiavellian Italianate, the unprincipled atheist and the disloyal Catholic embodied Englishmen corrupted away from their native loyalties who all in varying respects threatened the social and political order. These three images not only reflected deep anxieties, but they also reflected deep vulnerabilities. These anxieties and vulnerabilities changed during the course of the seventeenth century, and different anxieties and vulnerabilities supported the images of the travellers that grew in popularity during the mid-to-late seventeenth century. The paranoia of Elizabethan and early Stuart society regarding the social, political and religious stability of the nation faded from the imagery of educational travellers as the educational traveller became a stock figure of derision and ridicule.

English society held deep prejudices about other European nationalities that subsumed most of the images of the educational traveller. Influential works like Andrew Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge* that documented in vivid detail the vices of each country helped establish a long catalogue of vices associated with particular nations. Drunken and gluttonous Germans and Dutchmen, frivolous Frenchmen and proud and spiteful Spaniards all threatened to corrupt the Englishman from his natural goodness. In *A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama* Richard Lindabury noted the numerous vices associated with European nationalities in Elizabethan drama. Although the major European nationalities always figured prominently in any list of national vices, smaller countries did not escape attention. The Swiss could be mercenaries and slovens as well as royal guards. Hungarians (predictably) were hungry and Greeks combined madness with merriment.[1] In 1616 John Deacon produced a long list of all the corruptions Englishmen could contract from the various European nationalities. He echoed the sentiments of many authors when he warned that a "carelesse entercourse of trafficking with the contagious corruptions, and customes of forreine nations" led to the "prodigious" pollutions of the minds and bodies of Englishmen.[2] The writings of Sir John Holles and Sir John Strode indicate how well established and feared perceptions of European national vices were among Englishmen.[3] Indeed, Joseph Hall, writing to the Earl of Essex in the early seventeenth century, felt this list was so well known he did not need to document it further.[4]

Although the English popularly associated particular vices with all European nations, it was their prejudices about Italy that noticeably encouraged and sustained many of the images of the traveller. Perceptions of Italy displayed a striking ambiguity. On the one

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[1]Richard Lindabury, *A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama* (Princeton, 1931), Chapter VI, "Foreign Manners and Morals," pp. 87-104 generally, and p. 101 specifically.

[2]John Deacon, *Tobacco Tortvred* (London, 1616), p. 10.

[3]John Holles, "Instructions for travell that my father gave me the 22 July 1614...", P.R. Seddon, ed., *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637, Thoroton Society Record Series*, XXXI (Nottingham, 1975), I, pp. 52-53; Sir John Strode of Parnham to his son, early seventeenth century, Dorset County Record Office, MW M4, folio 83. See above, p. 185.

[4]Joseph Hall to the Earl of Essex, early seventeenth century, *Epistles, The First Volume* (London, 1608), Decad. I., Epistle IIX, p. 86.

hand many Englishmen admired Italy as the cultural and intellectual centre of Europe. Many travellers regarded a trip to Italy as the crowning achievement of their tour; the great centres of learning with their traditions of classical scholarship and the cities and societies of Italy often constituted a greater lure than the other centres of European learning and culture combined. Yet by far the most popular image of Italy was of a society whose brittle veneer of civilization hardly concealed the vicious, ruthless and sinister behaviour beneath.[5] In Elizabethan drama Italy had the distinction of combining most of the vices of all other countries.[6] It was this perception of Italian society that influenced the images of the Italianated and Machiavellian traveller, the atheistical traveller and the morally corrupted traveller and that possibly drove Ascham to launch his vicious attack on Italian travel in *The Scholemaster* in the first instance. It is far more likely these popular perceptions of Italian society influenced Ascham's portrayal of immoral and wicked Italians than any first-hand experience he gained during his brief nine-days residence in that country. Ascham's use of William Thomas' description of the immoral behaviour of Italian men in order to revile Italian society tends to confirm this. The popular success of the Italianate, based as it was upon English prejudices about Italian society, further encouraged these prejudices. To a great extent the images of the vice-ridden Italian society and the Italianate fed off each other, and the image of the wicked Italianate faded only after the virulent anti-Italianism of late Elizabethan England died.

The images of the atheistical traveller and the morally corrupted traveller also owed much of their success to English prejudices about the immorality of Italian society. Many authors argued that the corruptive powers of pleasure and vice were the principal reasons travellers abandoned their fear of God. The long association of Italy with pleasure and vice as well as irreligion strengthened after the popular success of the image of the Italianated traveller; by the second half of the seventeenth century many Englishmen associated atheism with Italian society. By the early seventeenth century images of a

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[5]See John Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy* (Ithaca, New York, 1964), for the duality of Elizabethan perceptions of Italy.

[6]Lindabury, p. 93.

corrupt and licentious Italian society had achieved almost legendary status and continually fed concern about the moral integrity of Englishmen abroad. Although the image of the Italianate promoted the immorality of Italian society, works like Andrew Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge* and Thomas Wilson's *Historie of Italie* had firmly established the association of immorality with Italian society before Ascham's *The Scholemaster*.[7] Images of the sexually aggressive (and immensely alluring) Italian prostitutes, prevalent before the appearance of the image of the Italianate, encouraged the image of the morally corrupt traveller. The associations of immorality with Italian society strengthened the legend of Circe's court; apart from feeding fears about the morality of travellers abroad, this legend probably influenced the decisions of many Englishmen to tour Italy as remarks by Ascham and, one hundred years later, by Richard Lassels indicate.[8]

Traditional and popular perceptions of the vices of European nationalities coloured both perceptions and images of educational travellers, but they do not completely explain the sometimes extremely negative sentiments and criticisms directed towards educational travel. Most of the fears regarding the corruption of English travellers abroad not only presupposed corrupt European societies, but they also presupposed an exceptionally vulnerable and even unstable English society. Lacey Baldwin Smith argues in *Treason in Tudor England* that the Elizabethans viewed their society from a deeply pessimistic and paranoid perspective;[9] Elizabethan civil and ecclesiastical authorities and concerned laymen often appeared to believe that English society teetered on the brink of social disorder if not absolute chaos. The unity of the state not only depended on the virtuous thoughts and actions of individual men and women but on the agreement of its minds. Conformity in thought and action was paramount to the continuing stability and order of society, and the primary aim of Tudor education was to produce subjects who conformed to approved social and political conduct. Pride, envy or greed could drive individuals of

[7]As Thomas Windebank's comments about the pleasure and wantonness of Italian society to Sir William Cecil in 1562 indicate; Windebank to Cecil, 18 November 1562, PRO SP 12/25/109. See above, p. 35.

[8]Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570), *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, Dr. Giles, ed. (London, 1864-1865), III, p. 156; Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy* (Paris, 1670), "A Preface to the Reader, Concerning Travelling," folio Cv.

[9]Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Treason in Tudor England* (Princeton, 1986), p. 71.

weak character to seditious activities in order to further their own ambitions.[10] Many of the documents and books from this period indicate that their authors often believed that social chaos lurked in the nearest shadows. Discussion of the Englishman's unsteady or flawed character particularly demonstrates the general lack of confidence in the English people or society to maintain any degree of integrity or unity. Diversity of minds and addiction to novelties might shatter the fragile harmony between subjects and monarch, church and civil law and result in social disorder and rebellion.[11] These deep insecurities about the stability of English society during the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century projected themselves onto the image of educational travel. Many Englishmen feared that their vulnerable compatriots, abroad among the infections of Europe, would inevitably succumb to corruption. On their return travellers might well contribute to, if not precipitate, the destructive forces within society. Deep paranoia about the abhorrent and destabilizing corruptions, ideas and actions that travellers could introduce into a vulnerable English society underpinned the threatening images of the traveller in Elizabethan and early Stuart England.

Some of the concern and criticism of educational travellers inferred and sometimes explicitly stated that English society might face total chaos and eventual destruction because of the corruptions travellers brought home with them. English travellers, particularly vulnerable to the corruptions of novel ideas and actions abroad, subsequently corrupted an equally vulnerable English society. John Deacon, William Rankins and Joseph Hall, among others, listed those vices travellers brought home with them into England that would inevitably corrupt and destabilize English society. They argued that pride, ambition, sinister and Machiavellian scheming, atheism, hypocrisy, criminal and

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[10] *Ibid.*, Chapter III, "The Agreement of Its Minds," pp. 72-117 and pp. 137-139.

[11] In 1567 Sir Nicholas Bacon spoke to the Star Chamber about the danger of diversities of minds that might lead to the utter destruction of society, "The Coppye of the L. Keepers oration in the Starre Chamber vttered before divers of the Counseyle & others the xxviiith daye of Nouember, An^{o} 1567," PRO SP 12/45/3; and a draft of a declaration to the English people after the northern rebellion of 1569 blamed a fancy for novelties among the common sort of people for their support of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland; Draft of a declaration by Queen Elizabeth to her subjects regarding the suppression of the rebellion in the north, February? 1570, corrections in Sir William Cecil's hand, PRO SP 12/66/147 verso. See above p. 88.

seditious behaviour and even regicide had all infiltrated and corrupted English society and subverted civil and ecclesiastical law.[12] Few authors outdid either Rankins' paranoia or Hall's conviction in describing the ultimately destructive force of imported foreign corruptions in English society. In both instances the authors presupposed a completely vulnerable native society. Little might be done to save society from ultimate destruction save the entirely negative solution that England completely isolate itself from contact with foreign nations (apart from economic and diplomatic contact), and English authorities strictly enforce such isolation.[13] This not only demonstrates paranoia about conformity in thought and action to maintain social discipline but also traditional xenophobia and insularity at its worst. The general paranoia about the stability of society was nowhere more apparent than in the images of the wicked and Machiavellian Italianate and the atheistical and Catholic traveller during late Elizabethan and early Stuart England.

The depth of the Italianate's corruption enabled him to scheme against family, neighbour and state. Ambitious and proud behaviour, central to the Italianate's character, was anathema to Tudor perceptions of socially (and politically) acceptable behaviour. The Machiavellian Italianate's subtle and dissembling nature compounded his corruptions and enhanced his destructive potential; disobedience and rebellion followed in his path as he drew discontented gentlemen into conspiracies.[14] Atheism, closely associated with Italianism and Machiavellianism, deeply concerned both civil and ecclesiastical authorities, many of whom thought that belief in God and in the judgement of the afterlife was the principal pillar of civil order in England. If subjects lost their fear of God then they would lose their fear of the civil magistrate; civil disorder and social chaos would inevitably result. As long as the image of the wicked Italianate traveller remained strong

[12]Deacon, p. 10; W[illiam] R[ankins], *The English Ape, the Italian Imitation, the Footesteppes of Fraunce* (London, 1588), pp. 2-24; Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? A Ivst Censvre of Travell as it is commonly vndertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation* (London, 1617), pp. 76-80.

[13]Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 2 and 81-89.

[14]Thomas Lodge most ably depicted the wicked Italianate's potential for precipitating social destruction in his portrayal of the incarnate devil of Scandal and Detraction, *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse* (London, 1596), pp. 17-18. William Rankins did the same in *The English Ape.*

the image of the atheistical traveller remained closely associated with it. Although many authors continued to associate atheism with travel abroad, particularly to Italy, throughout the seventeenth century it tended to lose its extremely threatening characteristics as it survived the death of the image of the Italianate and the demise of the worst of Elizabethan paranoia about the necessity of agreement of thought and action for continuing social order.

Civil and ecclesiastical authorities believed that the political and social survival of the English nation depended on the spiritual loyalty and conformity of the people. Corruption by Catholicism could easily threaten the continuing integrity of England's political and social health. The papal bull of 1570, the landing of the Jesuit priests Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons and the involvement of some Catholics in plots to kill or depose Elizabeth and James I to restore Catholic domination in England heightened state suspicion of English Catholics. Government authorities believed that the survival of a Protestant monarchy depended on the suppression, if not eradication, of Catholicism within England. State suspicion of Catholics within England extended to Englishmen who chose to travel abroad beyond state control. Protestant Englishmen might not only convert while travelling abroad, the practice of educational travel enabled Catholics to slip in and out of England undetected. Catholic families could strengthen and perpetuate their spiritual commitment by sending their children abroad to receive a sound Catholic education, and missionary priests could enter England to firm the commitment of Catholics and to effect the conversion of Protestants away from their faith and their loyalty to their monarch. Evidence of official paranoia in state papers about travellers converting to Catholicism lessened after the 1640s, presumably because the civil authorities had more important domestic matters with which to deal than constantly checking the religious integrity of travellers. Concern did flare again during the 1670s, particularly during the anxiety surrounding the Popish Plot in 1678. Nevertheless, the image of the traveller corrupted by Catholicism never spread into popular literature, drama, entertainments, or even the larger number of conduct treatises. The omission of

the image of the Catholic traveller from popular literature and drama is a particularly surprising since authors and dramatists writing for the popular market generally created villains who demonstrated a wide range of treacherous and anti-social behaviour.[15] Popular literature and drama promoted all the other images of corrupted travellers yet, even amid the paranoia of Elizabethan England about the Catholic danger, neglected to promote or even use the image of the traveller corrupted by Catholicism. This omission was certainly not political expediency on the part of dramatists or pamphleteers; nothing would have delighted the authorities more than satirization and ridicule of travellers corrupted by Catholicism.

Social anxieties and feelings of vulnerability changed during the course of the seventeenth century, and the images of the travellers that grew in popularity during the mid-to late seventeenth century reflected different anxieties and vulnerabilities than their predecessors. The paranoia of Elizabethan and early Stuart society regarding the social, political and religious stability of English society faded from the images of educational travellers. While fears regarding corruption by Catholicism and atheism continued to appear throughout the seventeenth century, by the second half of the century they lacked the vitality and threatening aspects of the Elizabethan and early Stuart images. In the second half of the seventeenth century images generally indicated concern about social conduct and demeanor; ridicule rather than deep anxieties about the stability of state and society subsumed the imagery of the educational traveller. Gentlemen could disgrace themselves and their families through moral corruption, abnormal and ridiculous affectations or tale-telling rather than through evil, seditious and socially destructive behaviour. Youths who succumbed to foolish and ridiculous affectations could shame their families and friends as James Howell noted in the mid-seventeenth century.[16] Many social critics condemned the absurd behaviour and affectations of fashionable fops; parody of the traveller who affected absurdities was often an extension of this broader

[15]Smith, pp. 66-70.

[16]James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1642 and 1650), Edward Arber, ed. (London, 1869), p. 67.

criticism. Ridiculing character types also afforded a relatively safe opportunity for criticism of public and highly placed figures as Gabriel Harvey's caricature of the Italianated and foolish Earl of Oxford in the 1570s demonstrates.[17] Nevertheless, the image of the foolish traveller was primarily a stock figure of fun that gained strength as the traveller became an established object of public criticism and derision during the late sixteenth century. This observation also applies to the image of the traveller-liar, and both travelling fools and liars became familiar characters in the comedies and jests of seventeenth-century England. Of all the images of the traveller the traveller-liar was arguably the oldest and probably one of the most popular among the lower orders of English society. The traveller-liar encompassed very little social criticism and reflected no deep concerns or feelings of vulnerability,[18] although the original image of the traveller-liar, that is, the pilgrim-liar, possibly incorporated some degree of social or even religious criticism. The image of the traveller-liar is remarkable for its longevity. It survived the demise of pilgrimage during the Reformation and re-emerged suitably secularized attached to the early modern institution of educational travel.

Despite the general trend of movement from threatening to less threatening images, one image of the educational traveller remained strong. The image of the cultural renegade, present since the mid-sixteenth century and strengthening throughout the seventeenth century, reflected a far more persistent sense of vulnerability than any other image of the educational traveller. Late sixteenth-century images of the educational traveller rapidly began to reflect anxiety about the strength of England's national identity and traditional heritage. A deepening sense of crisis among educated early modern Englishmen about the survival of their national identity and traditional cultural heritage resulted in growing criticism of educational travellers who abandoned their national and cultural identities for foreign affectations and cultures. Although the image of the cultural renegade quickly became an established image in its own right, other images of the

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[17]Gabriel Harvey, *The Letter-book of Gabriel Harvey*, Edward John Long Scott, ed. (London, 1883-1884), p. 98.

[18]Except for Thomas Lodge's incarnate devil of a traveller-liar who would swear to anything if it brought him profit, *Wits Miserie*, pp. 35-37.

traveller carried elements of cultural corruption. Italianated travellers not only carried sinister and seditious behaviour back to England, they came home sadly "out of love with [their] nativity."[19] Their dissatisfaction with England encompassed their traditional language and culture as well as English social, religious and political institutions. The foolish traveller also often displayed strong elements of cultural corruption, particularly in his adoption of outlandish and frivolous fashions and affectations.

Criticism of travellers who abandoned their traditional heritage abroad formed part of a much wider movement among nationalistic Englishmen determined to rescue their traditional culture from corruption by foreign cultures. Two recent authors have noted this movement in the eighteenth century.[20] Jeremy Black concludes his monograph *The British and the Grand Tour* with a chapter that briefly presents the arguments for and against tourism in the eighteenth century. Black states that in the eighteenth century printed criticism of the traveller was xenophobic in content and intention but was related only tangentially to tourism; "Most of the criticism [of tourism] related to a more general attack on Hanoverian society and culture and, in particular, on foreign influences, such as French food and Italian opera."[21] Printed criticism treated tourism as "but one example of a generalized failure to defend the integrity of British life and society in the face of all things foreign."[22] Black does not explicitly suggest that this was a phenomenon exclusive to the eighteenth century, although he perhaps infers it by not referring to the long tradition of criticism of educational travel (or tourism) on these grounds. In *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* Gerald Newman also suggests that the anxiety about the Frenchification of young Englishmen abroad was a product of the mid-eighteenth-century obsessive anxiety over national decline and subsequent emergence of cultural nationalism. The periodicals and travel literature of the 1750s and 1760s, he argues, witnessed an increasingly fervent debate over the values and

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[19]William Shakespeare , *As You Like It* (1599), Act IV, scene i.

[20]Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London, 1985), pp. 232-248; Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (London, 1987).

[21]Black, p. 232.

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 242.

effects of exposing England's youth to foreign influences.[23] Yet neither Black or Newman note, or perhaps realize, the long tradition of such criticisms and fears regarding the stability of England's national identity or cultural integrity.

The struggle to maintain England's cultural and national identities began much earlier than the eighteenth century. It is perhaps possible to trace as R. W. Southern does sentiments of cultural crisis and burgeoning national consciousness back to the years following the Norman invasion of 1066.[24] It is unquestionably possible to trace this development to early modern England. From the elite of educated English society, the classical scholars, translators and historians, to the less reputable literary professionals such as the balladeers and pamphleteers, literate Englishmen expressed their pride in and their concern about their national identity and culture. At the heart of Elizabethan literary activity, argues Julia Ebel, lay the quest for a cultural and national identity. Patronage was an integral part of this quest, and Ebel uses the Earl of Leicester's patronage of scholars and writers to demonstrate this relationship:

> Leicester's patronage, with its essentially Puritan emphasis, was typical; its chief criterion was not art but utility, and its chief end not pleasure but national self-consciousness. Ultimately this form of patronage can be seen as a self-fulfilling prophecy. It sought to establish an English national identity; and the quest itself produced works which can be called self-consciously English.[25]

Yet concern soon began to tinge expressions of national consciousness. Whether classical scholar or scurrilous pamphleteer (and the two extremes were not mutually exclusive) English literati expressed their belief that the burgeoning English national and cultural consciousness was in desperate danger from the invasion of foreign cultures. English men and women, it appeared, were too ready to "leaue their auncient good fashions, and fall into forrayne manners."[26] Everything from imported food and drink, dances and swordplay to language and fashion threatened England's cultural integrity. Travellers soon earned particular rebuke for abandoning their native identity. Many

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[23]Newman, pp. 98-99 and 173 particularly.

[24]R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 135-155.

[25]Julia Ebel, "Translation and Cultural Nationalism in the Reign of Elizabeth," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXX (1969), pp. 593-602, particularly pp. 594-595. Ebel bases much of her discussion on the work of Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (New York, 1955).

[26]*Cyuile and vncyuile life* (London, 1579), folio B verso.

nationalistic authors perceived their activities abroad as the epitome of the subversion of English culture by European cultures. Italianated [Italianated in the cultural sense rather than the Machiavellian or vicious sense] and Frenchified young lords learned to abhor their native country and institutions while abroad and on their return lost no opportunity to disparage their own land and its culture, preferring to "deale in nothing, then not force in the forreine."[27] The charge of cultural corruption became strongly attached to educational travellers. This occurred to such a degree that an early sixteenth-century characterization of Frenchified Englishmen by Sir Thomas More earned the title "Sir Thomas Moore's Traveller" by the mid-seventeenth century.[28] Both in their efforts to promote an English national identity and self-consciousness and to preserve England's traditional heritage the English literati of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrated a strong sense of cultural nationalism.

Newman argues that the seventeenth century was an age commanded by religious rather than secular perspectives; the formation of a national consciousness needed a society both dominated by secular ideas and aware that foreign culture threatened their cultural and national identities.[29] According to Newman this could not have occurred before the Age of Reason.[30] Yet some of the images of the educational traveller in early modern England not only demonstrate the strength of secular impulses but indicate growing concern that foreign cultures threatened England's culture. It is interesting that the image of the Catholic traveller, even amid the paranoia about social, religious and political stability, never appeared in popular literature and drama. In an age when evil and threatening characters thrived on the Elizabethan stage, the image of the Catholic traveller surprisingly never made an impact. The image of the cultural renegade, on the other hand, achieved considerable and early success. It appears that even in a society, to use

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[27]Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Wherin Those Primitive Circvmstances be Examined, Which are Necessarie for the Training vp of children, either for skill in Their Booke, or health in their bodie*, Robert Herbert Quick, ed. (London, 1888), p. 210.

[28]Howell, pp. 65-67; Howell also repeated this in *A German Diet: Or, the Ballance of Europe* (London, 1653), pp. 3-4.

[29]Newman, pp. xviii and 50-58.

[30]*Ibid.*, pp. 50-58, specifically 54-55.

Newman's words, "dominated by religious ... perspectives" cultural nationalism was a growing and healthy, if not yet fully developed, force within English society.[31]

Popular literature and entertainments carried the image of the the culturally corrupt traveller directly to the lower orders of English society, particularly in London and the large towns. The fact that the images of the wicked Italianated and the foolish travellers, two of the most popular images of the educational traveller among the common people, often carried heavy overtones of cultural corruption encouraged this process. Not only did these characters demonstrate cultural corruption, but dramatists also strongly chided them for the loss of their English identity.[32] These images undoubtedly appealed to the traditional xenophobic sentiments of the mob; they also carried the concerns of more educated Englishmen about the cultural vulnerability of England to the lower orders of society. It is likely, therefore, that popular derision of the traveller who abandoned his traditional heritage for foreign cultures helped to initiate or to foster a sense of national identity and pride in that identity among commoners. Sir John Reresby's remark in 1658 that the citizens and commoners of London attacked his French *valet de chambre* because they had "so far imbibed the customs and manners of a Commonwealth" is possibly indicative of a growing national consciousness among the London mob.[33]

The theatre's promotion of sometimes quite sophisticated ideas did not only occur in the single instance of the cultural renegade. It is possible that the literary and dramatic representations of the traveller could educate public opinion, not only about educational travel but about other issues as well. This was especially apparent in the images of the Machiavellian Italianate and the atheistical traveller. Composed of anti-Italian and Machiavellian sentiments and concerns regarding the spread of atheism within educated English society, the highly-successful image of the Italianate in popular literature and

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

[32] In William Shakespeare's *As You Like It* Rosalind remonstrated with the malcontent Jaques for the loss of his English identity, Act IV, scene i. In George Chapman's *An Humerous Days Mirth* (London, 1599), folio D2 verso, Dowsecer stated in no uncertain terms that "nor [will] I haue with imitated shapes menne make their natiue land, the land of apes, liuing like strangers when they be at home, and so perhaps beare strange hearts to their home," first produced 1597.

[33] James J. Cartwright, ed., *The Memoirs of Sir John Reresby* (London, 1875), p. 37.

entertainments then spread anti-Italianism, anti-Machiavellianism (and a warped view of Machiavellian principles) and the concept of atheism among more humble Englishmen. The first place most uneducated men and women came into contact with the concept of either Machiavellianism or atheism was probably in the street theatres; literate tradesmen and craftsmen could read about them in broadsides nailed to shopfronts or in cheap pamphlet literature. Literary and dramatic images of the traveller could eventually mould public perceptions of the traveller and help to publicize wider issues and concerns. Images of the traveller could also reinforce and amplify the underlying prejudice. Pre-existing prejudices about the wanton behaviour of European women, especially Italian women, fed the image of the morally corrupted and diseased traveller, but the very popularity of this image then encouraged the original prejudice. Constant advice to sixteenth and seventeenth century gentlemen to avoid the temptations of the loose women abroad and travellers' tales by men like Thomas Coryate and Fynes Moryson further reinforced popular images originally spread during the first half of the sixteenth century by men like Andrew Boorde and William Thomas.

Popular images sometimes influenced the content of conduct literature. After decades of exposure in popular literature and drama the images of the foolish traveller and the traveller-liar began to appear in works of advice to travellers. Criticism of foolish travellers first appeared in conduct literature in the first decades of the seventeenth century and became firmly established after the 1640s. Popular figures of derision could influence parents as well as authors of conduct literature. John Holles' advice to his son not to return an affected and foolish fop undoubtedly owed as much to the influence of popular imagery of the traveller as it did to the foolish behaviour of some travellers.[34] The influence of popular public images on private opinion is particularly noticeable in the instance of the image of the traveller-liar. Travellers who published their travel accounts sometimes felt the need to defend themselves vigorously against the charge of lying.[35] In

[34]John Holles to his son John, 22 July 1614, Seddon, p. 52.

[35]William Parry, *A new and large discourse of the Trauels of sir Anthony Sherley Knight, by Sea, and ouer Land, to the Persian Empire* (London, 1601), p. 1; and Edward Webbe, *Edward Webbe ... His Trauailes,*

1617 both Fynes Moryson and Joseph Hall incorporated the image of the lying traveller into their works on travel.[36] As with the image of the foolish traveller, the appearance of the traveller-liar in conduct literature legitimized and validated the image. Certainly in the instance of the traveller-liar and probably in the instance of the foolish traveller, it was the imagery promoted by popular literature and drama that prompted authors of conduct literature to incorporate these images into their works. To a lesser extent, but still apparent, this process affected the image of the cultural renegade too. Although men like Richard Mulcaster and George Pettie criticized travellers during the 1580s for abandoning their cultural and national identities, popular literature and drama then thoroughly publicized the image until it began appearing regularly in seventeenth century conduct literature.

Educational travel was the battlefield on which English social, political, religious and cultural institutions competed with their European equivalents. The criticisms and images of educational travel reflect the deep anxieties and sentiments of vulnerability felt by many Englishmen about the ability of English life and institutions to survive such contact. Prejudices about the natures, habits and corruptions of European nationalities encouraged the anxieties about and the images of educational travellers. Roger Ascham himself was a product of sixteenth-century fears and paranoia and composed the wicked, Machiavellian and atheistical Italianated traveller from the anxieties and prejudices about him. Elizabethan paranoia about the stability of state and society subsequently ensured the remarkable public success of the image of the Italianated traveller that for almost forty years was the dominant public image of the educational traveller. Public criticism of travellers and debate over the merits of educational travel would probably have occurred without Ascham's assistance. Indeed, this process was already underway in Germany and other areas of the Continent. But the success of the image of the wicked Italianate

Edmund Goldsmid, ed. (Edinburgh, 1885), epistle to the reader, p. 9; both insisted their works contained no lies.

[36]Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London, 1617), Part III, Booke 1, Chapter 2, p. 36; Hall, *Quo vadis?*, pp. 35-38.

undoubtedly contributed significantly towards the continuing negative bias in public images of the educational traveller in the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. Supported by existing concerns, prejudices and vulnerabilities, Ascham's vivid imagery cast such dark shadows over the practice of educational travel that it never subsequently shook negative associations during the early modern period.

Appendix A

Remembrances for Mr Willm.*

1. First in the mornyng remembre to serue god, thankyng hym for his benefitte, And humblie desiryng his grace to ayde and assiste yow.

2. Item to here masse devoutlie apon your knees, And pray feruentlie at that tyme, all other fantasies, and wordly pleasures cleane sett a part, that your mynd and bodie maye that tyme be onely given to call apon almyghtie god.

3. Item to applie your lernyng diligentlie, and that of your own mynde withowt any compritsion, your lernyng shalbe the Ciuile Law Rethoricke, and Greke.

4. Item to be obedient in all poyntes to your Tutor, And to doo nothyng withowt his advise and counsell.

5. Item to kepe your self chast And to take grete hede, that ye sett no mynd nor pleas[ure] apon the abhominable synne of lechery ever hauyng in your remembramce the bownde of your promesse of mariage, And kepe your vessell cleane accordyng to the commandment of god.

6. Item to send lettres over to my Lorde into Englonde so often as the commoditie of cariage shall serue yow.

7. Item at vacant tymes to playe on the Lute or other instrumentes.

8. Item to marke well the best facions and maners in the countre and those to put in ure and accustome your self to the best.

9. Item to take hedd that ye doo not speke to thicke.

I wyl performe aull thes thyngs bi the grace of god.

by me yowr sonne
Wylliam broke.

*Harleian 283/33.

Appendix B

Memorial of instructions by William Cecil to the Earl of Rutland*

Thyngs to be considered in your travayle.

The first, the middest and last is to contynew your self in the feare of God by dayly service of hym with prayor.

For your Jornaye, it is requisite that you shuld determyne with your self, to kepe an accompt of your whole travayle, that vppon your retorn, thovgh you ar not bound to rendre accompt to any other, yet you may callyng your self to accompt, be hable to make satisfaction what you have gayned, for the expence of your tyme and mony, that may make you more worth than you wer before your departvre.

And therfor it is good that you make a booke of paper, wherin you may dayly or at the lest sekely insert, all thyngs occurrant to you in any place wher you shall come wor[th]y observation and memory, and spare not to enter many thyngs into your memoryall though you shall thynk the same not nedefull for the tyme because you shall p[ ] Imagyn that you cannot forgett them for by experience I have proved lack therby. And those thyngs amongst other seme worthy observation in a Generayle.

In pervsyng of townes if they be frontyer townes and kept by Garrisons. Who ar the Govenors. What bands and nombres of soldyors, with what enterteynment the prynce maynteaneth them. How theybe sorted for ther weapons. How they be trayned and if therbe any fortifications to vse the meanes you can to vnderstand the same with out offence.

If they be not townes fortefyed, but yet walled and Governed by some speciall Magistrates. Of what quallite ar the Governors, by what trade the towne is maynteaned.

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*20 January 1571, PRO SP 12/77/10 *et seq.* . Written in Cecil's hand, probably a draft. First word of each new sentence capitalized.

The Contrees as you pass, ar to be considered by whom they ar Governed as well, by superior officers, as by subalternall. What noble men have ther habitation in the same Contrys. Whyther ther be any superor place of parlement for Justice in the Contrey, or that it be subiect to make the resort to any other parlement. What ar the principall commodities of the Contry aswel of the nature of the soyle, or as by industry of the people and artisans.

For your travayle in france it is good that you seke and attayne to the knolledg of these thyngs and such lyke. First the estate of the Court. The agees and natvrall dispositions of the Kyng and his brothern and sister.

The estate of them that be Conted of the blood royall, with ther mariage and children.

The persons of the pryvee Counsell. Ther degrees, byrths, and speciall officees ther enterteynments for attendance. Ther orders in expedition of Causees.

The King's chardg of howshold for his own dyett, and his trayne.

The nombre ordynary attendyng vppon hym. His chambre, hys [Master] of howshold. His gardes and his officers for Government of his house.

The mannor of his dyett, what tymes he kepeth any festyvities.

The ordynary revennews of the Kyng. What of domayn, what of the taxees begon in his grandfathers tyme, what in his fathers, and what incress ther is, in his owne tyme. What nombre of tresorors ar lymitted for recepts and payment therof. Specially lerne the condicion of the treasor desp[...]. How the estate of the Queen his wiff is maynteaned, and how the Queen his mother, whyther by the King's defrayng, or by ther owne vppon assignations, and what they ar. the lyke of Monsieurs his brothern. What dignitees and revennews they have for ther apenadgees what the Ks sister hath.

Who ar the principall officers of the realmes as Great [Master] Marishalls [who] ar the Governors of Contees. Who have bands of men at armes and what severall nombres with ther allowance. Who have the chardg of the ordynary Gentellmen of the Court which exceede not ij [hundred] wherof the last [Master] of the horse had a chardg.

What nombre of horsmen and footemen, ar mayntened in Contynuance in france. What nombre of legionaryes and in what contreys they reside and how ar they distributed in

regyments. How many ar of the ordre of S^{t} Mich. and who have enterteynments for the same, who ar the officers belongyng to the ordre.

The state of the office and officers of the ordenance and artillary. Wher the arsenall, armory and Magasunes ar. who ar the principall officers, how Copper, salt[petre] and powdre ar provyded in france.

Who ar the principall ingynors in france.

The office of the Admyrall. The state of the King's navy. The office of the Captayns for the Gallees, how the Gallees ar mayntened, who ar admyralls perticular in the levant seas.

The nombre of the Knights of Malta of the French nation. The Grand priors, both for france, and other provyncees vnder the French Kong's domynion.

The office of the King's esquyrre, the [Master] of the hoorsees.[which] ar officers. How the King's [vase?] is mayntened.

The principalls of the noble and gentle men, that profess the relligion reformed, and that do challendg the benefitt of the King's edict. How allyancees, and confederacions ther habitations.

now out of the Court.

The nombres quallitees and Jurisdictions of all the Courts held in paris for Crymynall and Cyvill causes, for appeales for the fynancees for accompte for forrests and such lyke, what the names of the principall presidents advocats an assessors in every of the same. Lyke of the other parlements at Roan, Tholos, burd[eaux].

The particular Government of the Citie of paris, by the [h...] Civill and Cryminall, by the provost of the marchants. How the Citizens vse to make ther collections, what they gyve or lend the kyng any sumes of monny.

The state of the vnyversitie. The nombre, and estate of the Colledgs. The King's redors, ther stypends.

In other placees out of france ar to be considered, Generally, to whom the Contrees belong by what title they ar possessed. By what persons they ar Governed, how in peace, how in warr; whyther by strangers, or by men of the same Contrye of what vallew the Contrees ar to the ownors, towards ther chardges. How the lords and princees of the sayd Contrees, have there revennews, by demayn lande or by [Daceys tayless?] taxees or by both. How the taxees ar sett, by symple commandment of the Lord, or by grant of the subiect, in what kynde [the taxes] doo arise, by profitt of lands and howsees or by the persons and pooles of every subiectt, or by customs of wares and victells and thyngs bought and sold or by all. To vnderstand the manner of ther monny whyther they be pure silver and gold, or allayed with grete or small portions of other baser metalls.

What notable townes Citees Castells of plesure or strength, bishopprycks cathedrall chyrches academyes hospitalls Ryvers forrests lacquees and Montaynes. What notable famyles of [..]. how they ar mayntened.

What notable antiqtees ar to be seene of the Romaynes tyme or sence being of valew. And vppon the sight therof it shall be good to conferr them with the description, of old authors as Cesar, [...], [...] or with the modern.

What syngularetyes of nature worthy observation, and admyration.

particular for your self being a noble man

How noble men do kepe ther estate. Ther wyves. Ther children ther servants and the rest of ther expencees wold be vnderstand. How they provyde for ther yonger children. How they order ther lands, by what officers, and ministers. How they kepe ther housholde for dyett.

And so to end I trust none of all these thynges above sayd shall moore Content you that the state of your natyve Contry if the same wer duly revealed and knowen to your Lord.

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