

## Elizabethian Traveller

### *English Travellers of The Renaissance*

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#### The Beginnings of Travel for Culture

OF the many social impulses that were influenced by the Renaissance, by that “ new lernynge which runnythe all the world over now-a-days,” the love of travel received a notable modification. This very old instinct to go far, far away had in the Middle Ages found sanction, dignity and justification in the performance of pilgrimages. It is open to doubt whether the number of the truly pious would ever have filled so many ships to Port Jaffa had not their ranks been swelled by the restless, the adventurous, the wanderers of all classes.

Towards the sixteenth century, when curiosity about things human was an ever stronger undercurrent in England, pilgrimages were particularly popular. In 1434, Henry VI. granted licences to 2433 pilgrims to the shrine of St James of Compostella alone. [1] The numbers were so large that the control of their transportation became a coveted business enterprise. “ Pilgrims at this time were really an article of exportation,” says Sir Henry Ellis, in commenting on a letter of the Earl of Oxford to Henry VI., asking for a licence for a ship of which he was owner, to carry pilgrims. “ Ships were every year loaded from different ports with cargoes of these deluded wanderers, who carried with them large sums of money to defray the expenses of their journey.” [2]

Among the earliest books printed in England was *Informacon for Pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe*, by Wynkin de Worde, one which ran to three editions, [3] an almost exact copy of William Wey’s “ prevysyou” (provision) for a journey eastwards. [4] The tone and content of this *Informacon* differ very little from the later Directions for Travellers which are the subject of our study. The advice given shows that the ordinary pilgrim thought, not of the ascetic advantages of the voyage, or of simply arriving in safety at his holy destination, but of making the trip in the highest possible degree of personal comfort and pleasure. He is advised to take with him two barrels of wine (“ For yf ye wolde geve xx dukates for a barrel ye shall none have after that ye passe moche Venyse”) ; to buy orange-ginger, almonds, rice, figs, cloves, maces and loaf sugar also, to eke out the fare the ship will provide. And this although he is to make the patron swear, before the pilgrim sets foot in the galley, that he will serve “ hote meete twice at two meals a day.” He whom we are wont to think of as a poor wanderer, with no possessions but his grey cloak and his staff, is warned not to embark for the Holy Land without carrying with him “ a lytell cawdron, a fryenge panne, dysshes, platers, cuppes of glasse ... a fether bed, a matrasse, a pylawe, two payre sheets and a qylte” ... a cage for half a dozen of hens or chickens to have with you in the ship, and finally, half a bushel of “ myle sede” to feed the chickens. Far from being encouraged to exercise a humble and abnegatory spirit on the voyage, he is to be at pains to secure a berth in the middle of the ship, and not to mind paying fifty ducats for to be in a good honest place, “ to have your ease in the galey and also to be cherysshed.” Still more unchristian are the injunctions to run ahead of one’s fellows, on landing, in order to get the best quarters at the inn, and first turn at

the dinner provided ; and above all, at Port Jaffa, to secure the best ass, “ for ye shall paye no more for the best than for the worste.”

But while this book was being published, new forces were at hand which were to strip the thin disguise of piety from pilgrims of this sort. The Colloquies of Erasmus appeared before the third edition of *Informacon for Pylgrymes*, and exploded the idea that it was the height of piety to have seen Jerusalem. It was nothing but the love of change, Erasmus declared, that made old bishops run over huge spaces of sea and land to reach Jerusalem. The noblemen who flocked thither had better be looking after their estates, and married men after their wives. Young men and women travelled “ non sine gravi discrimine morum et integritatis.” Pilgrimages were a dissipation. Some people went again and again and did nothing else all their lives long. [5] The only satisfaction they looked for or received was entertainment to themselves and their friends by their remarkable adventures, and ability to shine at dinner-tables by recounting their travels. [6] There was no harm in going sometimes, but it was not pious. And people could spend their time, money and pains on something which was truly pious. [7]

It was only a few years after this that that pupil of Erasmus and his friends, King Henry the Eighth, who startled Europe by the way he not only received new ideas but acted upon them, swept away the shrines, burned our Lady of Walsingham and prosecuted “ the holy blisful martyr” Thomas à Becket for fraudulent pretensions. [8]

But a new object for travel was springing up and filling the leading minds of the sixteenth century—the desire of learning, at first hand, the best that was being thought and said in the world. Humanism was the new power, the new channel into which men were turning in the days when “ our naturell, yong, lusty and coragious prynce and sovrayne lord King Herre the Eighth entered into the flower of pleasaunt youthe.” [9] And as the scientific spirit or the socialistic spirit can give to the permanent instincts of the world a new zest, so the Renaissance passion for self-expansion and for education gave to the old road a new mirage.

All through the fifteenth century the universities of Italy, pre-eminent since their foundation for secular studies, had been gaining reputation by their offer of a wider education than the threadbare discussions of the schoolmen. The discovery and revival in the fifteenth century of Greek literature, which had stirred Italian society so profoundly, gave to the universities a northward-spreading fame. Northern scholars, like Rudolf Agricola, hurried south to find congenial air at the centre of intellectual life. That professional humanists could not do without the stamp of true culture which an Italian degree gave to them, Erasmus, observer of all things, notes in the year 1500 to the Lady of Veer :

“ Two things, I feel, are very necessary : one that I go to Italy, to gain for my poor learning some authority from the celebrity of the place ; the other, that I take the degree of Doctor ; both senseless, to be sure. For people do not straight-way change their minds because they cross the sea, as Horace says, nor will the shadow of an impressive name make me a whit more learned. . . but we must put on the lion’s skin to prove our ability to those who judge a man by his title and not by his books, which in truth they do not understand.” [10]

Although Erasmus despised degree-hunting, it is well known that he felt the power of Italy. He was tempted to remain in Rome for ever, by reason of the company he found there. “ What a sky and fields, what libraries and pleasant walks and sweet confabulation with the learned . . .” [11] he exclaims, in afterwards recalling that paradise of scholars. There was, for instance, the Cardinal Grimani, who begged Erasmus to share his life . . .and books. [12] And there was Aldus Manutius. We get a glimpse of the Venetian printing-house when Aldus and

Erasmus worked together : Erasmus sitting writing regardless of the noise of printers, while Aldus breathlessly reads proof, admiring every word. “ We were so busy,” says Erasmus, “ we scarce had time to scratch our ears.” [13]

It was this charm of intellectual companionship which started the whole stream of travel *animi causa*. Whoever had keen wits, an agile mind, imagination, yearned for Italy. There enlightened spirits struck sparks from one another. Young and ardent minds in England and in Germany found an escape from the dull and melancholy grimness of their uneducated elders—purely practical fighting-men, whose ideals were fixed on a petrified code of life.

I need not explain how Englishmen first felt this charm of urbane civilization. The travels of Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, of Gunthorpe, Flemming, Grey and Free, have been recently described by Mr Einstein in *The Italian Renaissance in England*. As for Italian journeys of Selling, Grocyn, Latimer, Tunstall, Colet and Lily, of that extraordinary group of scholars who transformed Oxford by the introduction of Greek ideals and gave to it the peculiar distinction which is still shining, I mention them only to suggest that they are the source of the Renaissance respect for a foreign education, and the founders of the fashion which, in its popular spreadings, we will attempt to trace. They all studied in Italy, and brought home nothing but good. For to scholarship they joined a native force of character which gave a most felicitous introduction to England of the fine things of the mind which they brought home with them. By their example they gave an impetus to travel for education’s sake which lesser men could never have done.

Though through Grocyn, Linacre and Tunstall, Greek was better taught in England than in Italy, according to Erasmus, [14] at the time Henry VIII. came to the throne, the idea of Italy as the goal of scholars persisted. Rich churchmen, patrons of letters, launched promising students on to the Continent to give them a complete education ; as Richard Fox, Founder of Corpus Christi, sent Edward Wotton to Padua, “ to improve his learning and chiefly to learn Greek,” [15] or Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, supported Richard Pace at the same university. [16] To Reginald Pole, the scholar’s life in Italy made so strong an appeal that he could never be reclaimed by Henry VIII. Shunning all implication in the tumult of the political world, he slipped back to Padua, and there surrounded himself with friends,— “ singular fellows, such as ever absented themselves from the court, desiring to live holily.” [17] To his household at Padua gravitated other English students fond of “ good company and the love of learned men” ; Thomas Lupset, [18] the confidant of Erasmus and Richard Pace ; Thomas Winter, [19] Wolsey’s reputed natural son ; Thomas Starkey, [20] the historian ; George Lily, [21] son of the grammarian ; Michael Throgmorton, and Richard Morison, [22] ambassador-to-be.

There were other elements that contributed to the growth of travel besides the desire to become exquisitely learned. The ambition of Henry VIII. to be a power in European politics opened the liveliest intercourse with the Continent. It was soon found that a special combination of qualities was needed in the ambassadors to carry out his aspirations. Churchmen, like the ungrateful Pole, for whose education he had generously subscribed, were often unpliant to his views of the Pope ; a good old English gentleman, though devoted, might be like Sir Robert Wingfield, simple, unsophisticated, and the laughing-stock of foreigners. [23] A courtier, such as Lord Rochford, who could play tennis, make verses, and become “ intime” at the court of Francis I., could not hold his own in disputes of papal authority with highly educated ecclesiastics. [24] Hence it came about that the choice of an ambassador fell more and more upon men of sound education who also knew something of foreign countries : such as Sir Thomas Wyatt, or Sir Richard Wingfield, of Cambridge and Gray’s Inn, who had

studied at Ferrara [25] ; Sir Nicholas Wotton, who had lived in Perugia, and graduated doctor of civil and canon law [26] ; or Anthony St Lieger, who, according to Lloyd, “ when twelve years of age was sent for his grammar learning with his tutor into France, for his carriage into Italy, for his philosophy to Cambridge, for his law to Gray’s Inn : and for that which completed all, the government of himself, to court ; where his debonairness and freedom took with the king, as his solidity and wisdom with the Cardinal.” [27] Sometimes Henry was even at pains to pick out and send abroad promising university students with a view to training them especially for diplomacy. On one of his visits to Oxford he was impressed with the comely presence and flowing expression of John Mason, who, though the son of a cowherd, was notable at the university for his “ polite and majestick speaking.”

King Henry disposed of him in foreign parts, to add practical experience to his speculative studies, and paid for his education out of the king’s Privy Purse, as we see by the royal expenses for September 1530. Among such items as “ £8, 18s. to Hanybell Zinzano, for drinks and other medicines for the King’s Horses” ; and, “ 20s. to the fellow with the dancing dog,” is the entry of “ a year’s exhibition to Mason, the King’s scholar at Paris, £3, 6s. 8d.” [28]

Another educational investment of the King’s was Thomas Smith, afterwards as excellent an ambassador as Mason, whom he supported at Cambridge, and according to Camden, at riper years made choice of to be sent into Italy. “ For even till our days,” says Camden under the year 1577, “ certain young men of promising hopes, out of both Universities, have been maintained in foreign countries, at the King’s charge, for the more complete polishing of their Parts and Studies.” [29] The diplomatic career thus opened to young courtiers, if they proved themselves fit for service by experience in foreign countries, was therefore as strong a motive for travel as the desire to reach the source of humanism.

This again merged into the pursuit of a still more informal education—the sort which comes from “ seeing the world.” The marriage of Mary Tudor to Louis XII., and later the subtle bond of humanism and high spirits which existed between Francis I. and his “ very dear and well-beloved good brother, cousin and gossip, perpetual ally and perfect friend,” Henry the Eighth, led a good many of Henry’s courtiers to attend the French court at one time or another—particularly the most dashing favourites, and leaders of fashion, the “ friskers,” as Andrew Boorde calls them, [30] such as Charles Brandon, George Boleyn, Francis Bryan, Nicholas Carew, or Henry Fitzroy. With any ambassador went a bevy of young gentlemen, who on their return diffused a certain mysterious sophistication which was the envy of home-keeping youth. According to Hall, when they came back to England they were “ all French in eating and drinking and apparel, yea, and in the French vices and brags : so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at, the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised, and nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the French turn.” [31] From this time on young courtiers pressed into the train of an ambassador in order to see the world and become like Ann Boleyn’s captivating brother, or Elizabeth’s favourite, the Earl of Oxford, or whatever gallant was conspicuous at court for foreign graces.

There was still another contributory element to the growth of travel, one which touched diplomats, scholars, and courtiers—the necessity of learning modern languages. By the middle of the sixteenth century Latin was no longer sufficient for intercourse between educated people. In the most civilized countries the vernacular had been elevated to the dignity of the classical tongues by being made the literary vehicle of such poets as Politian and Bembo, Ronsard and Du Bellay. A vernacular literature of great beauty, too important to be overlooked, began to spring up on all sides. One could no longer keep abreast of the best thought without a knowledge of modern languages. More powerful than any academic

leanings was the Renaissance curiosity about man, which could not be satisfied through the knowledge of Latin only. Hardly anyone but churchmen talked Latin in familiar conversation with one. When a man visited foreign courts and wished to enter into social intercourse with ladies and fashionables, or move freely among soldiers, or settle a bill with an inn-keeper, he found that he sorely needed the language of the country. So by the time we reach the reign of Edward VI, we find Thomas Hoby, a typical young gentleman of the period, making in his diary entries such as these : “ Removed to the middes of Italy, to have a better knowledge of ye tongue and to see Tuscany.” “ Went to Sicily both to have a sight of the country and also to absent myself for a while out of Englishmenne’s companie for the tung’s sake.” [32] Roger Ascham a year or two later writes from Germany that one of the chief advantages of being at a foreign court was the ease with which one learned German, French, and Italian, whether he would or not. “ I am almost an Italian myself and never looks on it.” He went so far as to say that such advantages were worth ten fellowships at St John’s. [33]

We have noted how Italy came to be the lodestone of scholars, and how courtiers sought the grace which France bestowed, but we have not yet accounted for the attraction of Germany. Germany, as a centre of travel, was especially popular in the reign of Edward the Sixth. France went temporarily out of fashion with those men of whom we have most record. For in Edward’s reign the temper of the leading spirits in England was notably at variance with the court of France. It was to Germany that Edward’s circle of Protestant politicians, schoolmasters, and chaplains felt most drawn—to the country where the tides of the Reformation were running high, and men were in a ferment over things of the spirit ; to the country of Sturm and Bucer, and Fagius and Ursinus—the doctrinalists and educators so revered by Cambridge. Cranmer, who gathered under his roof as many German savants as could survive in the climate of England, [34] kept the current of understanding and sympathy flowing between Cambridge and Germany, and since Cambridge, not Oxford, dominated the scholarly and political world of Edward the Sixth, from that time on Germany, in the minds of the St John’s men, such as Burleigh, Ascham and Hoby, was the place where one might meet the best learned of the day.

We have perhaps said enough to indicate roughly the sources of the Renaissance fashion for travel which gave rise to the essays we are about to discuss. The scholar’s desire to specialize at a foreign university, in Greek, in medicine, or in law ; the courtier’s ambition to acquire modern languages, study foreign governments, and generally fit himself for the service of the State, were dignified aims which in men of character produced very happy results. It was natural that others should follow their example. In Elizabethan times the vogue of travelling to become a “ compleat person” was fully established. And though in mean and trivial men the ideal took on such odd shapes and produced such dubious results that in every generation there were critics who questioned the benefits of travel, the ideal persisted. There was always something, certainly, to be learned abroad, for men of every calibre. Those who did not profit by the study of international law learned new tricks of the rapier. And because experience of foreign countries was expensive and hard to come at, the acquirement of it gave prestige to a young man.

Besides, underneath worldly ambition was the old curiosity to see the world and know all sorts of men—to be tried and tested. More powerful than any theory of education was the yearning for far-off, foreign things, and the magic of the sea.

#### The High Purpose of The Elizabethan Traveller

THE love of travel, we all know, flourished exceedingly in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. All classes felt the desire to go beyond seas upon

“ Such wind as scatters young men through the world,  
To seeke their fortunes farther than at home,  
Where small experience growes.” [35]

The explorer and the poet, the adventurer, the prodigal and the earl’s son, longed alike for foreign shores. What Ben Jonson said of Coryat might be stretched to describe the average Elizabethan : “ The mere superscription of a letter from Zurich sets him up like a top : Basil or Heidelberg makes him spinne. And at seeing the word Frankford, or Venice, though but in the title of a Booke, he is readie to breake doublet, cracke elbowes, and overflowe the roome with his murmure.” [36] Happy was an obscure gentleman like Fynes Moryson, who could roam for ten years through the “ twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland” and not be peremptorily called home by his sovereign. Sad it was to be a court favourite like Fulke Greville, who four times, thirsting for strange lands, was plucked back to England by Elizabeth.

At about the time (1575) when some of the most prominent courtiers—Edward Dyer, Gilbert Talbot, the Earl of Hertford, and more especially Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Philip Sidney—had just returned from abroad, book-publishers thought it worth while to print books addressed to travellers. At least, there grew up a demand for advice to young men which became a feature of Elizabethan literature, printed and unprinted. It was the convention for a young man about to travel to apply to some experienced or elderly friend, and for that friend to disburden a torrent of maxims after the manner of Polonius. John Florio, who knew the humours of his day, represents this in a dialogue in *Second Frutes*. [37] So does Robert Greene in *Greene’s Mourning Garment*. [38] What were at first the personal warnings of a wise man to his young friend, such as Cecil’s letter to Rutland, grew into a generalized oration for the use of any traveller. Hence arose manuals of instruction—marvellous little books, full of incitements to travel as the duty of man, summaries of the leading characteristics of foreigners, directions for the care of sore feet—and a strange medley of matters.

Among the first essays of this sort are translations from Germanic writers, with whom, if Turler is right, the book of precepts for travel originated. For the Germans, with the English, were the most indefatigable travellers of all nations. Like the English, they suddenly woke up with a start to the idea that they were barbarians on the outskirts of civilization, and like Chicago of the present day, sent their young men “ hustling for culture.” They took up assiduously not only the Renaissance ideal of travel as a highly educating experience, by which one was made a complete man intellectually, but also the Renaissance conviction that travel was a duty to the State. Since both Germany and England were somewhat removed from the older and more civilized nations, it was necessary for them to make an effort to learn what was going on at the centre of the world. It was therefore the duty of gentlemen, especially of noblemen, to whom the State would look to be directed, to search out the marts of learning, frequent foreign courts, and by knowing men and languages be able to advise their prince at home, after the manner set forth in *Il Cortegiano*. It must be remembered that in the sixteenth century there were no schools of political economy, of modern history or modern languages at the universities. A sound knowledge of these things had to be obtained by first-hand observation. From this fact arose the importance of improving one’s opportunities, and the necessity for methodical, thorough inquiry, which we shall find so insisted upon in these manuals of advice.

Hieronymus Turlerus claims that his *De Peregrinatione* (Argentorati, 1574) is the first book to be devoted to precepts of travel. It was translated into English and published in

London in 1575, under the title of *The Traveiler of Jerome Turler*, and is, as far as I know, the first book of the sort in England. Not much is known of Turler, save that he was born at Leissnig, in Saxony, in 1550, studied at Padua, became a Doctor of Law, made such extensive travels that he included even England—a rare thing in those days—and after serving as Burgomaster in his native place, died in 1602. His writings, other than *De Peregrinatione*, are three translations from Machiavelli. [39]

Turler addresses to two young German noblemen his book “written on behalf of such as are desirous to travell, and to see foreine cuntries, and specially of students. . . . Mee thinkes they do a good deede, and well deserve of al men, that give precepts for travely. Which thing, althoughe I perceive that some have done, yet have they done it here and there in sundrie Bookes and not in any one certeine place.” A discussion of the advantages of travel had appeared in Thomas Wilson’s *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), [40] and certain practical directions for avoiding ailments to which travellers were susceptible had been printed in Basel in 1561, [41] but Turler’s would seem to be the first book devoted to the praise of peregrination. Not only does Turler say so himself, but Theodor Zwinger, who three years later wrote *Methodus Apodemica*, declares that Turler and Pyrckmair were his only predecessors in this sort of composition. [42]

Pyrckmair was apparently one of those governors, or Hofmeister, [43] who accompanied young German noblemen on their tours through Europe. He drew up a few directions, he declares, as guidance for himself and the Count von Sultz, whom he expected shortly to guide into Italy. He had made a previous journey to Rome, which he enjoyed with the twofold enthusiasm of the humanist and the Roman Catholic, beholding “in a stupor of admiration” the magnificent remnants of classic civilization and the institutions of a benevolent Pope. [44]

From Plantin's shop in Antwerp came in 1587 a narrative by another Hofmeister—Stephen Vinandus Pighius—concerning the life and travels of his princely charge, Charles Frederick, Duke of Cleves, who on his grand tour died in Rome. Pighius discusses at considerable length, [45] in describing the hesitancy of the Duke’s guardians about sending him on a tour, the advantages and disadvantages of travel. The expense of it and the diseases you catch, were great deterrents ; yet the widening of the mind which judicious travelling insures, so greatly outweighed these and other disadvantages, that it was arranged after much discussion, “not only in the Council but also in the market-place and at the dinner-table,” to send young Charles for two years to Austria to the court of his uncle the Emperor Maximilian, and then to Italy, France, and Lower Germany to visit the princess, his relations, and friends, and to see life.

Theodor Zwinger, who was reputed to be the first to reduce the art of travel into a form and give it the appearance of a science, [46] died a Doctor of Medicine at Basel. He had no liking for his father’s trade of furrier, but apprenticed himself for three years to a printer at Lyons. Somehow he managed to learn some philosophy from Peter Ramus at Paris, and then studied medicine at Padua, where he met Jerome Turler. [47] As Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine he occupied several successive professorships at Basel.

Even more distinguished in the academic world was the next to carry on the discussion of travel—Justus Lipsius. His elegant letter on the subject, [48] written a year after Zwinger’s book was published, was translated into English by Sir John Stradling in 1592. [49] Stradling, however, has so enlarged the original by whatever fancies of his own occurred to him, that it is almost a new composition. Philip Jones took no such liberties with the “Method” of Albert

Meier, which he translated two years after it was published in 1587. [50] In his dedication to Sir Francis Drake of “ this small but sweete booke of Method for men intending their profit and honor by the experience of the world,” Jones declares that he first meant it only to benefit himself, “ when pleasure of God, convenient time and good company” should draw him to travel.

The *Pervigilium Mercurii* of Georgius Loysius, a friend of Scaliger, was never translated into English, but the important virtues of a traveller therein described had their influence on English readers. Loysius compiled two hundred short petty maxims, illustrated by apt classical quotations, bearing on the correct behaviour and duties of a traveller. For instance, he must avoid luxury, as says Seneca ; and laziness, as say Horace and Ovid ; he must be reticent about his wealth and learning and keep his counsel, like Ulysses. He must observe the morals and religion of others, but not criticise them, for different nations have different religions, and think that their fathers’ gods ought to be served diligently. He that disregards these things acts with pious zeal but without consideration for other people’s feelings (“ nulla ratione cujusque vocationis”). [51] James Howell may have read maxim 99 on how to take jokes and how to make them, “ joci sine vilitate, risus sine cachinno, vox sine clamore” (let your jokes be free from vulgarity, your laugh not a guffaw, and your voice not a roar).

Loysius reflects the sentiment of his country in his conviction that “ Nature herself desires that women should stay at home.” “ It is true throughout the whole of Germany that no woman unless she is desperately poor or ‘ rather fast’ desires to travel.” [52]

Adding to these earliest essays the *Oration in Praise of Travel*, by Hermann Kirchner, [53] we have a group of instructions sprung from German soil all characterized by an exalted mood and soaring style. They have in common the tendency to rationalize the activities of man, which was so marked a feature of the Renaissance. The simple errant impulse that Chaucer noted as belonging with the songs of birds and coming of spring, is dignified into a philosophy of travel.

Travel, according to our authors, is one of the best ways to gain personal force, social effectiveness—in short, that mysterious “ virtù” by which the Renaissance set such great store. It had the negative value of providing artificial trials for young gentlemen with patrimony and no occupation who might otherwise be living idly on their country estates, or dissolutely in London. Knight-errantry, in chivalric society, had provided the hardships and discipline agreeable to youth ; travel “ for vertues sake, to apply the study of good artes,” [54] was in the Renaissance an excellent way to keep a young man profitably busy. For besides the academic advantages of foreign universities, travel corrected the character. The rude and arrogant young nobleman who had never before left his own country, met salutary opposition and contempt from strangers, and thereby gained modesty. By observing the refinements of the older nations, his uncouthness was softened : the rough barbarian cub was gradually mollified into the civil courtier. And as for giving one prudence and patience, never was such a mentor as travel. The tender, the effeminate, the cowardly, were hardened by contention with unwonted cold or rain or sun, with hard seats, stony pillows, thieves, and highwaymen. Any simple, improvident, and foolish youth would be stirred up to vigilancy by a few experiences with “ the subtlety of spies, the wonderful cunning of Inn-keepers and baudes and the great danger of his life.” [55] In short, the perils and discomforts of travel made a mild prelude to the real life into which a young man must presently fight his way. Only experience could teach him how to be cunning, wary, and bold ; how he might hold his own, at court or at sea, among Elizabeth’s adventurers.



However, this development of the individual was only part of the benefit of travel. Far more to be extolled was his increased usefulness to the State. That was the stoutest reason for leaving one's "owne sweete country dwellings" to endure hardships and dangers beyond seas. For a traveller may be of the greatest benefit to his own country by being able to compare its social, economic, and military arrangements with those of other commonwealths. He is wisely warned, therefore, against that fond preference for his own country which leads him to close his eyes to any improvement—"without just cause preferring his native country," [56] but to use choice and discretion, to see, learn, and diligently mark what in every place is worthy of praise and what ought to be amended, in magistrates, regal courts, schools, churches, armies—all the ways and means pertaining to civil life and the governing of a humane society. For all improvement in society, say our authors, came by travellers bringing home fresh ideas. Examples from the ancients, to complete a Renaissance argument, are cited to prove this. [57] So the Romans sent their children to Marseilles, so Cyrus travelled, though yet but a child, so Plato "purchased the greatest part of his divine wisdom from the very innermost closets of Egypt." Therefore to learn how to serve one's Prince in peace or war, as a soldier, ambassador, or "politicke person," one must, like Ulysses, have known many men and seen many cities ; know not only the objective points of foreign countries, such as the fortifications, the fordable rivers, the distances between places, but the more subjective characteristics, such as the "chief force and virtue of the Spanyardes and of the Frenchmen. What is the greatest vice in both nacions ? After what manner the subjects in both countries shewe their obedience to their prince, or oppose themselves against him ?" [58] Here we see coming into play the newly acquired knowledge of human nature of which the sixteenth century was so proud. An ambassador to Paris must know what was especially pleasing to a Frenchman. Even a captain in war must know the special virtues and vices of the enemy : which nation is ablest to make a sudden sally, which is stouter to entertain the shock in open field, which is subtlest of the contriving of an ambush.

Evidently, since there is so varied a need for acquaintance with foreign countries, travel is a positive duty. Noah, Aristotle, Solomon, Julius Cæsar, Columbus, and many other people of authority are quoted to prove that "all that ever were of any great knowledge, learning or wisdom since the beginning of the world unto this present, have given themselves to travel : and that there never was man that performed any great thing or achieved any notable exploit, unless he had travelled." [59]

This summary, of course, cannot reproduce the style of each of our authors, and only roughly indicates their method of persuasion. Especially it cannot represent the mode of Zwinger, whose contribution is a treatise of four hundred pages, arranged in outline form, by means of which any single idea is made to wend its tortuous way through folios. Every aspect of the subject is divided and subdivided with meticulous care. He cannot speak of the time for travel without discriminating between natural time, such as years and days, and artificial time, such as festivals and holidays ; nor of the means of locomotion without specifying the possibility of being carried through the air by : (1) Mechanical means, such as the wings of Icarus ; or (2) Angels, as the Apostle Philip was snatched from Samaria. [60] In this elaborate method he found an imitator in Sir Thomas Palmer. [61] The following, a mere truncated fragment, may serve to illustrate both books : —

“ Travelling is either : —

I. Irregular.

II. Regular. Of Regular Travailers some be

A. Non-voluntaries, sent out by the prince, and employed in matters of

1. Peace (etc.).

2. Warre (etc.).

B. Voluntaries. Voluntary Regular Travailers are considered

I. As they are moved accidentally.

a. Principally, that afterwards they may leade a more quiet and contented life, to the glory of God.

b. Secundarily, regarding ends,

(i) Publicke.

(a) What persons are inhibited travaile.

(1) Infants, Decrepite persons. Fools, Women.

(b) What times to travaile in are not fitte :

(2) When our country is engaged in warres.

(c) Fitte.

(1) When one may reape most profit in shortest time, for that hee aimeth at.

(2) When the country, into which we would travaile, holdeth not ours in jealousy, etc.

That the idea of travel as a duty to the State had permeated the Elizabethans from the courtier to the common sailor is borne out by contemporary letters of all sorts. Even William Bourne, an innkeeper at Gravesend, who wrote a hand-book of applied mathematics, called it *The Treasure for Travellers*, [62] and prefaced it with an exhortation in the style of Turler. In the correspondence of Lord Burghley, Sir Philip Sidney, Fulke Greville, the Earl of Essex, and Secretary Davison, we see how seriously the aim of travel was inculcated. Here are the same reminders to have the welfare of the commonwealth constantly in mind, to waste no time, to use order and method in observation, and to bring home, if possible, valuable information. Sidney bewails how much he has missed for “ want of having directed my course to the right end, and by the right means.” But he trusts his brother has imprinted on his mind “ the scope and mark you mean by your pains to shoot at. Your purpose is, being a gentleman born, to furnish yourself with the knowledge of such things as may be serviceable to your country.” [63]

Davison urges the value of experience, scorning the man who thinks to fit himself by books : “ Our sedentary traveller may pass for a wise man as long as he converseth either with dead men by reading, or by writing, with men absent. But let him once enter on the stage of public employment, and he will soon find, if he can but be sensible of contempt, that he is unfit for action. For ability to treat with men of several humours, factions and countries ; duly to comply with them, or stand off, as occasion shall require, is not gotten only by reading of books, but rather by studying of men : yet this is ever held true. The best scholar is fittest for a traveller, as being able to make the most useful observations : experience added to learning makes a perfect man. [64]

Both Essex and Fulke Greville are full of warnings against superficial and showy knowledge of foreign countries : “ The true end of knowledge is clearness and strength of judgment, and not ostentation, or ability to discourse, which I do rather put your Lordship in mind of, because the most part of noblemen and gentlemen of our time have no other use nor end of their learning but their table-talk. But God knoweth they have gotten little that have only this discoursing gift : for, though like empty vessels they sound loud when a man knocks upon their outsides, yet if you pierce into them, you shall find that they are full of nothing but wind.” [65]

Lord Burghley, wasting not a breath, tersely instructs the Earl of Rutland in things worthy of observation. Among these are frontier towns, with what size garrison they are maintained, etc. ; what noblemen live in each province, by what trade each city is supported. At Court,

what are the natural dispositions of the king and his brothers and sisters, what is the king's diet, etc. " Particularly for yourself, being a nobleman, how noblemen do keep their wives, their children, their estates ; how they provide for their younger children ; how they keep the household for diet," and so on. [66]

So much for the attitude of the first " *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*." It will be seen that it was something of a trial and an opportunity to be a traveller in Elizabethan times. But biography is not lacking in evidence that the recipients of these directions did take their travels seriously and try to make them profitable to the commonwealth. Among the Rutland papers [67] is a plan of fortifications and some notes made by the Edward Manners to whom Cecil wrote the above letter of advice. Sir Thomas Bodley tells how full he was of patriotic intent : " I waxed desirous to travel beyond the seas, for attaining to the knowledge of some special modern tongues, and for the increase of my experience in the managing of affairs, being wholly then addicted to employ myself, and all my cares, in the public service of the state." [68] Assurances of their object in travelling are written from abroad by Sir John Harington and the third Earl of Essex to their friend Prince Henry. Essex says : " Being now entered into my travels, and intending the end thereof to attain to true knowledge and to better my experience, I hope God will so bless me in my endeavours, that I shall return an acceptable servant unto your Highness." [69] And Harington in the same vein hopes that by his travels and experience in foreign countries he shall sometime or other be more fit to carry out the commands of his Highness. [70]

One of the particular ways of serving one's country was the writing of " *Observations on his Travels*." This was the first exercise of a young man who aspired to be a " politicke person." Harington promises to send to Prince Henry whatever notes he can make of various countries. Henry Wotton offers Lord Zouche " *A View of all the present Almagee princes*." [71] The keeping of a journal is insisted upon in almost all the " *Directions*." " It is good," says Lord Burghley to Edward Manners, " that you make a booke of paper wherein you may dayly or at least weekly insert all things occurrent to you," [72] the reason being that such observations, when contemporary history was scarce, were of value. They were also a guarantee that the tourist had been virtuously employed. The Earl of Salisbury writes severely to his son abroad :

" I find every week, in the Prince's hand, a letter from Sir John Harington, full of the news of the place where he is, and the countries as he passeth, and all occurrents : which is an argument, that he doth read and observe such things as are remarkable."

This narrative was one of the chief burdens of a traveller. Gilbert Talbot is no sooner landed in Padua than he must write to his impatient parents and excuse himself for the lack of that " *Relation*." " We fulfil your honour's commaundement in wrytynge the discourse of our travayle which we would have sent with thes letres but it could not be caryed so conveniently with them, as it may be with the next letres we wryte." [73] Francis Davison, the Secretary's son, could not get on, somehow, with his " *Relation of Tuscany*." He had been ill, he writes at first ; his tutor says that the diet of Italy—" roots, salads, cheese and such like cheap dishes"—" Mr Francis can in no wise digest," and after that, he is too worried by poverty. In reply to his father's complaints of his extravagance, he declares : " My promised relation of Tuscany your last letter hath so dashed, as I am resolved not to proceed withal." [74] The journal of Richard Smith, Gentleman, who accompanied Sir Edward Unton into Italy in 1563, shows how even an ordinary man, not inclined to writing, conscientiously tried to note the fortifications and fertility of each province, whether it was " marvellous barren" or " stood

chiefly upon vines” ; the principal commodities, and the nature of the inhabitants : “ The people (on the Rhine) are very paynefull and not so paynefull as rude and sluttyshe.” “ They are well faced women in most places of this land, and as ill-bodied.” [75]

Besides writing his observations, the traveller laboured earnestly at modern languages. Many and severe were the letters Cecil wrote to his son Thomas in Paris on the subject of settling to his French. For Thomas’s tutor had difficulties in keeping his pupil from dog-fights, horses and worse amusements in company of the Earl of Hertford, who was a great hindrance to Thomas’s progress in the language. [76] Francis Davison hints that his tour was by no means a pleasure trip, what with studying Italian, reading history and policy, observing and writing his “ Relation.” Indeed, as Lipsius pointed out, it was not easy to combine the life of a traveller with that of a scholar, “ the one being of necessitie in continual motion, care and business, the other naturally affecting ease, safety and quietness,” [77] but still, by avoiding Englishmen, according to our “ Directions,” and by doggedly conversing with the natives, one might achieve something.

To live in the household of a learned foreigner, as Robert Sidney did with Sturm, or Henry Wotton with Hugo Blotz, was of course especially desirable. For there were still, in the Elizabethans, remnants of that ardent sociability among humanists which made Englishmen traverse dire distances of sea and land to talk with some scholar on the Rhine—that fraternizing spirit which made Cranmer fill Lambeth Palace with Martin Bucers ; and Bishop Gardiner, meanwhile, complain from the Tower not only of “ want of books to relieve my mind, but want of good company—the only solace in this world.” [78] It was still as much of a treat to see a wise man as it was when Ascham loitered in every city through which he passed, to hear lectures, or argue about the proper pronunciation of Greek ; until he missed his dinner, or found that his party had ridden out of town. [79] Advice to travellers is full of this enthusiasm. Essex tells Rutland “ your Lordship should rather go an hundred miles to speake with one wise man, than five miles to see a fair town.” Stradling, translating Lipsius, urges the Earl of Bedford to “ shame not or disdaine not to intrude yourself into their familiarity.” “ Talk with learned men, we unconsciously imitate them, even as they that walke in the sun only for their recreation, are colored therewith and sunburnt ; or rather and better as they that staying a while in the Apothecarie shop, til their confections be made, carrie away the smell of the sweet spices even in their garments.” [80]

[1] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, i. 110, note.

[2] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, i. 110, note.

[3] In c. 1498, 1515, and 1524.

[4] *Itineraries of William Wey*. Printed for the Roxburghe Club from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library, 1857, pp. 153-154.

[5] *Familiarium Colloquiorum Opus*. Basileæ, 1542. *De utilitate colloquiorum, ad lectorem*.

[6] *Ibid. De votis temere susceptis*, fol. 15.

[7] *Ibid. Ad lectorem*.

[8] Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, i. 95.

[9] G. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*. Kelmscott Press, 1893.

[10] Opera (MDCCIII), Tom. iii., Ep. xcii. (Annæ Bersalæ, Principi Verianæ).

[11] “ Quid cælum, quos agros, quas bibliothecas, quas ambulationes, quam mellitas eruditorum hominum confabulationes, quot mundi lumina . . . reliquerim.” Ep. cxxxvi.

[12] Ep. mclxxv.

[13] Opera (MDCCIII.) Tom. ix. 1137.

[14] Ep. ccclxiii.

[15] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv., Part I., No. 4.

- [16] Richard Pace, *De Fructu qui ex Doctrina Percipitur* (1517), p. 27.
- [17] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i. 65, Archbishop Cranmer to Henry VIII.
- [18] Becatelli, *Vita Reginaldi Poli*. Latin version of Andreas Dudithius, Venetiis, 1558.
- [19] MS. Cotton, Nero, B. f. 118.
- [20] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i. 54.
- [21] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss.
- [22] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. ix.. No. IOI.
- [23] J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. i. 117-147.
- [24] Bapst, Edmond, *Deux Gentilshommes-Poètes de la cour de Henry VIII.*, Paris, 1891, pp. 26, 60.
- [25] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., Part I., No. 2149.
- [26] *Ibid.*, vol. xi., No. 60 ; vol. xv., No. 581.
- [27] D. Lloyd, *State Worthies*, vol, i. 1 05.
- [28] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 751.
- [29] Camden, *History of England*.
- [30] In the *First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, 1547.
- [31] Hall's *Life of Henry VIII.*, ed. Whibley, 1904, vol. i. 175.
- [32] *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby*, ed. Powell, 1902, pp. 18, 37.
- [33] Ascham's *Works*, ed. Giles, vol. i., Part II., p. 265.
- [34] I refer to the death of Bucer and P. Fagius. Strype (*Life of Cranmer*, p. 282) says that when they arrived in England in the month of April they "very soon fell sick : which gave a very unhappy stop to their studies. Fagius on the fifth of November came to Cambridge, and ten days afterwards died."
- [35] *Taming of the Shrew*, Act I. Sc. ii.
- [36] Coryat's *Crudities*, ed. 1905, p. 17.
- [37] Ed. 1591, p. 91.
- [38] *Works.*, ed. Grossart, ix. 139. In which the father of Philador, among many other admonitions, forestalls Sir Henry Wotton's famous advice to Milton on the traveller's need of holding his tongue : " Be, Philador, in secrecy like the Arabick-tree, that yields no gumme but in the darke night."
- [39] Jöcher, *Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 1751, and Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon*.
- [40] Clarendon Press ed. 1909, p. 29.
- [41] G. Gratarolus, *De Regimine Iter Agentium*. Some insight into the trials of travel in the sixteenth century may be gained by the sections on how to endure hunger and thirst, how to restore the appetite, make up lost sleep, ward off fever, avoid vermin, take care of sore feet, thaw frozen limbs, and so forth.
- [42] *Methodus Apodemica*, Basel, 1577, fol. B, verso.
- [43] Paul Hentzner, whose travels were reprinted by Horace Walpole, was a Hofmeister of this sort. The letter of dedication which he prefixed to his *Itinerary* in 1612 is a section, verbatim, of Pyrckmair's *De Arte Apodemica*.
- [44] *De Arte Apodemica*, Ingolstadii, 1577, fols. 5-6.
- [45] *Hercules Prodicus, seu prmicipis juventutis vita et peregrinatio*, pp. 131-137
- [46] Jöcher, *Gelehrten-Lexicon*, under Zwinger.
- [47] Zwinger, *Methodus Apodemica*, fol. B, verso.
- [48] Ad. Ph. Lanoyum, fol. 106, in *Justi Lipsii Epistolæ Selectæ*, Parisiis, 1610.
- [49] *A Direction for Travailers*, London, 1592.
- [50] " Methodus describendi regiones, urbes, et arces, et quid singulis locis præcipue in peregrinationibus homines nobiles ac docti animadvertere observare et annotare debeant." Meier was a Danish geographer and historian, 1528- 1603.
- [51] *G. Loysii Curiovoitlandi Pervigilium Mercurii*. Curiaë Variscorum, 1598. (Nos. 17, 20, 23, 27.)
- [52] *Op. cit.*. No. 109.

- [53] Translated by Thomas Coryat in his *Crudities*, 1611. He must have picked up the oration in his tour of Germany ; but nothing which appears to be the original is given among the forty-six works of Hermann Kirchner, Professor of History and Poetry at Marburg, as cited by Jocher, though the other “ Oratio de Germaniæ perlustratione omnibus aliis peregrinationibus anteferenda,” also translated by Coryat, is there listed.
- [54] Turler, *The Traveiler*, p. 12.
- [55] Kirchner in Coryat’s *Crudities*, vol. i. 131.
- [56] Turler, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
- [57] Lipsius, Turler, Kirchner.
- [58] Turler, *The Traveiler*, p. 47.
- [59] Turler, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
- [60] *Methodus Apodemica*, p. 26.
- [61] *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Travailles in forraine Countries the more profitable and honourable*. London, 1606.
- [62] London, 1578.
- [63] Sidney, Letter to his brother, 1580.
- [64] *Profitable Instructions*. Written c. 1595. Printed 1633.
- [65] *Profitable Instructions*, 1595, Harl. MS, 6265, printed in Spedding’s *Letters and Life of Bacon*, vol. ii. p. 14. Spedding believes these *Instructions* to be by Bacon.
- [66] *State Papers, Domestic Elizabeth*, 1547-80, vol. lxxvii., No. 6.
- [67] *Hist. MSS. Comm. 12th Report*, App. IV., January 31, 1571.
- [68] *Life, Written by Himself*, Oxford, 1647.
- [69] Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, vol. ii. 233.
- [70] Birch, *Life of Prince Henry of Wales*, App. No. XII.
- [71] *Life and Letters*, by Pearsall Smith, vol. i. 246.
- [72] *Op. cit.*
- [73] Talbot, MSS. in the College of Arms, vol. P, fol. 571.
- [74] *Davison’s Poetical Rhapsody*. I. Biographical Notice, p. xxiii.
- [75] *Sloane MS*. 1813.
- [76] *State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-80, vols, xviii., No. 31 ; xix., No. 6-52 passim ; xx., No. 1-39 passim.
- [77] *Direction for Travailers*.
- [78] Stowe’s *Annals*, p. 600.
- [79] *Works*, ed. Giles, vol. i., Pt. ii., Epis. cxvi.
- [80] *Op. cit.*

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